Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyoffranksb0002omda

THE HISTORY OF THE FRANKS

By GREGORY OF TOURS

Oxford University Press
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Capetown
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY OF THE FRANKS

By GREGORY OF TOURS

Translated
with an Introduction
by

O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.
Keeper of the Department of British and
Medieval Antiquities in the
British Museum

Volume II
TEXT

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1927

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

THE TEXT

Book I.	From the Creation to A.D. 397	1
II.	From A.D. 397 to 511	31
III.	From A.D. 511 to 547	83
IV.	From A.D. 547 to 575	113
V.	From A.D. 575 to 580	163
VI.	From A.D. 580 to 584	229
VII.	From A.D. 584 to 585	281
VIII.	From A.D. 585 to 586	325
IX.	From A.D. 587 to 589	367
X.	From A.D. 589 to 591	423
	Notes	479
	Index of Proper Names	607
	Index of Places and Peoples	629
	General Index	642
	Authorities cited	657

MAP

Map of Gaul showing the principal places mentioned in the History *At end*

ERRATA

Page 4, l. 20, *for* Maximin *read* Maximus
49, l. 38, *for* Carbonnière *read* Charbonnière
52, l. 31, *for* Rufus *read* Rusticus
53, l. 12, *for* Castinius *read* Castinus
56, l. 12, *for the* asterisk *substitute the figure* 3
56, l. 14, *delete the figure* 3
60, l. 10, *delete the words* the church of
92, l. 27, *for* Hildebert *read* Childebert
100, l. 15, *for* Bougéat *read* Bongheat
125, l. 39, *for* sister-in-law *read* mother-in-law
199, l. 37, *for* Dodo *read* Dolo
260, l. 28, *for* their *read* his
305, l. 6, *for* house *read* household
363, foot-note 6, *for Ibid. read* Cf. ch. 32 above
428, l. 32, *for* Ostia *read* Portus

Delete asterisk *on* p. 17, l. 15; p. 26, l. 28; p. 64, l. 14; p. 86, l. 18; p. 88, l. 18; p. 97, l. 8; p. 106, l. 25; p. 131, l. 32 (first asterisk); p. 197, l. 8; p. 291, l. 16; p. 300, l. 3; p. 407, l. 32.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C. M. H. *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, planned by J. B. Bury, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney: Vol. II (Cambridge University Press, 1913), Chapters iv and v by Prof. C. Pfister, and Chapter vi by Dr. R. Altamira.

G. M. *Liber in gloria martyrum beatorum*; in M. G. H. (see below), *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, i, Part ii, *Miracula et opera minora*, pp. 484–561 (Hanover, 1885).

V. S. J. *De passione et virtutibus Sancti Juliani martyris*; ibid., pp. 562–84. A single Book of fifty chapters.

V. S. M. *De virtutibus beati Martini episcopi*, in four Books; *ibid.*, pp. 584–661. (Commonly known as the *Miracula S. Martini*.)

V. P. *Liber vitae Patrum*; *ibid.*, pp. 661–744. A single Book in twenty chapters divided into sections.

G. C. *Liber in gloria Confessorum*; *ibid.*, pp. 744–820. A single Book in one hundred and ten short chapters or sections.

All these works are edited by B. Krusch. They are called by Gregory (in the prologue to G. C.) his Eight Books of Miracles, the V. S. M. counting as four.

M. G. H. *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, edidit Societas aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevi. The well-known series of early texts, edited by various scholars.

BOOK I

HERE BEGINS THE PREFACE OF GREGORY, BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF TOURS

In these times when the practice of letters declines, nay, rather perishes in the cities of Gaul, there has been found no scholar trained in the art of ordered composition * to present in prose or verse a picture of the things that have befallen. Yet there have been done good things many, and evil many ; the peoples savagely raged ; the fury of kings grew sharp ; churches were assailed by heretics and protected by catholics * ; the faith of Christ that glowed in many hearts was lukewarm in not a few ; the faithful enriched the churches while the unbelievers stripped them bare. Wherefore the voice of lament was oft-times raised, and men said : ' Alas ! for these our days ! The study of letters is perished from us, nor is any found among our peoples able to set forth in a book the events of this present time.'

Now when I heard these and like complaints ever repeated, I was moved, with however rude an utterance, to hand down the memory of the past to future generations, in no wise leaving untold the conflicts of the wicked and those who lived in righteousness. I was the more encouraged because I often heard with surprise our people say that while the accomplished writer is understood by few, it is the man of plain speech * who has the general ear.

Further, it seemed good to me for the better computation of the years, that in this first book, of which the chapters follow, I should begin from the foundation of the world.

[BOOK THE FIRST]

IN THE NAME OF CHRIST HERE BEGINS THE FIRST BOOK OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF GEORGIUS FLORENTIUS, OTHERWISE GREGORY, BISHOP OF TOURS

I. Of Adam and Eve.
II. Of Cain and Abel.
III. Of Enoch the righteous.
IV. Of the Flood.
V. Of Chus, who first made a graven image.
VI. Of Babylon.
VII. Of Abraham and Ninus.
VIII. Of Isaac, Esau, Job, and Jacob.
IX. Of Joseph in Egypt.
X Of the Crossing of the Red Sea.
XI. Of the people in the desert, and of Joshua.
XII. Of the Captivity of the Israelites, and their generations down to David.
XIII. Of Solomon, and of the building of the Temple.
XIV. Of the division of the Kingdom of Israel.
XV. Of the captivity in Babylon.
XVI. Of Christ's Nativity.
XVII. Of divers kingdoms of the Gentiles.
XVIII. When the city of Lyons was founded.
XIX. Of the gifts of the Magi, and of the massacre of the Innocents.
XX. Of the miracles and the Passion of Christ.
XXI. Of Joseph who buried Him.
XXII. Of James the Apostle.
XXIII. Of the day of the Lord's Resurrection.
XXIV. Of the Lord's Ascension, and of the death of Pilate and Herod.
XXV. Of the Passion of the Apostles ; and concerning Nero.
XXVI. Of James, and of the Evangelists Mark and John.

XXVII. Of the persecution under Trajan.
28. Of Hadrian and the inventions of the heretics; and of the Passion of the holy Polycarp and Justin.
29. Of the holy Photinus, Hirineus, and the other martyrs of Lyons.
XXVIII. (30) Of the Seven sent to preach in Gaul.
31. Of the church at Bourges.
XXIX. (32) Of Chroc and the shrine in Auvergne.
33. Of the martyrs of Auvergne.
34. Of the holy Privatus, martyr.
35. Of Quiriacus, bishop and martyr.
36. Of the birth of the holy Martin, and of the Invention of the Cross.
37. Of James of Nisibis, the bishop.
38. Of the passing of Anthony the monk.
XXX. (39) Of the coming of the holy Martin.
XXXI. (40) Of the matron Melania.
XXXII. (41) Of the death of Valens the emperor.
XXXIII. (42) Of the empire of Theodosius.
XXXIV. (43) Of the death of the tyrant Maximin.
44. Of Urbicus, bishop of Clermont.
45. Of the holy Hillidius, the bishop.
46. Of the bishops Nepotianus and Arthemius.
47. Of the chastity of the lovers.
XXXV. (48) Of the passing of Martin.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS OF BOOK I

[The period covered by this Book is from the Creation to A. D. 397.]

IN THE NAME OF CHRIST, HERE BEGINS THE FIRST BOOK OF THE HISTORY

PURPOSING to record the wars of kings with hostile peoples, of the martyr with the heathen, and of the Churches with the heretics, I am fain first to make profession of my own belief, that whoso reads may doubt not that I hold the catholic faith. I have also deemed it well for the sake of those whose hearts fail them as the end of this world draws nigh, to set forth clearly by extracts from the chronicles or histories of those who went before us, how great is the number of the years since the world began. But first I beg indulgence of those who may read what I write, if haply in letter or in syllable I transgress the laws of Grammar, an art in which I am but ill versed. I have but this one thing at heart, to hold fast in singleness and conviction of heart all that of which the Church enjoins belief, knowing that one subject to sin may yet obtain mercy of our gracious Lord through simple faith alone.

Therefore do I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord, born of the Father, not made; I believe that He was always with the Father—not after lapse of times but before all time. For neither could the one be called Father if He had not a Son, nor the other Son if He had not a Father. And with execration do I renounce those who say that there was a time when He was not, and avow that they dwell apart from the fold of the Church. I believe this Christ to be the Word of the Father, by whom all things were made. I believe that this Word was made flesh, and that by His passion the world was redeemed; and I believe that not in His Godhead but in His manhood did He undergo this Passion. I believe that He rose on the third day, that He delivered man which was lost, that He ascended into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and that He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, and that He is not after or before them in time, but equal, and God ever consisting with the Father and the Son, in nature consubstantial, in omnipotence equal, in essence

coeternal, so that He was never without the Father or the Son, nor ever younger than the Father or the Son. I believe that this Holy Trinity subsisteth in distinction of the Persons, so that the Person of the Father is one, of the Son one, and of the Holy Ghost one. But in this Trinity I confess one Godhead, one power, and one being alone. I believe that the blessed Mary, as she was virgin before childbirth, was virgin likewise thereafter. I believe that the soul is immortal yet hath no part in godhead. And all that was established by the three hundred and eighteen bishops of Nicaea I do faithfully believe. And as touching the end of the world, I believe that which I have been taught by those who have gone before me. First shall Antichrist come * and bring in the circumcision, proclaiming himself Christ ; next shall he set up his image in the Temple at Jerusalem to be worshipped, as we read that the Lord said : ' Ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.' [1] But concerning that day the Lord Himself maketh all plain, saying : ' But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father alone.' [2] And here I will make answer to the heretics who attack us and maintain that the Son is inferior to the Father seeing that He is ignorant of that day. Let them know therefore that by the name of Son is here meant the Christian people, of whom God thus speaketh : ' I will be to them for a Father, and they shall be to Me for Sons.' [3] Now if God had thus spoken of His only-begotten Son, He would never have placed the angels before Him. For thus He saith : ' Neither the angels of heaven, nor the Son ' ; showing that He spake these things not of His only-begotten Son, but of His adopted people. But our end is Christ Himself, who of the fullness of His grace shall bestow on us eternal life if we be converted to Him.

After what manner the years of this world are counted the chronicles of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, and of Jerome * the priest plainly teach, setting them all forth in their order. And Orosius,* also making most diligent inquiry into these things, set down the whole series of the years from the beginning

[1] Matt. xxiv. 15.

[2] Mark xiii. 32. The words do not exactly correspond with the Vulgate text.

[3] 2 Cor. vi. 18.

of the world to his own day. Which Victorius did once again when he determined the dates of the Paschal feast. Therefore am I fain in my turn to follow the example of the aforesaid writers, and reckon the whole sum of years down to our own time, if the Lord shall lend me His aid. Which task I shall the more readily fulfil if I begin even from Adam.

1. In the beginning the Lord formed the heaven and the earth in His Christ, who is the origin of all things, that is to say, in His Son; who, when the elements of the world had been created, took a clod of fragile clay and shaped man in His own image and similitude, breathing upon his face the breath of life, that he was made a living soul. And while the man slept, a rib was taken from him, and the woman Eve created. Nor is it to be doubted that, before he sinned, the first man Adam presented the type of our Lord and Saviour. For when Christ swooned in His Passion, He produced from His side water and blood, and gave unto Himself a Church, virgin and immaculate, redeemed by the blood and purified by the water, having neither spot nor wrinkle,[1] that is to say, washed by the water to take away all blemish, and stretched on the Cross to take away every wrinkle. So therefore these first human creatures lived in bliss amid the delights of Paradise; but, enticed by the serpent's guile, they transgressed the divine commandments. And they were driven forth from that abode of angels and given over to the toils of the world.

2. Now when the woman was known by her companion she conceived, and bare two sons. But when God favourably received the sacrifice of the one, the other was inflamed by envy and swelled in his wrath. He was the first man to rise up and shed his brother's blood; he cast him down, he overcame and murdered him that was his own brother.

3. Thereafter the whole race of man fell into abominable crimes, save only Enoch the just, who, walking in the ways of God, was by the Lord Himself taken up and delivered from the midst of a sinful people because of his justice. For thus we read: 'Enoch walked with God: and he was no more seen; for God took him.'[2]

4. The Lord therefore, being moved to wrath against the

[1] Cf. Eph. iv. 27. [2] Gen. v. 24.

iniquities of a people which walked not in His ways, sent a deluge, and by the tide-waves of this flood destroyed from the surface of the earth every living soul. He saved in the ark only Noe, His own most faithful servant and type, together with his wife and the wives of his three sons for the perpetuation of mankind after them. The heretics assail us here, asking why the holy Scriptures described God as wroth. Let them know, therefore, that our God is not angered after the manner of men ; for He is moved to wrath that He may warn by fear, He driveth away that He may recall, He is angered that we may be amended. But neither do I doubt of this, that the form of the ark presenteth the type of our mother Church, which, passing through the waves and rocks of this world, beareth us motherly and tenderly, keeping us from threatening ills, and defendeth us by her embrace and guardianship.

From Adam to Noe are ten generations : Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Malaleel,[1] Jareth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noe.[2] These ten generations make two thousand two hundred and forty-two years. Now Adam was buried in the land of Enachim, formerly called Hebron, as is plainly set forth in the Book of Joshua.[3]

5. After the Flood, Noe had three sons, Sem, Ham, and Japheth. From Japheth issued generations of men, likewise also from Ham and Sem ; and, as ancient history relates, by these the human race was spread abroad under the whole heaven. The firstborn of Ham was Chus, who by inspiration of the Devil was first inventor of the whole art of magic, and of idolatry. He first, at the prompting of the Evil One, set up a graven image to be worshipped, and by his false arts, showed mankind stars and fire falling from heaven. He passed over to the Persians, who called him Zoroaster, which is to say, living star.* Taught by him the custom of adoring fire, they worship him as a god, since he was consumed by fire from heaven.

6. When men had multiplied and were being dispersed over all the earth, they came out of the East and discovered the grassy plain of Senachar. There they built a city ; they strove to set up a tower which should reach to heaven. But God confounded their vain imagination and their tongue and

[1] Text, *Mathusalae.* [2] Lamech is omitted. [3] xiv. 15.

their own selves,* and dispersed them through every land over the wide world. And the name of the city was called Babel, which is to say, Confusion, for that there God confounded their tongues. This is Babylon, built by the giant Hebron, son of Chus.* As the history of Orosius relates, it was disposed in a square upon a wondrous even plain ; its walls were of burned brick laid with bitumen ; they were fifty cubits thick and two hundred cubits high. The circumference was four hundred and seventy stadia, each stadium containing five *aripennes*.* In each side were placed twenty-five gates, making a hundred in all. The doors of these gates were of wondrous size, and fashioned of cast bronze. The same historian narrates much more concerning this city, adding these words : ' but though it was thus gloriously builded, yet was it conquered and overthrown.' [1]

7. Now the first son of Noe was Sem, of whom, in the tenth generation, was born Abraham, thus : Noe, Sem, Arfaxath, Sale, Heber, Falech, Rheu, Saruch, and Tharae who begat Abraham.* In these ten generations from Noah to Abraham are found nine hundred years.* In that time reigned Ninus ; he builded the city called Ninus, called also Nineveh, the extent whereof is determined by the prophet Jonah as taking three days' journey.[2] In the forty-third year of his reign was Abraham born. This is that Abraham who was the beginning of our faith. He it was who received the promise ; to him Christ our Lord revealed that He should be born and suffer for us in return for His offering, Himself saying in the Gospel : ' Abraham rejoiced to see My day ; and he saw it, and was glad.' [3] This sacrifice of Abraham, as Severus relates in his chronicle,* was offered on the mount of Calvary, where our Lord was crucified, as is commonly affirmed to this day in the city of Jerusalem. On this mountain stood the holy Cross on which the Redeemer was nailed, and from which flowed His blessed blood. This Abraham received the sign of the circumcision, showing that what he bore in the body we should carry in the heart, as the prophet saith : ' Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart.' [4] And : ' Go not after other gods.' [5] And again :

[1] Orosius, *Hist.* II. vi. [2] Jonah iii. 3. [3] John viii. 56.
[4] Jer. iv. 4. The text does not agree word for word with the Vulgate.
[5] *Ibid.*, xxxv. 15.

'None that is uncircumcised in heart shall enter into My sanctuary.'[1] This Abraham, a syllable being added to his name, God called the father of many peoples.

8. At the age of a hundred years he begat Isaac. And to Isaac, in the sixtieth year of his age, were born twin sons of Rebecca. The firstborn was Esau, also called Edom, which is to say, 'earthly', who for gluttony sold his birthright. He was the father of the Idumaeans, Jobab descending from him in the fourth generation, thus: Esau, Raguel, Zara, Jobab, who is also named Job. He lived two hundred and forty-nine years; in his eightieth year he was delivered from his infirmity, and after his deliverance he lived a hundred and seventy years,* his riches restored unto him twofold, and blessed with as many sons as those whom he had lost.

9. The second son of Isaac was Jacob, the beloved of God, as He spake by the Prophet: 'I have loved Jacob, but Esau have I hated.'[2] After his wrestling with the angel he was called Israel, and from him the Israelites are named. He begat the twelve patriarchs, whose names are these: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judas, Issachar, Zabulon, Dan, Naphtali,[3] Gad, and Asser. After these, in the ninety-second year of his age, he begat of Rachel, Joseph, whom he loved more than his other sons; and of her he had also Benjamin, the last of all his sons. In the sixteenth year of his age, Joseph, presenting a type of the Redeemer, saw dreams which he recounted to his brethren: he was binding sheaves, which the sheaves of his brethren worshipped; another time the sun and moon, with eleven stars, bowed down before him.* Which thing created a great hatred in his brethren against him, so that they burned with envy and sold him for twenty pieces of silver to certain Ishmaelites passing into Egypt. But when a famine was upon them they also went down into Egypt and were known of Joseph, though he was not known of them. Joseph, having many times tried them and caused them to bring thither Benjamin, who also was born of his own mother Rachel, declared himself to them. Thereafter all the Israelites went down into Egypt, and through Joseph enjoyed the good grace

[1] Ezek. xliv. 9. The text as given is: *Omnem incircumcisus corde non intrent in sancta mea.* The Vulgate has: *Omnis alienigena incircumcisus corde, et incircumcisus carne, non ingredietur sanctuarium meum.*

[2] Mal. i. 2, 3. Cf. Rom. ix. 13.

[3] The text has Neptallim.

of Pharaoh. In Egypt Jacob died after he had blessed his sons, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father Isaac in the land of Canaan. But when Joseph and Pharaoh were dead, the whole people were reduced to slavery, and after the ten plagues of Egypt were set free by Moses, Pharaoh having been drowned in the Red Sea.

10. And since much has been written by many writers of the passage of this sea, it has seemed good to me to insert in this book somewhat regarding the place where they went over, and of the manner of their crossing. As well ye know, the Nile flows through Egypt, watering it by its floods, whence the Egyptians are known as dwellers on the Nile.* Many travellers relate that now its valley is covered with holy monasteries.* Upon its banks is situated Babylon, not the Babylon aforesaid, but another of the same name,* wherein Joseph builded granaries of wondrous workmanship with squared stones and mortar, more capacious at the base, but narrow at the top, so that the corn was cast into them through a small hole : these granaries are seen unto this day. From this city the king set forth to pursue the Hebrews, with hosts of chariots and a great force of foot-soldiers. Now the aforesaid river, coming from the east, flows west in the direction of the Red Sea.* But a lake or arm proceeds from the Red Sea, running from west to east, and having a length of about fifty miles, with a breadth of eighteen. At the head of this water is builded the city Clysma,* not because the place is fertile, since there is nothing more barren, but because of the harbour ; for by reason of its convenience, ships coming from India lie here, and the merchandise here collected is distributed through all the land of Egypt. The Hebrews, making their way through the desert to this arm, came to the sea itself, and because they found sweet water, pitched their camp. In this narrow space between the desert and the sea they halted, as it is written : ' And Pharaoh, hearing that the sea and the desert had shut them in, and that there was no way by which they might go farther, commanded that they should be pursued.' [1] Now when the army was nigh, the people cried to Moses, who by divine command stretched forth his rod over the sea, and it was parted, and they went over on dry land.

[1] Exod. xiv. 3. But the passage differs considerably from the Vulgate.

And as the Scripture says,[1] a wall of waters protecting them on every side, they passed over, led by Moses, and came wholly unharmed to the shore over against Mount Sinai, while the Egyptians were all drowned. Of this passage of the sea, as I have said, are narrated many things; but it hath been my care to insert in this book only that which I know to be true, hearing it from learned men, and from those who have visited the spot. They say that the ruts made by the chariot-wheels have remained even to this day, and are perceived at the bottom of the sea, as far as the sight of men's eyes can reach. If by the motion of the sea they are in some measure covered up, they are miraculously restored to their former state when there is calm again. Others say that the Israelites returned to the same bank from which they entered the water after making a small circuit in the sea. Others, again, assert that all went in at one place; yet others, misusing the testimony of the Psalms, 'Which divided the Red Sea into parts',[2] declare that before each tribe a separate way was opened. But these parts must be understood figuratively, and not according to the letter. For in this world also, which is figuratively called a sea, are many parts, nor can all pass over equally or by one way into life. For some cross at the first hour; these are they who, reborn by baptism, can endure to the end of their earthly life, unspotted from all defilement of the flesh.[3] And some cross at the third hour, even they who are converted at a greater age. And others pass at the sixth, even they who repress carnal lust. Each at his own hour, as the Evangelist says, they are hired, according to their faith, to work in the Lord's vineyard. Such are the parts in which this sea is crossed. But in favour of the belief that when they came to the sea they returned along the shore of that water, men quote the word which the Lord spake to Moses: 'that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon.'[4] Nor is it to be doubted that the passage of that sea and the pillar of cloud are types of our baptism, as the blessed apostle Paul says: 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant that all our fathers were under the cloud, and were all baptized unto Moses

[1] Exod. xiv. 22, but paraphrased.
[2] Ps. cxxxv. 13. [3] Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 1. [4] Exod. xiv. 2.

in the cloud and in the sea.'[1] The column of fire typifies the Holy Spirit.

From the birth of Abraham to the departure of the Children of Israel out of Egypt and the passage of the Red Sea, which took place in the eightieth year of Moses, are counted four hundred and sixty-two years.

11. Thereafter for forty years the Israelites dwelled in the desert, and were instructed in their laws. Then, having received the law, they crossed the Jordan with Joshua and obtained the promised land.

12. After the passing of Joshua they neglected the divine commandments and many times were brought under the yoke of strangers. But when they repented with groans, by the Lord's will they were set free by the arm of mighty men. After these things they asked of the Lord, through Samuel, that they might have a king like other peoples, and received Saul first, and afterwards David.

From Abraham to David are fourteen generations, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judas, Phares, Esrom, Aram, Aminadab, Naasson, Salma, Booz, Obeth, Jesse, David. Of Bathsheba David begat Solomon, who was raised to the throne by Nathan the prophet, his brother, and his mother.

13. After the death of David, when his son had begun to reign, the Lord appeared to him, and promised to grant whatsoever he should ask of Him. But he, despising earthly riches, sought rather wisdom. Which thing was approved of the Lord, so that He said to Solomon: Because thou hast not sought the kingdoms of the world, nor the riches thereof, but hast asked for thyself understanding, therefore shall it be given thee. There hath been none thus wise before thee, neither shall be any after thee.[2] And this was afterwards proven by the judgement which he gave between two women who disputed for a child. This Solomon builded to the name of the Lord a temple marvellously wrought, employing thereon much gold and silver, bronze and iron, so that there were some who said that never was building wrought like unto it in the world.

From the departure of the Children of Israel out of Egypt

[1] 1 Cor. x. 1, 2. Imperfectly quoted.

[2] Cf. 1 Kings iii. 11, 12. The passage is not quoted; only the general sense is given.

to the building of the Temple, which took place in the seventh year of Solomon's reign, are found four hundred and eighty years, as the history of the Kings bears witness.[1]

14. After the death of Solomon the kingdom was divided into two parts, by reason of the hardness of Roboam. Two tribes remained to Roboam, and received the name of Judah ; Jeroboam had ten tribes, which were called Israel. Thereafter they fell away into idolatry, and were subdued neither by the predictions of the prophets nor by their death, nor by the disasters of the land, nor even by the ruin of their kings.

15. Until the Lord was wroth, and raised up against them Nabuchodonosor, who carried them away captive to Babylon with all the ornaments of the Temple. Into this captivity went Daniel, the great prophet, unharmed among the hungry lions, and the Three Children, whom the dew covered in the midst of the flames. In this captivity also Ezekiel prophesied, and Esdras the prophet was born.

From David to the laying waste of the Temple and the passing over into Babylon are fourteen generations, namely : David, Solomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Ozia, Joatham, Achaz, Ezechia, Manasses, Amon, Josias ; these fourteen generations comprise three hundred and ninety years.* From this captivity the people were delivered by Zorobabel, who afterwards restored both the Temple and the city. Now I deem that this captivity typifies that into which the sinful soul is carried away ; and except it be delivered by Zorobabel, which is Christ, it shall undergo misery of exile. For the Lord Himself says in the Gospel: 'If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.'[2] May He therefore build Himself a temple within us in which He may dwell ; in which faith may shine as gold and the word of preaching gleam like silver, in which all the ornaments of that visible temple are bright in the integrity of our hearts. May He grant our good-will prosperous fulfilment, for : 'Except the Lord build the house their labour is in vain that build it.'[3] This captivity is said to have lasted seventy-six years.

16. The Israelites, brought back by Zorobabel as aforesaid, now murmured against God, now rushed after idols, and imitated the abominations of the Gentiles. While they despised

[1] 1 Kings vi. 1. [2] John viii. 36. [3] Ps. cxxvi. 1.

the prophets of God, they were given over to the Gentiles, enslaved, and slain, until the Lord Himself, promised by the voice of patriarchs and prophets, and through the Holy Ghost entering the womb of the Virgin Mary, deigned to be born for the redemption of this as for all other peoples.

From the going into captivity to the birth of Christ are fourteen generations: Jechonias, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Abiud, Heliachim, Azor, Sadoc, Ioachim, Heliuth, Heleazar, Mathan, Jacob, Joseph, spouse of Mary, of whom our Lord Jesus Christ was born. Which Joseph is counted as the fourteenth.*

17. But lest we seem to have knowledge of no people save the Hebrews, we now make mention of the other kingdoms, saying which and of what nature they were in the time of the Israelites. In the days of Abraham Ninus reigned over the Assyrians, and Europs over the Sicyonians; among the Egyptians ruled the sixteenth domination which in their tongue * was called a dynasty. In the time of Moses Trophas reigned as seventh king of the Argives, and Cecrops as first king in Attica; Cenchris,[1] who was overwhelmed in the Red Sea, was twelfth king of the Egyptians; * Agatadis was sixteenth ruler of the Assyrians, and Maratis ruled over the Sicyonians. In the time when Solomon reigned in Israel, Silvius was fifth king of Latium, Festus ruled the Lacedaemonians, Oxion was second king of the Corinthians, Thephei governed the Egyptians as hundred and twentieth king. Eutropes reigned over the Assyrians; Agasastus was second king of the Athenians. At the time when Amon reigned over Judaea, and when the people went captive into Babylon, Argaeus was king over the Macedonians, Gyges over the Lydians, Vafres over the Egyptians; Nabuchodonosor, who led Israel captive, reigned in Babylon; Servius was sixth king of the Romans.[2]

18. After these the first imperial ruler was Julius Caesar, who won sole authority over the whole empire.* The second was Octavianus, grandson of Julius and known as Augustus, after whom the month of August is named. In the nineteenth year of his reign,* as we learn beyond all doubt, was founded Lyons—the city of Gaul—which was afterwards made illus-

[1] Twelfth in his dynasty.

[2] The contents of this whole chapter are taken from the Chronicle of Eusebius.

trious by the blood of the martyrs and bears a most noble name among cities.[1]

19. In the forty-fourth year of the reign of Augustus our Lord Jesus Christ, as I have related, was born, according to the flesh, of the Virgin Mary in Bethlehem, the city of David. The wise men, beholding His great star in the East, came with gifts and, making their offerings, humbly adored the Child. Herod, fearing for his kingdom, and striving to discover Christ our God, did to death the tender infants. But he himself was afterwards stricken by the divine judgement.

20. Our Lord and God Jesus Christ preached repentance, bestowed the grace of baptism, promised the heavenly kingdom to all nations, and wrought signs and wonders among the peoples. He brought forth wine, namely, from water, quenched fevers, gave sight to the blind, restored life to those that were buried, set free those possessed by unclean spirits, made whole lepers squalid with the miserable disease of their skin. While He wrought these and many other miracles, He manifestly declared His godhead to the peoples, till the Jews were inflamed to wrath and excited to envy; thus did the minds of a race fed on the blood of the prophets now unjustly strive to destroy the just. Therefore, that the oracles of the prophets of old might be fulfilled, He was betrayed by His own disciple, wickedly condemned by the high priests, mocked by the Jews, and crucified with malefactors; His body, when the breath was gone out, was guarded by soldiers. When these things were done, there came to pass darkness over all the earth, and many were converted with groans, confessing Jesus the Son of God.

21. Joseph, who had embalmed the body with spices and laid it in his own tomb, was seized and imprisoned in a cell, where he was guarded by the high priests themselves. As is related in the Acts of Pilate * sent to the emperor Tiberius, they showed in this a greater fierceness in their hate against him than against our Lord Himself, who was guarded only by soldiers, but he by the priests. But at the resurrection of the Lord the guards were terrified by the vision of the angel, when He was not found in the tomb; and by night the walls of the cell in which Joseph was confined were raised up on high;

[1] Lyons was actually founded in 43 B. C.

and an angel loosed him, setting him free from his imprisonment, while the walls were restored to their former place.* And when the priests reproached the guards, and instantly required of them the sacred body, the soldiers said to them: 'Do ye bring back Joseph and we will bring back Christ; but, to speak the truth, neither can ye restore God's benefactor, nor we His Son.' Thereat the priests were confounded; and on this plea the soldiers were suffered to go free.

22. When the apostle James had seen the Lord already dead upon the Cross, he is said to have vowed with an oath that he would not eat bread until he beheld the Lord risen again. And the Lord, coming again at last, upon the third day, after having triumphantly vanquished Hell,* revealed Himself to James, saying: 'Arise, James, and eat, for now am I risen from the dead.' * This was that James the Just, whom they call the brother of the Lord, because he was the son of Joseph by another wife than Mary.

23. Now in our belief the Resurrection of the Lord was on the first day, and not on the seventh, as many deem. This is the day of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ which, on account of this His holy rising again, we properly call the Lord's Day. As at the Creation this was the first day to see the light, so likewise was it worthy first to look upon the Lord rising from the tomb.

From the captivity of Jerusalem and the desolation of the Temple to the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, to the seventeenth year of Tiberius, are computed [six hundred and sixty-eight years].*

24. The Lord being therefore risen again, was for forty days discoursing with His disciples of the Kingdom of God; thereafter He was taken up in a cloud from their sight and carried into heaven, where He sitteth in glory at the right hand of the Father. Pilate sent to Tiberius Caesar a report of what was done, and told him of the miracles of Christ, of His Passion and Resurrection: this report is preserved in writing to this day among us.[1] Tiberius laid it before the Senate; but the senators rejected it in wrath because it had not been laid before them first. Hence grew up the first seeds of hatred against the Christians. But Pilate did not remain unpunished

[1] Cf. above, ch. 21.

for his wickedness and his crime, that is, for the violent death which he inflicted on our Lord Jesus Christ, for he slew himself with his own hands. Many deem him to have been a Manichaean,* according to that which is read in the Gospel: 'There came certain which told him of the Galilaeans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices.' [1] Likewise Herod the king,* raging against the Lord's apostles, was stricken from heaven for such great crimes; swelling up and swarming with worms, he took a knife to ease his malady, and smote himself with his own hand.

25. Under Claudius, fourth emperor from Augustus, the blessed apostle Peter came to Rome and, preaching there, plainly proved Christ, through His manifold virtues, to be the Son of God. From those days there began to be Christians in the city of Rome. But when the name of Christ spread more and more among the peoples, there arose against it the old envy of the serpent, and a fierce malice filled the whole heart of the emperor. For Nero the wanton, vain, and arrogant, who abandoned himself to men and abused them in his turn, the filthy violator of his mother, of his sisters, and whatsoever women were nearest to him in blood, to complete the heavy sum of his wickedness, became the first to raise up persecution against the believers and oppose the worship of Christ. He had with him Simon Magus, one full of all wickedness and master of the whole art of magic. This man was rejected by the Lord's apostles Peter and Paul; [2] and the emperor, moved to wrath against them because they preached Christ the Son of God and scorned to worship idols, commanded that Peter should be slain on the cross, and Paul with the sword. He himself died by his own hand at the fourth milestone from the city, while seeking to escape from a rebellion stirred up against him.

26. At that time also James, the brother of the Lord, and Mark the Evangelist were crowned with glorious martyrdom for the name of Christ. But the first of all to enter upon this path was Stephen, deacon and martyr. After the death of the apostle James, great calamity befell the Jews. For Vespasian came into their land, the Temple was burned, and six hundred

[1] Luke xiii. 1.

[2] Peter and John are mentioned in Acts (viii. 14).

thousand Jews perished in the war by famine and by the sword. Domitian, after Nero, was the second emperor to rage against the Christians; he banished the apostle John to the island of Patmos, and set in movement divers cruelties against the peoples. After his death the blessed John, apostle and Evangelist, returned from exile; when old and full of days, and of a life lived perfectly towards God, he laid himself while yet alive in the tomb. It is said that he shall not taste of death until the Lord shall come again at Judgement. For the Lord Himself says in the Gospel: 'I will that he tarry until I come.'[1]

27. The third, after Nero, to set on foot persecution of the Christians was Trajan. In his reign the blessed Clement, third bishop of the Roman Church, suffered death; it is declared that likewise the holy Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem and son of Cleophas, was crucified for the name of Christ; and Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was taken to Rome and delivered over to wild beasts. These things were done in the days of Trajan.

28. After him, Helius[2] Adrianus was created emperor; from this successor of Domitian Jerusalem received the name of Helia, from Helius Adrianus the emperor. After these martyrdoms of saints, it did not suffice the Adversary * to have excited unbelieving peoples against the followers of Christ; he must needs also rouse schisms among the Christians themselves. He stirred up heresies; the Catholic faith was divided and torn in different ways. For in the reign of Antoninus arose the mad heresy of Marcion and Valentinus; * and Justin the philosopher,* after writing his books in defence of the Catholic Church, was crowned with martyrdom for the name of Christ. And in Asia, a persecution arising, the most blessed Polycarp, the disciple of John the apostle and Evangelist, was consecrated by fire to the Lord, a most pure burnt-offering, in the eightieth year of his age. In Gaul also * many were crowned with celestial gems, martyrs for the name of Christ: the history of whose Passions is faithfully preserved among us to this day.

29. The first among these was Photinus, bishop of Lyons, who, full of days and tried by diverse tortures, suffered for

[1] John xxi. 22.
[2] For Aelius, as Helia (below) for Aelia.

the name of Christ. The most blessed Irenaeus, successor of this martyr, and sent to the city by the blessed Polycarp, shone forth with admirable light and virtue. In a brief space of time, chiefly by his preaching, he made the whole city Christian. But on the coming of persecution the Devil maintained such wars there by the hand of a tyrant, and so great a multitude of Christians were murdered there for confessing the Lord's name, that the streets ran with streams of Christian blood, so that we are unable to tell their number or to collect their names; but the Lord hath written them in the Book of Life. This executioner, after causing divers tortures to be inflicted on the blessed Irenaeus in his presence, dedicated him by martyrdom to Christ the Lord. After Irenaeus, forty-eight other martyrs suffered death, of whom we read that Vettius Epagathus was the first.

28 (30). Under the emperor Decius there arose many wars against the Christian name, and the believers were slaughtered in such numbers that they could not be counted. Babillas, bishop of Antioch, with three children, Urbanus, Prilidanus, and Epolon; further, Xystus, bishop of the Church of Rome, Laurentius the archdeacon, and Hippolytus, attained the martyr's end, confessing the name of the Lord. Valentinianus and Novatianus were now the chief leaders of the heretics, and under the impulsion of the Enemy, raged against our faith. At this time seven men consecrated as bishops were sent into Gaul to preach, as we read in the history of the Passion of the holy martyr Saturninus.* It is there written: 'In the consulate of Decius and Gratus, as is faithfully recorded, the city of Toulouse had already its first and greatest bishop in the holy Saturninus.' These are the names of those who were sent: to Tours, Bishop Catinus;[1] to Arles, Bishop Trophimus; to Narbonne, Bishop Paulus; to Toulouse, Bishop Saturninus; to Paris, Bishop Dionysius; to Clermont, Bishop Stremonius; to Limoges, Bishop Martialis. Of these, the blessed Dionysius, bishop of Paris, after enduring divers torments for the name of Christ, ended this present life under the sword. Saturninus, when he was certain of his martyrdom, said to two of his priests: 'Behold now am I made a sacrifice, and the time of my dissolution is at hand. I pray you that

[1] This should be Gatianus.

until my destined end be accomplished, ye leave me not wholly.' But when he had been arrested and was being led to the Capitol, he was dragged thither alone, for these twain forsook him. When therefore he saw that they had abandoned him, he is said to have prayed after this manner : ' Lord Jesus Christ, hear me from Thy holy heaven, and grant that to the end of time this Church may never have a citizen of Toulouse for her bishop.' And we know that it hath never so befallen in that city until the present time. Saturninus was bound at the heels of a maddened bull and driven headlong from the Capitol, so ending his life. Gatianus, Trophimus, Stremonius, Paul, and Martial, after lives passed in the greatest sanctity, during which they won over much people to the Church, and spread the faith of Christ on every hand, passed from the world in the glad confession of their faith. In this wise leaving this earth, the first as martyrs, the rest as confessors, they were all together united in heaven.

31. Now one of their disciples * went to the city of Bourges and brought the people tidings of the salvation of all mankind through Christ the Lord. A few only believed ; these were ordained priests, and learned the manner of chanting psalms ; they were likewise instructed in the method of building churches and properly celebrating the rites due to Almighty God. As they had as yet small resources for building, they begged the house of a certain citizen to serve as a church. But those of senatorial family, and other chief men of the place, were at that time in the bonds of heathen worship, while the new believers belonged to the poor, according to the words of the Lord [1] when He rebuked the Jews, saying : ' The harlots and the publicans go into the kingdom of heaven before you.' Failing therefore to obtain the house which they sought, they repaired to a certain Leucadius,* the first senator of Gaul, belonging to the family of that Vettius Epagathus whose death at Lyons for the name of Christ we have recorded above.[2] When they had made known to him their faith and their petition, he made this answer : ' If the house which I possess at Bourges should prove worthy of such use I should not refuse to give it.' At these words they prostrated themselves at his feet and offered him three hundred pieces of gold

[1] Matt. xxi. 31. [2] p. 20.

with a silver salver, saying that the house was well fitted for this mystery. Thereupon he took three pieces of gold to bring him a blessing, generously excusing them payment of the rest. At this time he was still fast bound in the errors of idolatry, but now became a Christian and turned his house into a church. It is to-day the first church of Bourges, constructed with wondrous workmanship, and made illustrious by the relics of the first martyr, Stephen.

29 (32). The imperial throne of Rome was occupied by Valerian and Gallienus, twenty-seventh in order of succession, who in their days set on foot a serious persecution of the Christians. At that time Cornelius * ennobled Rome and Cyprian * Carthage with the shedding of their glorious blood. In their time also Chroc, king of the Alamanni,* levied his army and overran Gaul. This Chroc is said to have been a man of the utmost arrogance. Having done various wicked deeds, at the instigation, as it is said, of a wicked mother, he mustered, as I have noted, the Alamannic people and overran all Gaul, overthrowing from the foundations every building erected in ancient times. Reaching Clermont, he burned, tore down, and wholly overthrew the shrine which the Gauls in their language called Vasso Galatae,* a structure wondrously wrought with a double wall, fashioned within of small stones and without of great stones hewn square, and thirty feet thick. The interior was various with marble and mosaic ; the floor was paved with marble, and the roof covered with lead.

33. Near this city rest the martyrs Liminius and Antolianus. Here, too, Cassius and Victorinus, joined as brothers in the love of Christ, pouring out their blood, together won the kingdom of heaven. They of old time relate that Victorinus was slave to a priest of the above-named temple. He often went into the quarter called the quarter of the Christians to persecute the inhabitants, and there found Cassius, the Christian, whose preaching and miracles so moved him that he believed on Christ. He abandoned the wretched state of heathendom,* was consecrated by baptism, and became a famous worker of miracles. Not long after, as I have said, these two, who had been companions upon earth, passed therefrom together into the kingdom of heaven.

34. During the irruption of the Alamanni into Gaul, the

holy Privatus, bishop of Javols,* was found in a cave of the mountain near Mende, where he was devoting himself to prayer and fasting, the people having shut themselves up within the defences of the strong place of Grèzes.* As the good shepherd refused to abandon his sheep to the wolves, they sought to make him sacrifice to demons. With execration he refused the foul deed, whereupon he was beaten with rods until he was believed to be dead; and indeed within a few days he breathed his last from the effects of these shattering blows. Chroc was captured at the city of Arles in Gaul, and tortured in divers ways; he perished stricken by the sword, justly making retribution for the sufferings that he had inflicted on the saints of God.

35. Under Diocletian, thirty-third Roman emperor, there arose a great persecution against the Christians, which lasted four years, so that on one occasion, even on the most holy day of Easter, great multitudes of Christians were slain for the worship of the true God. At that time Quirinus, bishop of the church of Siscia,[1] underwent a glorious martyrdom for the name of Christ. The savage pagans tied a millstone to his neck and thrust him into the stream of the river. But when he had fallen therein, he floated for a long time on the water through the divine power, nor might the waters swallow up one whom no weight of sin pressed down. The multitude which stood round, marvelling at what was done, ran to the aid of their priest, reckless of the fury of the Gentiles. But he, seeing their intent, would not endure to be withdrawn from martyrdom, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said: 'Lord Jesus, Thou who sittest in glory at the right hand of the Father, suffer me not to be taken from this course that I run, but receive my soul and deign to join me to Thy martyrs in eternal rest.' With these words he gave up the ghost. His body was taken up by the Christians and reverently committed to the earth.

36. Constantine was the thirty-fourth to hold the imperial power of Rome; he reigned in prosperity for thirty years. In the eleventh year of his reign, when peace was restored to the churches after the death of Diocletian, in the town of Sabaria * in Pannonia the most blessed bishop Martin was born of pagan parents, though not of the lowest rank. This Constantine, in

[1] Sissek on the Save, in Hungary.

the twentieth year of his reign, put to death his son Crispus by poison, and his wife Fausta * by the heat of a bath, believing that they purposed treason against his throne. In his time the venerable wood of the Lord's Cross was discovered * through the zeal of his mother Helen, the Hebrew Judas revealing the spot, who was afterwards baptized and named Quiriacus.

The historian Eusebius carried his chronicle down to this time. From the twenty-first year of Constantine it was continued by the priest Jerome ; * he relates that, at the request of this emperor, the priest Juvencus * wrote a metrical version of the Gospels.

37. In the reign of Constans lived James of Nisibis,* to whose prayers the ears of the divine mercy were inclined, averting many perils from his city. Maximinus, also, bishop of Trèves,* was proved mighty in all holiness.

38. In the nineteenth year of Constantine the younger * died the monk Antonius * in the hundred and fifth year of his age. The most blessed Hilary, bishop of Poitiers,* was sent into banishment at the persuasion of the heretics. In his exile he composed works in support of the Catholic faith, and sent them to Constantius, who ordered his release in the fourth year of his exile, and permitted him to return home.

30 (39). At that time also dawned our light, with new rays passing throughout Gaul. By this I mean that the most blessed Martin now began to preach in Gaul,* by many miracles declaring to the peoples that Christ the Son of God is Himself very God, and turning aside the unbelief of the Gentiles. He destroyed temples, suppressed heresy, erected churches, and after winning splendour of renown by many other miracles, fulfilled his glory by restoring three dead men to life. In the fourth year of Valentinian and Valens, at Poitiers, the holy Hilary passed from earth to heaven,[1] full of holiness and faith, and endowed with many virtues.* He, too, is said to have raised the dead to life.

31 (40). Melania, a noble matron dwelling in Rome, went of her piety to Jerusalem, leaving her son Urbanus at Rome. In such goodness and holiness did she walk in the sight of all men that she received from the inhabitants the name of Thecla.*

32 (41). After the death of Valentinian, Valens succeeded

[1] 13th Jan. 367 or 368.

as ruler of the whole empire ; he commanded the enforcement of military service upon all monks,* ordering those who refused to be flogged. The Romans later waged a most bloody war in Thrace ; so great was the slaughter that the cavalry lost their horses and escaped on foot. They were smitten by the Goths with terrible carnage ; Valens fled, wounded by an arrow, and made his way into a poor hovel where the enemy came upon him and burned the hut down over his head, so that he was deprived of the burial which is the common desire of man. Such was the course of the divine vengeance, launched at length for the blood of the saints which he had shed.

So far Jerome ; the events from this time onward are written by the priest Orosius.*

33 (42). The emperor Gratian, seeing the state left defenceless, made Theodosius his colleague in the empire. This Theodosius placed all his hope and confidence in the mercy of God. It was rather by vigils and prayers than by the sword that he held in check many nations, gave the state new strength, and made victorious entry into Constantinople.

34 (43). Maximus, after oppressing the Britons under his tyranny and achieving victory, was created emperor by the soldiers. Establishing his residence at Trèves, he took the emperor Gratian by stratagem and put him to death. The blessed Martin, who was now a bishop, visited this Maximus. The aforesaid Theodosius, who had placed all his hope in God, assumed control of the whole empire in the place of Gratian, and afterwards, stayed upon the divine support, stripped Maximus of the imperial power and put him to death.

44. At Clermont, Stremonius, bishop and preacher, was succeeded by Bishop Urbicus, a convert of senatorial family, who was married. According to the custom of the Church, his wife lived religiously apart, not cohabiting with the bishop, and both devoted themselves to prayer, charity, and good works. This being their way of life, the envious malice of the Enemy, ever jealous of holiness, was aroused against the woman, whom he inflamed to desire of her husband, making of her a new Eve. For she was kindled by concupiscence, and, covered with the darkness of sin, made her way through the shadows of night to the church house.* Finding all shut fast, she began beating upon the doors of the house, and crying out

with some such words as these: 'How long wilt thou sleep, O bishop? how long wilt thou refuse to open these closed doors? Wherefore spurnest thou thy spouse? Wherefore dost thou harden thine ears to the precepts of Paul, who hath thus written: "Return one to the other, lest the Devil tempt you"?[1] Lo! now I do return to thee, and to no strange vessel but to that which is mine own.' As she continued a long time crying these words or the like, the scruples of the bishop at last grew faint; he caused her to be admitted to his chamber, and having lain with her, bade her depart. Afterwards he came to himself all too late, and to do penance for his misdeed withdrew to a monastery of his diocese; there having atoned for his offence with groans and tears, he returned to his own city. Having finished the course of his life, he departed from this world. Of his wife's conception was born a daughter, who passed her life in religion. The bishop was buried near the public way in a crypt at Chantoin * with his wife and daughter. Legonus was made bishop in his place.

45. On the death of Legonus the holy Hillidius succeeded, a man eminent in sanctity and excellent in virtue,* who shone with such sanctity that his fame reached even foreign lands. Whence it befell that he was summoned by the emperor[2] to Trèves and freed his daughter from an unclean spirit; all which I have recounted in the book in which I have written concerning his life.[3] He is said to have lived to a ripe old age, and to have passed to Christ, having finished the course of this life full of days and of good works; he was buried in a crypt * in the outskirts of Clermont. He had an archdeacon well named Justus, who, after completing the journey of this life with good works, was buried in the same tomb with his master. After the passing of the blessed confessor Hillidius, so many miracles were manifested at his glorious tomb that the tale of all might neither be recorded nor remembered. His successor was the holy Nepotianus.

46. Now the holy Nepotianus was reckoned the fourth bishop of Clermont.[4] Envoys were at this time sent to Spain from Trèves, one of whom, Artemius, a man admirable for his wisdom and comeliness, and in the flower of his young manhood, was

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 5.
[2] Maximus (383–388).
[3] V. P., ch. ii.
[4] i. e. from Stremonius.

attacked by a violent fever. The rest went on, leaving him sick at Clermont: he had been betrothed at Trèves. After being visited by the holy Nepotianus and anointed with sacred oil, by the Lord's grace he was restored to health. And having received the word of exhortation from the same holy man, he forgot alike his earthly betrothed and his own riches, and joined himself to holy Church. He became a cleric and advanced so far in holiness that he succeeded the holy Nepotianus in ruling the folds of the Lord's flock.

47. At the same period, Injuriosus,* a wealthy man of a senatorial family in Auvergne, sought in marriage a girl of his own order; the dowry was paid, and the day of the wedding fixed. Each was an only child. When the day arrived and the marriage service had been celebrated, the pair, according to custom, were placed in the same bed. But the maid was grievously afflicted, turning to the wall and weeping bitterly. To whom the bridegroom: 'Wherefore art thou troubled? tell me, I entreat thee.' She still kept silent, and he continued: 'I beseech thee, by Jesus Christ the Son of God, explain all to me, that I may understand the cause of thy grief.' Thereupon she turned towards him and said: 'Were I to go weeping all my days, never could I shed tears enough to wash away the measureless grief now in my breast. For I had resolved to keep my poor body for Christ, pure from the contact of man. But woe is me, who am in such wise forsaken of Him that I availed not to carry out my desire; and now on this day, which would I had not lived to see, I have lost that which I have preserved from the beginning of my life. For lo! forsaken by Christ,* the immortal, who promised me Paradise for dower, it is my lot to be made the consort of a mortal man. In place of unfading roses, I have, not for adornment but for disfigurement, the roses that fade away. And whereas by the fourfold stream of the Lamb * I should have put on the stole of purity, this robe hath shown itself a burden, not a glory. But wherefore draw we out this talk? Unhappy I, whose lot should have been Heaven, but who to-day am plunged in the abyss. Oh, if this was my fate, why was not the first day of my life also my last? Oh, would that I had entered the gate of death before I was nourished at my mother's breast! Oh that the kisses

of my dearest parents had been showered upon me in my death! For the precious things of this world are loathly to me; I lift up my eyes to the Redeemer's hands, pierced for the life of the world. And I look no longer on diadems sparkling with finest gems, for with the eye of the mind I gaze upon that crown of thorns. I abhor thy great estate extending far and wide, for I desire the joys of Paradise. Loathed are thy chambers * when I behold the Lord seated above the stars.' To her, pouring forth such plaints with many tears, the youth, moved by compassion, thus replied: 'We are the only children of parents, the most noble in Auvergne, who desire our union to perpetuate their line, that no foreign heir should succeed them when they depart from this life.' She made answer: 'The earth is naught; wealth is naught; the pomp of this world is naught. Naught likewise is this life which we enjoy; but rather should we seek the life not closed by the death that maketh end of all, which is not wasted by any disease, or cut off by any accident. Therein man, abiding in eternal bliss, liveth in a light that setteth not, and, a greater thing than all this, translated to the angelic state and in the very presence of the Lord, enjoying ever fresh contemplation, rejoiceth with indissoluble joy.' To this he answered: 'Through this thy sweetest eloquence, eternal life hath shone upon me, as it were a mighty radiance. If therefore it be thy will to abstain from fleshly desires, I will join thee in thy resolve.' She replied: 'It is hard for the male sex to grant this thing to women. Yet if thou so orderest all that we remain unspotted in the world, I will share with thee the dower promised me by my spouse, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I have vowed myself as handmaiden and bride.' Thereto, armed with the sign of the Cross,* he answered: 'I will do that which thou enjoinest.' They clasped hands, and gave themselves to sleep. And afterwards for many years they lay in one bed, living together in laudable chastity. Which was afterwards declared in their death. For when, her life's battle done, the maid passed to Christ and the man had done all things for her burial, as he laid her in the tomb he spake thus: 'I give Thee thanks, everlasting Lord, that I render to Thy loving care in all its purity this treasure which I received from Thee in trust.' Whereupon she answered with a smile:

'Wherefore speakest thou so when none questioned thee?' And not long afterwards he followed her to the grave. Their tombs were placed by different walls, and now was revealed a miracle without its like, to make manifest their chastity. For when the people came to the place in the morning, they found the tombs side by side, though they had left them far apart. Which thing shows that when two are united in heaven, the tomb that holds their bodies buried may not keep them asunder. The people of that place have chosen to call these twain 'The Two Lovers' until this day. And I myself have told their story in my book of Miracles.[1]

35 (48). In the second year of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius the holy Martin, bishop of Tours, full of virtues * and holiness, and doer of many good deeds to the sick, left this world at Candes,* a village of his diocese, and passed to Christ [2] in the eighty-first year of his life and the twenty-sixth of his bishopric. He passed at midnight, on a Sunday, in the consulship of Atticus and Caesarius. And many at his passing heard a chanting in the sky, which I have more fully set forth in the first book of his Miracles.[3] As soon as the holy man of God fell ill, as I have said, at Candes, the people of Poitiers and Tours came together to be present at his death. After his passing, there arose great altercation between the two peoples. For the men of Poitiers said: 'As monk, he was ours; he became abbot among us; we demand back him whom we entrusted to you. For you let it suffice that while he was a bishop in this world ye enjoyed his converse, sat at his table, were strengthened by his blessings, and above all made glad by his miracles. Let therefore all these things suffice for you; but be it permitted to us to bear away at least his lifeless body.' To this the men of Tours made answer: 'Ye declare that we should be content with the miracles done among us; but know that while his place was among you, he wrought more than he did here. For, to say nothing of the greater number, he raised two persons from the dead for you, and for us but one; and as he himself would often say, the power was greater in him before he was made bishop than after. Therefore it needs must be that what he left unfulfilled during his life among us he should complete now in his death.

[1] G. C., ch. 31. [2] 8th or 11th Nov. A. D. 397. [3] V. S. M. i. 4–5.

From you God took him away ; to us God gave him. And if the custom instituted of old be now preserved, he shall by God's will have burial in the city in which he was consecrated. But take heed that ye mark this : if ye would claim him because ye have his monastery, know that his first monastery was at Milan.' * The sun went down on their dispute, and it was full night. The doors were locked, and both parties kept watch over the body which lay between them. The men of Poitiers meant to carry it off by force upon the morrow, but Almighty God would not have the city of Tours deprived of its own patron. So in the dead of night the whole troop from Poitiers was overcome with sleep ; of all the multitude there remained not one who kept vigil. Now when the men of Tours saw them fallen asleep, they took up the mortal clay of that most holy body, and while some passed it out through a window, others received it outside ; then they placed it in a boat, and the whole people went with it down the stream of the Vienne. And as soon as they entered the stream of the Loire, they steered for the city of Tours, with loud songs of praise and abundant chanting. Their voices roused the men of Poitiers, who, robbed of the treasure which they wished to guard, returned home sore confounded.

If any should ask the reason why from the death of Bishop Gatianus down to the time of the holy Martin there was only one bishop, namely Litorius, let him understand that for long years the pagans made head against us, and so the city of Tours was deprived of priestly benediction. The Christians of those times had to celebrate the sacred office secretly and by stealth. For if any were discovered to be Christians by the pagans, they were either beaten or beheaded with the sword.

From the Passion of the Lord to the passing of the holy Martin are counted four hundred and twelve years.

HERE IS THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK. IT INCLUDES FIVE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX YEARS, RECKONED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD DOWN TO THE PASSING OF THE HOLY MARTIN

BOOK II

[BOOK THE SECOND]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK

Of the episcopate of Brice.

I. (2) Of the Vandals and the persecution of Christians under them.

II. (3) Of Cyrola, bishop of the heretics, and of the holy martyrs.

III. (4) Of the persecution set on foot under Athanaric.

IV. (5) Of Bishop Aravatius and the Huns.

V. (6) Of the basilica of the holy Stephen at Metz.

VI. (7) Of the wife of Aëtius.

VII. (8) What the chroniclers have written concerning Aëtius.

VIII. (9) What they tell concerning the Franks.

IX. (10) What the prophets of the Lord write concerning idols.

X. (11) Of the emperor Avitus.

XI. (12) Of King Childeric and Egidius.

XII. (13) Of the episcopate of Venerandus and Rusticus of Auvergne.

14. Of the episcopate of Eustochius of Tours, and of Perpetuus, and of the basilica of the holy Martin.

15. Of the church of the holy Symphorian.

16. Of Bishop Namatius and the Church in Auvergne.

17. Of his wife and the church of the holy Stephen.

XIII. (18) How Childeric came to Orleans, and Odovacar to Angers.

XIV. (19) The war between the Saxons and the Romans.

XV. (20) Of Duke Victorius.

21. Of Bishop Eparchius.

22. Of Bishop Sidonius.

23. Of the holiness of Bishop Sidonius, and how divine vengeance requited the wrongs done to him.

XVI. (24) Of the famine in Burgundy, and of Ecdicius.

XVII. (25) Of Evarex the persecutor.

26. Of the death of the holy Perpetuus, and of the episcopate of Volusianus and Virus.

XVIII. (27) How Clovis received the kingdom.
XIX. (28) How Clovis received Clotild.
XX. (29) Of their firstborn son and his death soon after baptism.
XXI. (30) The war against the Alamanni.
XXII. (31) Of the baptism of Clovis.
XXIII. (32) The war against Gundobad.
XXIV. (33) Of the death of Godigisel.
XXV. (34) How Gundobad would be converted.
XXVI. (35) How Clovis and Alaric came face to face.
36. Of Bishop Quintianus.
XXVII. (37) The war with Alaric.
XXVIII. (38) Of the patriciate of King Clovis.
39. Of Bishop Licinius.
XXIX. (40) Of the death of Sigibert the elder and his son.
XXX. (41) Of the death of Chararic and his son.
XXXI. (42) Of the death of Ragnachar and his brother.
XXXII. (43) Of the death of Clovis.

HERE IS THE END OF THE CHAPTERS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 397 to 511.]

HERE BEGINS THE SECOND BOOK

I FOLLOW farther the order of the times, relating indiscriminately as they befell the miraculous deeds of holy men and the calamities of peoples. I think it will not be held unreasonable that I recount the happy lives of blessed men amid the disasters of the unfortunate, since this follows not from the carelessness of the writer but the course of events as they befell. For if an eager reader inquire with diligence, he will discover, even in the histories of the children of Israel, that sacrilegious Phineas perished under Samuel the just; and that Goliath the Gentile fell under that David who was called the strong of arm. Let him remember how many disasters befell the nations, how many famines and droughts oppressed the unhappy earth even in the days of the noble prophet Elias, who removed the rains at will or caused them to pour upon the parched ground when he pleased, and by his prayer transformed the poverty of the widow into riches; then how many ills Jerusalem endured in the time of Hezekiah, whose life God increased by fifteen years. And even in the days of the prophet Elisha, who restored the dead to life and wrought many other miracles among the peoples, how many were the massacres and miseries which oppressed the people of Israel. Thus Eusebius, Severus, and Jerome in their chronicles, likewise Orosius, have inwoven together the wars of kings and the miracles of the martyrs. Therefore we also have written in such wise, that the order of the centuries and the computation of the years down to our own day may be learned in their completeness. Having therefore followed to this point the histories of the above-named authors, we will now, by God's will, proceed to the relation of subsequent events.

1. Now after the death of the blessed Martin, bishop of Tours, most exalted and incomparable among men, whose miracles are recorded in great volumes preserved among us, Brice succeeded to the episcopate.* This Brice when he was quite young would often seek to entrap the holy Martin, then

living in the flesh, because he used to rebuke him for pursuing trivial things.* One day, when a certain sick man came to the blessed Martin to be healed, he met Brice, then a deacon, in the street, and said in his simplicity: 'I am waiting for the holy man, but know not where he is, or what he is doing.' To whom Brice: 'If thou seekest that crazed fellow look yonder. According to his wont, he is sky-gazing, as one that hath lost his wits.' After the poor man had been received and had obtained that for which he asked, the saint thus addressed the deacon: 'And so, Brice, thou deemest me crazed?' When the other in confusion denied that he had said any such thing, the holy man continued: 'Were not my ears at thy lips when thou saidst it all that distance away? I say to thee, So be it, I have obtained of the Lord that when I pass from the world thou shalt attain the dignity of this bishopric. But know that as bishop thou art destined to suffer much adversity.' At this Brice laughed, and said: 'Was I not right to maintain that the speech of this man is madness?' Even after his promotion to the priesthood he often vexed the saint by his abuse. But when he had obtained the bishopric by the consent of his fellow citizens, he devoted himself to prayer; for though arrogant and vain, he was yet regarded as a man chaste of body. But in the thirty-third year of his episcopate, a lamentable charge was brought against him. For a woman to whom his servants used to give his clothes to wash, and who to seem one of the religious had changed her garb, conceived and bore a child. Whereupon all the populace of Tours arose in wrath and laid the whole guilt on the bishop, seeking as one man to stone him. 'Too long', they cried, 'hath the kindliness of the saint concealed thy profligacy. But God will suffer us no longer to be polluted by kissing thine unworthy hands.' But he stoutly denied the charge, and said: 'Bring the child to me.' And when the infant, then thirty days old, was brought, Brice said to him: 'I adjure thee by Jesus Christ the Son of God, if I am thy father, to declare it before all.' The child replied: 'Thou art not my father.' And when the people now asked him to inquire who the father was, the servant of God replied: 'That is not for me to do. I was concerned for that which affected me; if ye would know more, put the question yourselves.' Thereupon, asserting that these things were done by magic arts, they

rose against him with one consent, and dragged him away, crying out: 'Thou shalt no longer have lordship over us, usurping the name of our pastor.' Then, to satisfy the people, he placed live coals in his thick robe and drawing it close to him proceeded with the whole crowd to the tomb of the holy Martin. There he flung down the coals before the sepulchre, and lo! his garment appeared unburned. And he said further: 'As ye see this garment unharmed by this fire, even so is my body undefiled by the embrace of woman.' Yet they would not believe, but gave him the lie; and they dragged him with them and reviled him, and cast him out, that the saying of the saint might be fulfilled: 'Know that in thy episcopate thou shalt suffer much adversity.' And when they had expelled him they made Justinian bishop. Then Brice sought the pope of Rome, weeping and making loud lament, and said: 'I deserve so to suffer, because I sinned against the holy man of God; many a time I called him mad and crazed, and would not believe in miracles plain to see.' Upon his departure the people of Tours said to their new bishop: 'Go after him, and look to thine own cause, for if thou dost not follow, thou shalt be despised of all.' So Justinian left Tours and came to Vercellae, a city of Italy; there, smitten by the judgement of God, he died in a foreign land. When the people of Tours heard of his death, they persisted in their evil way, and appointed Armentius in his stead. But Brice the bishop, coming to Rome, told the pope all that he had suffered. And residing at the apostolic see, and frequently celebrating Mass, he wept for all his offences against the holy man of God. After seven years he quitted Rome and prepared with the pope's sanction to return to Tours. And arriving at a village called Mont-Louis, six miles from the city, he abode there. But Armentius was seized by a fever, and at dead of night gave up the ghost. This being revealed in a vision to Brice the bishop, he said to those of his company: 'Rise up with all speed and let us hasten to the burial of our brother the bishop of Tours.' And as they entered one of the gates of the city, lo! the body was being borne out at another. After the funeral Brice returned to his see and lived in tranquillity for seven years. Upon his death, in the forty-seventh year of his episcopate, he was succeeded by Eustochius, a shining example of holiness to all.

1 (2). After this the Vandals, quitting their homes, fell upon Gaul under the leadership of King Gunderic, and after ravaging it, attacked Spain.* The Suevi, or Alamanni, followed, and seized Galicia. But soon afterwards a quarrel arose between the two peoples owing to their near neighbourhood. They had taken up arms and were marching to war, prepared for instant encounter, when the king of the Alamanni cried: 'How long shall war overwhelm the whole people? Let not, I entreat, the hosts of both our nations perish; but let two champions come forth in arms into the field, and join issue alone. Then the king whose man conquers * shall obtain the territory without a battle.' To this all the people gave consent, that the whole multitude might not fall by the edge of the sword. In these days died King Gunderic, and Trasamund had the kingdom in his stead.* In the single combat, the champion of the Vandals was overcome and fell, and after he was slain Trasamund gave his word that he would retire; he would withdraw from the confines of Spain as soon as he had made the preparations necessary for the march.

About the same period Trasamund began a persecution of the Christians,* and by tortures and divers forms of death sought to compel all Spain to join the perfidious Arian sect. Whence it so fell out that a maiden vowed to God was brought to this inquisition. She was exceeding rich, distinguished, according to worldly rank, by belonging to a noble senatorial family; but she had a yet nobler distinction than all these things: she was strong in the Catholic faith, and served Almighty God without reproach. As soon as she was brought into the king's presence, he began first enticing her by persuasive words to suffer herself to be re-baptized.* When she turned his poisoned dart with the shield of faith, he commanded that all her possessions should be taken away; but she already deemed herself to possess the kingdom of heaven. Thereupon he ordered torture to be applied, to punish her beyond further hope of this present life. What more need be said? Though she was oft-times tortured, and stripped of her treasure of earthly riches, yet might not her resistance be broken, nor could she be forced to deny the Holy Trinity. She was then led still resisting to re-baptism. And while she was thrust by force into the font of foulness, crying out the

while, ' I believe that the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are of one substance ', she dyed all the water with blood, besprinkling it with the uterine flux. Thereafter, subjected to a legal interrogation, stretched upon the horse, tortured by fire and the pincers, she was dedicated to Christ the Lord by beheading. The Vandals now crossed the strait, and spread through all Africa and Mauretania ; they were followed by the Alamanni as far as Tangier.*

But since in their time persecution of Christians became more violent, as was mentioned above, it seems fitting to recount some of the wrongs they wrought against the houses of God, and in what manner they were expelled from their kingdom. Upon the death of Trasamund, after his crimes committed against the saints of God, Huneric, who was of a yet more cruel nature, seized the kingdom and was elected by the Vandals to rule over them.* The mind of man may not comprehend the number of Christians slain in his time for the most holy name of Christ. Africa is their witness, which bore them, and Christ's own hand, crowning them with gems imperishable in splendour. I have read the Passions of some among them, from which I will relate certain events in order to fulfil my promise.

2 (3). Cyrola, falsely styled bishop, was then held to be the foremost champion of the heretics. When the king sent in all directions to pursue the Christians, this persecutor discovered in a suburb of his city the holy bishop Eugenius, a man of sanctity beyond compare, and reputed for his great wisdom. Yet he carried him off with such violent haste that he would not even grant him leave first to exhort his Christian flock. Eugenius, seeing that he was to be taken away from them, sent to the citizens the following letter, bidding them hold fast to the Catholic faith : ' The bishop Eugenius to the sons and daughters of the church committed to his charge by God, cherished and most dear to him in the love of Christ. The royal will is made known, and by an edict I am bidden go to Carthage because I have preserved the Catholic faith. Therefore, that through my departure from your midst I might not leave the Church of God in a state of doubting and suspense, or, like a false shepherd, abandon my sheep without a word, I have deemed it needful to send this letter to speak for me to you,

holy children of God, wherein, not without tears, I beseech, I exhort, I warn and to the uttermost adjure you by the majesty of God, by the tremendous day of Judgement, by the awful light of Christ's second coming, that you hold ever faster the Catholic faith, proclaiming that the Son is equal to the Father, and the Holy Spirit of the same godhead as the Father and the Son. Guard therefore the grace of one baptism, preserving the anointing with the holy chrism. Let no man after the water of baptism return to that water, having been once reborn of water. For, if God will, salt is made from water; but if it be again put therein, forthwith its whole nature is dissolved.* Wherefore not without reason doth our Lord say in the Gospel: "If the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"[1] And this is indeed to lose the savour, to be steeped a second time, when the first sufficeth. Have ye not heard the word of Christ: "He that is washed once needeth not to be washed again"?[2] Therefore, my brethren, my sons and daughters in the Lord, let not my absence grieve you; for if ye cleave to the Catholic doctrine, I shall not forget you however far removed from you, nor shall death itself tear us asunder. Know that how far soever these trials may bear me from you, the palm of victory shall be mine. If I go into exile, I have the blessed John the Evangelist as my exemplar; if I go to death, "to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain".[3] If I return, God, my brethren, shall fulfil your desire. But now I have said enough on this matter, as to which I have not hidden my thoughts from you. I have warned, I have taught you to the best of my power. Therefore am I innocent of their blood who perish, and I know that before the judgement-seat of Christ this letter shall be read against them, when the time cometh for every man to be requited according to his works. If I come again, brethren, I shall see you in this world; if I come not, then in the next. However that may befall, I say to you, farewell: pray for me, and fast, since prayer and alms-giving have ever turned the Lord to mercy. Remember that which is written in the Gospel: "Fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot slay; but fear Him who, after He hath slain the body, hath power to destroy both soul and body, and to send them into hell."'[4]

[1] Matt. v. 13. The text differs from the Vulgate. It reads: *si sal infatuatum fuerit.*
[2] John xiii. 10, not from the Vulgate.
[3] Phil. i. 21.
[4] Matt. x. 28, but not in the words of the Vulgate.

And so the holy Eugenius was led before the king, and disputed with the bishop of the Arians in defence of the Catholic faith. But when he had vanquished him with most puissant argument concerning the mystery of the Trinity, and in addition Christ had wrought through him many miracles, that bishop, filled with inflaming envy, was kindled to yet greater frenzy. With the holy Eugenius at that time were the bishops Vindemialis and Longinus,* two men of exceeding wisdom and holiness, his equals in rank and not unequal in the power of miracle; for the holy Vindemialis was at that time said to have raised one from the dead, while Longinus had restored to health many that were sick. Eugenius himself had power to dispel the blindness not of the physical eye alone, but also of the mind. Which when that worthless Arian bishop perceived, he called to him a certain man deceived by the same error as himself, and said: 'I brook it not that these bishops show forth so many miracles before the people, for which cause all men neglect me to follow them. Agree now to do what I bid thee. Here are fifty pieces of gold;* go and sit thee down in the street through which we are to pass. Then, placing thy hands over thy closed eyes, cry aloud with all thy might as I pass with the rest: "Thee I entreat, most blessed Cyrola, bishop of our faith, to look upon me and make plain thy glory and thy power, that my eyes may be opened and I may behold the light which I have lost."' The man did as he was enjoined, and seated himself in the street. And when the heretic came by in company with the saints of God he cried out with all his might thinking to mock God, and saying: 'Hear me, most blessed Cyrola, hearken to me, holy priest of God; look upon my blindness. Let me prove the healing power of which other blind men have often profited, which the leprous have proven, which even the dead themselves have felt. I adjure thee by that same power of thine restore me my lost sight, for I am smitten with grievous blindness.' But without suspecting the truth he spoke truly. For his covetousness had made him blind in very deed, because he thought to mock the power of Almighty God for money. Then the bishop of the heretics turned a little, as if sure of triumph by the miraculous power that was in him; and elated with vanity and pride, placed his hand over the man's eyes, saying: 'By that faith of ours whereby we believe

after the right way in God, be thine eyes opened.' But hardly had these impious words left his lips, the laughter was turned into lamentation, and the bishop's trick publicly betrayed. For so great an anguish entered into the eyes of that miserable man that he pressed his fingers hard upon them to prevent their bursting. And the wretch began to make outcry, and say: 'Woe unto me, miserable man that I am, in that I was led astray by the enemy of the divine law. Woe to me that I was fain to mock God for a bribe and received fifty pieces of gold to commit this wickedness.' And to the bishop he said: 'Take back thy gold; restore me now my sight which I have lost by thy deceits. And ye too, most glorious followers of Christ, despise not my misery but succour me speedily, for I perish. For verily now I have learned that God is not mocked.' Then replied the saints of God, moved to compassion: 'Thou believest; all things are possible to them that believe.'[1] But he cried with a loud voice: 'Whosoever believeth not that Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost are of equal substance and deity with God the Father, let him suffer that which I endure this day.' And he said also: 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, I believe that Christ Jesus the Son of God is equal to the Father, I believe that the Holy Ghost is consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Son.' When they heard this, each of them wished to yield the honour to the other, and a holy strife arose between them, which of them should trace the sign of the blessed Cross upon the man's eyes. Vindemialis and Longinus besought Eugenius; he in his turn besought them to lay their hands on the blind man. When they had done as he wished, and laid their hands upon the man's head, the holy Eugenius made the sign of the Cross upon his eyes, saying: 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, very God, whom we confess in three Persons equal among themselves and omnipotent, be thine eyes opened.' And immediately the pain left him, and he was restored to the health which he enjoyed before. But by the blinding of this man it was made very manifest how the bishop of the heretics covered the eyes of men's hearts with the miserable veil of his doctrine, so that none might be suffered to see the true light with the eyes of faith. Wretched man, who entered not by the

[1] Mark ix. 22.

gate, that is, by Christ, the true gate, and made himself a wolf rather than a guardian to the flock ; who strove by the wickedness of his own heart to put out the torch of faith which it was his duty to kindle in the hearts of believers. But the holy men of God performed many other miracles among the peoples, and all repeated with one voice : ' The Father is true God, the Son is true God, the Holy Ghost is true God, each to be worshipped in one faith, feared with one fear and venerated with the self-same honour ; for it is made plain to all men that the doctrine of Cyrola is false.'

But when King Huneric saw his pretensions in such wise exposed by the glorious faith of the saints, that the sect of error was not lifted up, but rather destroyed, and that the ill repute of his bishop was laid bare by this misdeed, he first subjected the holy men of God to many torments, the horse, the flames, the pincers, then he commanded that they should be put to death. Eugenius he ordered to be beheaded ; but with the injunction that if at the moment when the sword was suspended above his neck he still refused to join the heretical sect, he should be spared, and only condemned to exile, for fear lest the Christians might venerate him as a martyr. And as is well known, it so befell. For when death was imminent before him, and they asked him if it was his resolve to die for the Catholic faith, he answered : ' Yea, for to die for the true cause is eternal life.' Thereupon the sword was not suffered to fall, and Eugenius was banished to Albi, a city of Gaul, where he ended this mortal life, and at his tomb many miracles are constantly performed at this day. But the king commanded that the holy Vindemialis should be slain with the sword, and the sentence was carried out. In this warfare the archdeacon Octavianus and many thousands of men and women professing our faith were killed or broken by torture. But it was as nothing to the holy confessors to be punished for the love of glory, for though vexed in a few things they knew that in many things they should be well entreated, according to the saying of the apostle : ' The sufferings of this present world are not worthy to be compared to the glory which is revealed among the saints.' [1] At this time also many strayed from the faith for the sake of riches, and were beset by many sufferings, like that unhappy

[1] Rom. viii. 18. The text does not agree with the Vulgate.

bishop Revocatus, who at this time revoked the Catholic faith.* Then, too, thrice did the sun appear dark, so that scarce a third part shone bright, I think because of all these crimes and the shedding of innocent blood. But Huneric, after his great wickedness, was seized by the evil spirit, and he who had long battened on the blood of the saints now rent himself with his own teeth ; in which torment he ended his unworthy life by a just death. He was succeeded by Childeric,* on whose death Gelesimir obtained the throne. This king was vanquished by the empire,* and ended his life and reign together. So the kingdom of the Vandals fell.

3 (4). At that time the churches of God were assailed by many heresies, and against most of them divine vengeance was shown forth. For Athanaric, king of the Goths,* began a great persecution, beheading many Christians after inflicting divers forms of suffering. For his shedding of the blood of the righteous this man who warred against the churches of God was by God's instant judgement dethroned, and banished from his own country. But let us now return to the previous subject.

4 (5). Now there was a rumour that the Huns intended to overrun Gaul. At that time there lived in the town of Tongres Aravatius, a bishop of the most excellent holiness, who devoted himself to fasting and vigil, and often, bathed with a rain of tears, besought God's mercy that He would not suffer this unbelieving race, ever unworthy of His grace, to penetrate into Gaul. But feeling in his heart that his prayer had not been granted through the sins of the people, he formed the design of visiting Rome,* that he might be strengthened by the miraculous power of the apostle, and thereby better deserve to obtain that for which he made humble supplication to God. He went therefore to the apostle's tomb, and besought the aid of his loving-kindness, wearing himself out in such great abstinence and extremity of fasting, that he would remain two or three days without food or drink, nor for a moment intermit his prayers. And after he had continued for the space of many days in this mortification, he is said to have received from the blessed apostle the following reply : ' Wherefore, most holy man, dost thou harass me ? The Lord hath considered, and it is decreed that the Huns shall enter Gaul, which must be laid waste as by a mighty tempest. Now therefore hearken to my

counsel ; haste with speed, set in order thy house, prepare thy burial, provide a pure white shroud. For behold thou shalt depart from the body, nor shall thine eyes behold the evil to be wrought in Gaul by this people, as the Lord our God hath spoken.' Having received this answer from the holy apostle, the bishop hastened his journey, and returned with all speed into Gaul. And coming to the city of Tongres, he quickly provided himself with all that was necessary for his burial. Then, bidding farewell to the clergy and the other citizens, he announced to them with tears and lamentations that they should see his face no more. They conducted him upon his way with weeping and loud cries, humbly entreating him, and saying : ' Forsake us not, holy father ; be not forgetful of us, O good shepherd.' But when their tears availed not to bring him back, receiving his benediction and kiss of peace, they returned home. The bishop journeyed to Maestricht, and being attacked by a light fever, departed from the flesh ; and the faithful washed his body, and buried him beside the public way. How after a space of many years his blessed remains were translated, I have described in my book of Miracles.[1]

5 (6). The Huns, therefore, issuing from Pannonia, reached the town of Metz, as some say, on the vigil of the feast of Easter, devastating all the country. They gave the city to the flames, and slew the people with the edge of the sword, and did to death the priests of the Lord before the holy altars ; no spot in the town remained unburned save the oratory of the blessed Stephen, protomartyr and deacon. The story of this oratory, as I heard it from certain persons, I will now relate. They say that before the coming of this enemy, one of the faithful in a vision saw the blessed deacon Stephen conferring with the holy apostles Peter and Paul about this destruction, and heard him say : ' I beseech you, O my lords, that by your intercession ye suffer not the city of Metz to be burned to the ground by the enemy, for there is in it a place in which relics of this your humble petitioner are preserved ; but rather let the people perceive that my power somewhat availeth with the Lord. But if the evil-doing of the people is waxed so great that the city must needs be given to the flames, at least suffer not this oratory to be burned.' They answered : ' Go in peace, most

[1] G. C., ch. 72.

beloved brother, this oratory of thine shall alone be spared in the fire. For the city we shall not obtain this grace, seeing that the sentence of divine judgement is already gone forth upon it. For the sin of the people is grown great, and the sound of their wickedness is gone up before the Lord. For this cause shall this city be burned with fire.' It is therefore beyond doubt that by their intercession the oratory remained unharmed.

But Attila, king of the Huns,* going forth from Metz, subdued many cities of Gaul; and he came to Orleans, and battered it with rams, striving so to take the city. At that time the most blessed Anianus was bishop in this city, a man eminent in wisdom and renowned for holiness, the record of whose virtuous deeds are faithfully preserved among us. When the beleaguered people cried out to their bishop to know what they should do, he, trusting in God, enjoined them all to prostrate themselves in prayer, and with tears to implore the help of God, ever present in time of need. And while they prayed according to his bidding, the bishop cried: 'Look forth from the city wall, if haply the pity of God succour us.' For he deemed that by the mercy of the Lord Aëtius should come, whom before he had visited in Arles, foreseeing that which might come to pass. So they looked out from the wall, but saw no man. Then he said: 'Pray in faith; for this day shall the Lord deliver you.' And while they continued praying he said: 'Look once more.' And when they looked they saw none that might succour them. He said to them a third time: 'If ye seek Him in faith, the Lord cometh among us right soon.' Again with many tears and lamentations they besought the compassion of the Lord. But when their prayer was done, they looked forth from the wall a third time as the old man bade them, and behold they saw afar off as it might be a cloud rising from the earth. And they brought the bishop the news, and he said: 'It is the succour of the Lord.' And now the walls were already shaking under the shock of the rams, and on the point of falling, when behold Aëtius came; and Theodoric, king of the Goths, and Thorismond, his son, with their armies swiftly advanced upon the town, and cast forth and flung back the enemy.* The city thus freed by the intercession of the blessed bishop, they put Attila to flight, who withdrew to the plain of Méry,* and disposed his forces for battle. Which

when they heard, they manfully made them ready against him.

6 (7). In these days a rumour reached Rome that Aëtius was hard pressed and in grievous danger among the hordes of the enemy. At these tidings his wife in her sadness and anxiety frequented without ceasing the churches of the holy apostles, and prayed that she might receive back her lord safe from this campaign. She continued in prayer night and day, and one night a poor man who was drunken fell asleep in a corner of the church of the blessed apostle Peter. The doors were shut as usual, but he was not discovered by the guardians. During the night he got up, to find a brilliance of lamps flashing light through the whole building, and searched in terror for the entry, that he might find a way out. He tried the bolts, first of one door and then of another, but found them all fast; so he lay down on the ground anxiously watching the door, that he might escape as soon as the people assembled for the morning hymns. But now he perceived two persons who saluted each other with reverence, and asked each other how they did. The elder thus began: 'I may no longer endure the tears of the wife of Aëtius. She prayeth without ceasing that I may bring back her husband safe and sound from Gaul, when the divine judgement hath otherwise determined. Nevertheless I have obtained this immeasurable grace for his life. And behold I hasten thither now to bring him thence alive. But I adjure him who hath heard these things to hold his peace, nor dare to divulge the secret, or forthwith he shall perish from the earth.' Nevertheless the man could not be silent, but as soon as light appeared in the heaven, he revealed all that he had heard to the wife of Aëtius; and as soon as he had spoken, the light of his eyes failed. Now Aëtius, in alliance with the Goths and Franks, fought with Attila, who seeing his army being worn down even to destruction, left the field in flight. Theodoric, king of the Goths, succumbed in this battle. No man may doubt that the army of the Huns was routed by the intercession of the bishop whom I have named. But the patrician Aëtius won the victory with Thorismund, and utterly destroyed the enemy. And when the war was ended, Aëtius said to Thorismund: 'Make haste to return with all speed to thy country, lest by the action of thy brother thou be despoiled of thy father's

kingdom.' At these words Thorismund departed in haste to forestall his brother and take first possession of his father's throne. With like craft he sent off the king of the Franks.* And as soon as they were gone he collected the spoil from the field and returned home with great booty. But Attila retired with a small number of men ; and soon afterwards Aquileia was taken, burned, and laid in ruins by the Huns, who roamed over all Italy and laid the land waste.[1] The above-named Thorismund overcame the Alans in battle ; but at last, after many disputes and wars, he perished, strangled by his brothers.*

7 (8). Now therefore having set forth these facts and related them in their due order, I hold it wrong to be silent as to the mention of the above-named Aëtius in the History of Renatus Frigeridus. This writer relates in the twelfth book of his histories that after the death of Honorius the young Valentinian, at the age of five years, was raised to imperial rank by his cousin-german Theodosius, and that at Rome the tyrant John set himself up as ruler, whose ambassadors were treated with contempt by the emperor. He then continues: 'While these things were taking place, the envoys returned to the tyrant, bearing with them a stern answer. John was troubled in his heart and sent Aëtius,* controller of the palace, with a great sum of gold to the Huns, a people known to him since the time when he was their hostage, and attached to him by a close friendship ; he added the following instructions, that as soon as the enemy had entered Italy, Aëtius should fall upon them from the rear, while he himself would engage them on the front. And since in what follows many things will be recorded of this man, I deem it fitting to speak first of his birth and character. His father Gaudentius was a person of distinction in the province of Scythia ; he began his service in the praetorian guard, and rose to the high position of master of the horse. His mother was Italian, noble of birth, and very wealthy. Aëtius, their son, was admitted to the imperial guard as a boy ; for three years he was a hostage with Alaric and after that with the Huns. Later, he became son-in-law of Carpilio, former count of the domestics, and was appointed to administer the palace of John. Of middle height, he was manly in appearance and well made, neither too frail nor too heavy ; he was quick of wit

[1] A. D. 452.

and agile of limb, a very practised horseman and skilful archer; he was indefatigable with the spear. A born warrior, he was renowned for the arts of peace,[1] without avarice and little swayed by desire, endowed with the gifts of the mind, not swerving from his purpose for any kind of evil instigation. He bore wrongs with the utmost patience, and loved labour. Undaunted in danger, he was excelled by none in the endurance of hunger, thirst, and vigil. From his early youth he seemed forewarned of the great power[2] to which he was destined by the fates. Of him we shall speak later in the right time and place.' So far the above-mentioned historian has to narrate about Aëtius. But the emperor Valentinian, reaching man's estate, feared that Aëtius might grow strong enough to destroy him, and therefore slew him without having any charge to bring against him. But afterwards, while the emperor was seated on his tribunal haranguing the people in the Campus Martius, Occila, a trumpeter of Aëtius,* came up to him and thrust him through with his sword. Such was the end of these twain.

8 (9). Now concerning the kings of the Franks,* it is unknown to many who was the first in order. For though Sulpicius Alexander * in his history narrateth many things of them, Valentinus names not their first king, but says that they followed dukes. I will set forth that which he recounts. Where he relates that Maximus dwelled in Aquileia, abandoning all hope of empire, and as a man demented, he continues: 'At that time under these dukes Genobaud, Marcomer, and Sunno the Franks broke into Germany,* and after forcing the frontier, with much slaughter and ravaging the most fertile districts, they struck terror even into Cologne. When the news reached Trèves, Nanninus and Quintinus, masters of the soldiery, to whom Maximus had entrusted his infant son and the defence of Gaul, collected their troops and joined forces at Cologne. But the enemy, after pillaging the richest parts of the province, crossed the Rhine laden with spoil, leaving many of their number behind on Roman soil, ready to lay all waste again. These the Romans encountered at their advantage, and many of them were put to the sword in the forest of Carbonnière.* It was hotly debated whether they should cross over to Frankish soil, but Nanninus refused,

[1] Reading *pacis* for *plagis*.

[2] Reading *potentiae* for *paenitentiae*.

because he knew that the enemy were not unprepared and that they would without doubt be the stronger on their own ground. As this counsel was displeasing to Quintinus and the rest of the army, Nanninus withdrew to Mayence. But Quintinus with the army crossed the Rhine near the fort of Neuss, and after two days' march came upon houses void of their inhabitants and large townships all abandoned. For the Franks, pretending fear, had retired into the more remote forests, at the edges of which they had prepared abattis. The Roman soldiers burned down every house, thinking in their cowardly stupidity that to vent their rage on houses was proof of complete victory ; they passed an anxious night under the burden of their heavy arms. At dawn, led by Quintinus, they entered the woods ; towards midday they became involved in a maze of tracks and wandered wholly at large. At length, finding everything enclosed by great fences, they tried to make their way out into the marshy flats adjoining the woods. Thereupon a few of the enemy showed themselves standing upon piled-up tree-trunks or abattis, as it might be on tower ramparts, and thence discharged a shower of arrows thick as missiles shot from engines of war, and smeared with poisonous herbs, so that mere flesh wounds, and those not in dangerous places, were followed by certain death. And now the army, surrounded by increasing numbers of the enemy, eagerly streamed into the open ground left unoccupied by the Franks. The horsemen were first swallowed up in the morass, men and horses in confusion bearing each other down in one common ruin. The foot-soldiers, though not crushed under the weight of the horses, were caught in the mud, from which they could hardly draw out their feet. Seized with panic, they ran back to hide themselves in the forest from which not long before they had so hardly emerged. The ranks thus thrown into disorder, the legions were cut to pieces. Heraclius, tribune of the Jovinians,* and almost all the officers were slain ; only a few found a refuge in the darkness of night and in the recesses of the forest.' Such is the relation of Sulpicius in the third book of his History.

In the fourth book, describing the murder of Victor, son of the tyrant Maximus, he says : ' At this time[1] Carietto and Syrus, appointed in the place of Nanninus, were stationed in

[1] A. D. 389.

Germany with an army collected to oppose the Franks.' A little farther on, after stating that the Franks carried off spoils from the Roman province,* he continues: 'Arbogast,* impatient of all delay, urged the emperor to exact just retribution from the Franks unless they instantly restored all the booty taken in the previous year, when the legions were cut up, and unless they surrendered the instigators of the war, who were responsible for the treacherous violation of the peace. He relates that this happened when the Franks were led by dukes, and further says: "A few days afterwards, a hurried parley was held with Marcomer and Sunno, chiefs of the Franks; hostages were demanded[1] according to usage, and Arbogast retired into winter quarters at Trèves." When he calls them chiefs we do not know whether he would say real kings, or leaders representing kings. The same writer, recording the straits of the emperor Valentinian, adds these words: "While in the East various events occurred in Thrace, in Gaul the government was thrown into confusion. The emperor Valentinian was confined within the palace at Vienne and reduced almost to the position of a private citizen; the control of military affairs was abandoned to Frankish mercenaries; even civil administration had passed into the hands of Arbogast's sworn followers. Among all those bound by the military oath, not a man was found who dared obey the private orders or the commands of the emperor."' He then proceeds: 'In the same year Arbogast, pursuing Sunno and Marcomer, the Frankish petty kings, with a tribal hatred,[2] came to Cologne during the full severity of winter, assured that all the retreats of the Franks might safely be penetrated and burned out now that the leaves were fallen, and the bare woods could no longer conceal an ambushed foe. He therefore collected an army and crossed the Rhine, first ravaging the country of the Bructeri which was nearest the river, and the region inhabited by the Chamavi; and meeting with no opposition, except that a few Ampsivarii and Chatti, under the command of Marcomer, appeared on the farthest ridges of the hills.' In another passage, without a word more about dukes or petty kings, he states openly that the Franks had a king, though he omits mention of his name; he proceeds as follows: 'Then the tyrant

[1] Reading *imperatis* for *imperatoris*. [2] Arbogast was himself a Frank.

Eugenius undertook an expedition to the borders of the Rhine, to renew, as usual, the old treaties made with the kings of the Alamanni and the Franks, and to display in the sight of their savage peoples an army of immense size for those times.' These things the above-named chronicler of the Franks relates. Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whom I have mentioned above, in his account of the capture and ruin of Rome by the Goths writes as follows: 'Meanwhile, Goar having gone over to the Romans, Respendial, king of the Alans,[1] withdrew his forces from the Rhine, while the Vandals were hard pressed in war against the Franks. Godegisel their king was slain, about twenty thousand men of their army had fallen, and the whole Vandal people might have been exterminated, had not the troops of the Alans come to their aid in time.' It is a matter of surprise to us that though the author mentions kings of other tribes and of the Franks, yet where he says that Constantine, having proclaimed himself tyrant, commanded his son to come to him out of Spain, he writes thus: 'The tyrant Constantine summoned his son Constans, also tyrant,* out of Spain that they might consult together on affairs of State. Constans left his court and his consort at Saragossa, and entrusted all his interests in Spain to Gerontius; he then travelled without a pause to meet his father. After they had met, and many days had passed without any news from Italy to alarm them, Constantine yielded to gluttony and drunkenness and bade his son return to Spain. Constans had sent on his troops in advance, but was himself still with his father, when envoys came from Spain with the news that Gerontius had proclaimed as emperor Maximus, one of his dependants,* who now stood in arms with his barbaric following. Alarmed by this report, Constans and the prefect Decimus Rufus, formerly master of the offices,* dispatched Edobech to the peoples of Germany, and themselves set out for Gaul, purposing to return with all speed to Constantine with the Franks, the Alamanni, and all the available fighting men.' Likewise, describing the siege undergone by Constantine,* he says: 'The siege of Constantine had hardly entered on its fourth month, when messengers suddenly arrived from northern Gaul with the tidings that Jovinus * had assumed the imperial insignia, and was about to fall upon the besiegers with Burgundians, Alamanni,

[1] The text has *Alamannorum*.

Franks, Alans, and all his forces. The end was no longer delayed; the gates were opened and Constantine came out. He was at once sent to Italy, but was beheaded upon the Mincio by executioners sent by the emperor to meet him.' Shortly afterwards this writer records that: 'In those same days Decimus Rusticus, prefect of the tyrants, Agroecius, formerly chief of the secretaries* of Jovinus, and many of the nobles were captured in Auvergne by the generals of Honorius and cruelly done to death. The city of Trèves was sacked and burned by the Franks, this being their second irruption into the town.' After noting the elevation of Asterius to the patriciate* by imperial rescript, he adds: 'At the same time Castinius, count of the domestics,* was sent to Gaul, where an expedition against the Franks had been undertaken.' These are the statements of these authors about the Franks. And Orosius, himself a historian, relates as follows in the seventh book of his work: 'Stilicho,* at the head of the assembled tribes, crushed the Franks, crossed the Rhine, traversed Gaul, and penetrated as far as the Pyrenees.' Such are the accounts which the remaining chroniclers have left us of the Franks, but without recording any names of kings. It is a common tradition that this people issued from Pannonia* and first colonized the banks of the Rhine; that then they passed the river and traversed Thuringia,* setting over them, according to their country districts and cities, long-haired kings* belonging to the first and, so to speak, the most noble family of their race. This is proved* later by the victories of Clovis, as I shall subsequently narrate. Moreover, we read in the consular Fasti,* that Theudemer, king of the Franks, son of Richemer, and Ascyla his mother, were slain by the sword. Tradition has it that Chlogio, distinguished among his people for his capacity and most noble birth, was king of the Franks; he made his home at Dispargum, in the land of the Thuringians.* On this side, that is, towards the south, Romans were dwelling as far as the river Loire, beyond which lay the dominions of the Goths. The Burgundians, who belonged to the Arian sect, lived across the Rhône, on which is the city of Lyons. Chlogio sent scouts to the city of Cambrai, who first explored everything. Thereupon he followed in person, crushed the Romans, and took possession of the city. He remained there only a short time before he occupied the

whole country to the river Somme. Some assert that Merovech, father of Childeric, was of his family.

9 (10). But this people seems always to have followed idolatrous practices, nor had they any knowledge of the true God. They made them images of woods and waters, birds and beasts, and other elements, and were wont to worship them as God, and to offer to them sacrifices. Oh if that awful voice had but touched the fibres of their hearts, which spake through Moses to the people, saying: 'Let there be no other gods but Me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image nor adore any likeness which is in heaven, or in the earth, or in the waters; thou shalt not make them and thou shalt not worship them.'[1] Or this also: 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve, and by His name shalt thou swear.'[2] What if they could have learned the vengeance which pursued and crushed the people of Israel for the worship of the molten calf, when, after the feasting and the songs, after the wantonness and the dancing, they spake with impure mouth of this graven image: 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which led thee out of the land of Egypt'?[3] There fell of them four and twenty thousand men. What should they have said of those who, initiated into the worship of Belphegor, and mingling with the lewd women of Moab, were cut down and laid low by their own people? In which Phinees the priest, the others being slain, appeased the wrath of God 'and it was accounted unto him for righteousness'.[4] What if the words had been borne into their ears which the Lord sings by the lips of David: 'All the gods of the Gentiles are demons, but the Lord hath made the heavens'?[5] And: 'The graven images of the Gentiles are gold and silver, the work of men's hands; they that make them are like unto them, and so are all they that put their trust in them.'[6] Or this: 'Confounded be all they that worship a graven image, and boast themselves of their idols.'[7] And again that which is testified by the prophet Habakkuk, when he says: 'What profiteth this graven image which they have carved? They have fashioned and molten it, it is a false appearance. For it is the product of silver and

[1] Exod. xx. 3–5: not agreeing with the Vulgate.
[2] Deut. vi. 13: not the Vulgate version.
[3] Exod. xxxii. 4: Vulgate. [4] Ps. cv. 31. [5] Ps. xcv. 5: Vulgate.
[6] Ps. cxxxiv. 15, 18: Vulgate. [7] Ps. xcvi. 7: practically Vulgate.

gold, and the whole spirit is not in them. But the Lord is in His holy temple; let the whole earth have fear before His face.' [1]

And another prophet says: 'Let the gods who have not made the earth and the heaven perish from the earth and from that which is beneath the heavens.' [2] And likewise it is written in another place: 'Thus saith the Lord who created the heavens, God Himself who formed the earth and all that therein is; He is the Maker thereof, He created it not in vain, He created it to be inhabited.[3] "I am the Lord; that is My name; My glory will I not give to another, neither My virtue to graven i ages, which endured not from the beginning." [4] And in another place: 'Are there any among the graven images of the Gentiles that can cause rain?' [5] And once more He saith by the mouth of Isaiah: 'I am the first and the last, and besides Me there is no God or fashioner whom I know not. They that make a graven image are all of them naught, and their delectable things shall not profit them. They are their own witnesses, for they see not, nor know, that they may be confounded in them. Behold all his fellows shall be confounded; for the workmen, they are of men. In the coals and with hammers he hath fashioned it, and worketh it with the strength of his arm. Likewise the carpenter hath rounded it with the compass, and hath made the image of a man as of a comely man dwelling in his house. He hath hewn down timber, he hath worked it, he hath made a graven image and worshipped it as a god; with nails and hammers hath he compacted it, that it be not broken asunder. They are carried because they cannot walk; but with the residue of the wood men make a fire, and warm themselves. And another part he hath made his god and graven image. He boweth down to it and worshippeth it, and beseecheth it, saying: "Deliver me, for thou art my god. I have burned the half of it in the fire and I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it; and of the residue will I make an idol. Before a stock of wood will I do worship; a part of it is burned to ashes." A foolish heart hath worshipped

[1] Hab. ii. 18–20: not from the Vulgate.
[2] Jer. x. 11. In general agreement with the Vulgate.
[3] Isa. xlv. 18. The words do not exactly agree with the Vulgate.
[4] Isa. xlii. 8. Not from the Vulgate.
[5] Jer. xiv. 22. Not in exact agreement with the Vulgate.

it, and he hath not delivered his soul. Nor doth he say: "Perchance there is a lie in my right hand."'[1]

10 (11). Avitus, a man of senatorial rank and, as is well known, a citizen of Clermont, succeeded in attaining the imperial dignity.[2] As he was inclined to wantonness, he was deposed by the Roman Senate and consecrated bishop of Placentia. But receiving tidings that the Senate was still resentful and had designs upon his life, he sought the church of Julian the Arvernian martyr, bearing with him many gifts. But on the way his earthly course was run, and he died, and his body was borne to the town of Brioude, where it was buried at the feet of the above-named martyr. He was succeeded by Martian,* and in Gaul the Roman Aegidius * was appointed master of the soldiery.

11 (12). But Childeric,[3] who reigned over the Franks, was sunk in debauchery, and began to dishonour their daughters. For which cause they were wroth, and expelled him from the kingdom. And when he learned that they were minded to slay him, he fled into Thuringia,* leaving behind a friend who should essay to soothe their fury by smooth words, and send him a token when he might return to his country. For this purpose they divided a gold coin. Childeric took one half with him, and his friend kept the other, saying: 'Whenever I send thee this part, and by joining the two halves thou make a single *solidus*, then with a mind free from anxiety thou mayest return to thine own land.' Childeric therefore departed into Thuringia and took refuge with King Bisinus and Basina his queen. And after his expulsion, the Franks unanimously chose for their king Aegidius, who, as I stated above, had been sent from Rome * as master of the soldiery. But in the eighth year of his reign over them the faithful friend, who had succeeded in secretly pacifying the Franks, sent a messenger to Childeric bearing the half of the divided *solidus* which he had kept. Then Childeric, receiving it as a sure sign that the Franks wished him back, returned from Thuringia at their invitation and was restored to his kingdom. The two * being now joint kings, the above-mentioned Basina left her lord and came to Childeric.* To his anxious question why she had come to him from so great a distance, she is said to have

[1] Isa. xliv. 6–20. From the Vulgate, but with numerous variations and omissions. Cf. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 57.

[2] A. D. 456 or 457.

[3] A mistake for Majorian.

replied: 'I know thee capable and strenuous in action, therefore am I come to dwell with thee. For be sure that if in the parts beyond the sea I were acquainted with one more capable than thou, I should in like manner have sought him for my husband.' At which answer he rejoiced, and was united with her in wedlock. And she conceived, and bore a son, and called him Clovis. And he was a great man and a famous warrior.

12 (13). In Auvergne, after the death of the holy Artemius, Venerandus, a man of senatorial family, was consecrated bishop. Paulinus bears witness * what manner of man this bishop was when he says: 'Wert thou at this present time to see those worthy priests of the Lord Exsuperius of Toulouse, Simplicius of Vienne, Amandus of Bordeaux, Diogenianus of Albi, Dynamius of Angoulême, Venerandus of Clermont, Alithius of Cahors, or Pegasius of Périgueux, however great the evils of the age, thou wouldst behold the most excellent guardians of all our faith and religion.' Venerandus is said to have died on Christmas Eve, and the next morning the procession of the feast was his funeral train. After his death a disgraceful contest arose among the citizens with regard to the succession to the episcopate. Parties were divided, one wishing to elect one man and one another, and there was great strife among the people. While the bishops were seated together one Sunday, a certain woman, veiled and dedicated to God,* approached them boldly and said: 'Hearken to me, priests of the Lord. Know that none of those whom the citizens have selected for the bishopric findeth favour in the sight of God. Behold to-day the Lord Himself shall provide a bishop. Therefore do not excite the people or set them at variance, but have patience a little while; for the Lord even now sendeth the man who shall govern this church.' While they were marvelling at her words, suddenly one Rusticus approached, a priest of the diocese of Clermont, and the very man revealed to the woman in a vision. As soon as she saw him, she said: 'Behold him whom the Lord hath chosen for your chief priest! Let him be consecrated bishop.' Upon these words, the whole people, abandoning all their dispute, cried out that this was a worthy and just man. He was therefore set on the bishop's throne, and amid the joy of the people he received the honour of the bishopric, being the seventh to occupy the throne of Clermont.

14. In the city of Tours, upon the death of Eustochius in the seventeenth year of his episcopate, Perpetuus was consecrated as fifth in succession from the blessed Martin. Now when he saw the continual wonders wrought at the tomb of the saint, and observed how small was the chapel erected over him, he judged it unworthy of such miracles.* He caused it to be removed, and built on the spot the great basilica which has endured until our day, standing five hundred and fifty paces from the city. It is one hundred and sixty feet long by sixty broad ; its height to the ceiling * is forty-five feet. It has thirty-two windows in the sanctuary and twenty in the nave, with forty-one columns. In the whole structure there are fifty-two windows, a hundred and twenty columns, and eight doors, three in the sanctuary, five in the nave. The great festival of the church has a threefold significance : it is at once a feast of the dedication, of the translation of the saint's body, and of his consecration as bishop. This festival you shall keep on the fourth day of July ; the day of the saint's burial you shall find to fall on the eleventh of November. They who keep these celebrations in faith shall deserve the protection of the holy bishop both in this world and the next. As the ceiling of the earlier chapel was fashioned with delicate workmanship, Perpetuus deemed it unseemly that such work should perish ; so he built another basilica in honour of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and in it he fixed the ceiling. He built many other churches, which are still standing to-day in the name of Christ.

15. At this time also the church of the blessed Symphorian, the martyr of Autun, was built by the priest Eufronius, who himself afterwards became bishop of this city. He it was who, in his great devotion, sent the marble which covers the holy sepulchre of the blessed Martin.

16. After the death of Bishop Rusticus, the holy Namatius became in these days eighth bishop of Clermont. By his own efforts he built the church which still exists, and is deemed the older of those within the town walls. It is a hundred and fifty feet long, sixty feet broad, that is across the nave, and fifty feet high to the ceiling : it ends in a rounded apse, and has on either side walls of skilled construction ; the whole building is disposed in the form of a cross. It has forty-two windows, seventy columns, and eight doors.

There is felt the dread of God, and the great brightness of His glory, and verily there often the devout are aware of a most sweet odour as of spices wafted to them. The walls of the sanctuary are adorned with a lining of many kinds of marble. The building being completed in the twelfth year, the blessed bishop sent priests to the city of Bologna in Italy to bring him relics of the saints Vitalis and Agricola, crucified, as is known of all men, for the name of Christ our Lord.

17. The wife of Namatius built the church of the holy Stephen without the walls. As she wished it to be adorned with paintings, she used to hold a book upon her knees, in which she read the story of deeds done of old time,* and pointed out to the painters what subjects should be represented on the walls. It happened one day, as she was sitting reading in the church, that a certain poor man came in to pray. And when he saw her clad in black, for she was advanced in years, he deemed her one of the needy, and producing a piece of bread, put it in her lap, and went his way. She did not despise the gift of the poor man who did not perceive her quality, but took it and thanked him, and put it by, afterwards preferring it to her costlier food and receiving a blessing from it every day until it was all consumed.

13 (18). Childeric fought at Orleans.* Odovacar,[1] with his Saxons, came to Angers.* At that time a great pestilence ravaged the population. Aegidius died,[2] leaving a son named Syagrius. After his death, Odovacar took hostages from Angers and other places. The Bretons * were driven from Bourges by the Goths, and lost many men at Bourg-de-Déols.[3] Count Paul, with Roman and Frankish forces, made war on the Goths and carried off booty. Odovacar having come to Angers, King Childeric arrived the following day; and the king took the city, after Count Paul had been slain.* On that day the church house * was burned in a great fire.

14 (19). After these events, there was war between the Saxons and the Romans; but the Saxons turned their backs, and abandoned many of their men to the sword of the pursuing Romans. Their islands * were taken and ravaged by the Franks, and much people were slain. In the ninth month of that year there was an earthquake. Odovacar made a treaty

[1] *Adovacrius.* [2] In 464. [3] About 468.

with Childeric,* and they subdued the Alamanni, who had overrun a part of Italy.

15 (20). Euric, king of the Goths, set Victorius as duke over the seven cities * in the fourteenth year of his reign.[1] Victorius went forthwith to Clermont and sought to win over the city. From his time date the subterranean chapels, which survive to this day. He ordered to be brought to the church of the holy Julian the columns which still stand in the church. He also ordered the building of the church of the holy Laurence and the church of the holy Germanus in the township of Ligne. He remained nine years in Auvergne. He poured out calumnies against Eucherius the senatorial ; first he imprisoned him, then had him dragged forth by night, and bound against an ancient wall which he ordered to be thrown down upon him. He was licentious in his passion for women ; and in dread of being slain by the Arvernians, he fled to Rome. But there, attempting the same debaucheries, he was stoned. After his death, Euric ruled for four years, but died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.* There again occurred a great earthquake.

21. On the decease of Namatius in Auvergne, Eparchius, a man of holy and religious life, succeeded him. Now as at this time the Church had only a small property within the walls of the city, the bishop had his lodging in the part of the church called the sacristy, and was wont to rise at night to give thanks to God before the altar. It befell that one night as he entered the church, he found it full of devils, whose chief, in the guise of a woman richly bedecked, was seated upon his throne. The bishop said to him : ' O execrable whore, is it not enough for thee to infect other places with thy pollutions, but thou must needs defile this seat, consecrated of the Lord, by the loathsome contact of thy body ? Go forth from the house of God, and let it no longer be polluted by thy presence.' The demon answered : ' And dost thou call me whore ? I will prepare many a snare for thee through desire of women.' As he spoke these words, he vanished like a smoke. And the bishop was indeed tempted by the stirring of fleshly lusts, but he was protected by the sign of the holy Cross, and the enemy could in no wise do him harm. He is said to have built a monastery on the summit of the hill of Chantoin,* where the oratory now is, and

[1] A. D. 479.

there he went into retreat during the holy days of Lent. But on the day of the Lord's Supper, escorted by citizens and clerics with great chanting, he returned to his church. On his death, he was succeeded by Sidonius,* the ex-prefect, a man of most noble birth as the world counts distinction, and among the first of the senatorial rank in Gaul, so that the emperor Avitus gave him his daughter in marriage. In his time, when the above-mentioned Victorius was still at Clermont, there was in the monastery of the blessed Cyricus in the same city an abbot named Abraham,* who shone with the faith and works of the patriarch his namesake, as we have written in the book recording his life.[1]

22. The holy Sidonius was of such eloquence that often he could speak most luminously without preparation on any subject that he chose. It happened that one day he was invited to the festival of the church belonging to the monastery which I have mentioned above, where some malicious person removed the book of which he habitually made use in conducting the sacred office. But he was so well prepared beforehand that he went through the whole service of the festival in such a way that all wondered, and those present seemed to hear an angel, rather than a man. This I have more fully related in the preface to the book which I wrote * on the Masses composed by him. As he was eminent in holiness and, as I have said, was one of the first senatorial families, he would often take from his home vessels of silver unknown to his wife, and give them to the poor. When she heard of it she was offended with him, whereupon he would restore the plate to his home, giving the needy its value in money.

23. After his admission to the Lord's service, while he was already living as a saint in this world, there rose up against him two priests, who deprived him of all authority over the property of the Church, left him narrow and stinted means of life, and subjected him to the greatest indignity. But the divine clemency did not long suffer the wrongdoers to go unpunished. One of these most vile men, all unworthy of the priestly rank, who had threatened the night before to drag the bishop from the church, rose the next morning at the sound of the bell calling to matins, full of spite against the holy man of God, pondering in his unjust heart the plan which he had devised on

[1] V. P. 103.

the preceding day. But visiting his privy place, he gave up the ghost while he sought to purge the body. A servant with a candle waited without for his master to come forth. Dawn was now come, and his satellite, the other priest, sent him a messenger to say: 'Come, make no delay, that we may execute the plan which we agreed upon yesterday.' The dead man giving no answer, the slave lifted the curtain before the door and found his master lifeless upon the seat. Whence it may not be doubted that this man was guilty of a crime not less than that of the vile Arius, who in like manner perished by the issue of his bowels through the draught. For this too is heretical belief, that in the Church man may disobey the bishop of God to whom the sheep are entrusted to be fed, and that authority may be usurped by one to whom none has been entrusted, either by God or man. Thereafter the saintly bishop, though one foe was yet left to him, was restored to his authority. But it befell, at a later time, that he fell ill of an attack of fever, and asked his people to carry him into the church. And when he was carried in, there came about him a multitude of men and women, yea, and of children, weeping and saying: 'Wherefore dost thou abandon us, O good shepherd,* or to whom wouldst thou leave us, abandoned even as orphans? Shall life be aught to us after thy passing? Shall there be any one in the time to come to preserve us with the like salt of wisdom, or with like far-seeing reason persuade us to the fear of God's name?' These things, and others like to them, the people uttered with great lamentation; to whom at length the bishop answered, the power of the Holy Spirit moving him: 'Fear not, my people, for behold Aprunculus my brother liveth, and he shall be your bishop.' But they understood him not, deeming that he spoke in an ecstasy. After the passing of the holy man,[1] that evil priest who yet survived his fellow forthwith, in his blind greed, laid usurping hands on the whole property of the Church, as if he were already bishop, and proclaimed: 'God hath at length looked down to me, perceiving in me one juster than Sidonius; it is he that hath bestowed on me this authority.' He rode in his pride through the whole city, and on the Sunday next after the saint's passing, he made ready a feast in the church house, and invited all the citizens. And slighting the

[1] A. D. 480.

senior among them, he reclined first upon the couch. Then the cup-bearer, offering him a cup, said: 'My lord, I have seen a vision in a dream, which, if thou permittest, I will relate to thee. I saw it on this Sunday night, and behold, there was a great dwelling, and in the dwelling was set a throne, whereon one sat like unto a judge, more excellent in power than all. And about him were many priests in white raiment, and also multitudes of people without order in uncounted numbers. While I gazed on these things in fear, I beheld the blessed Sidonius standing forth in a high place among them, hotly contending with that priest so very dear to thee who a few years since departed out of this world. This priest was vanquished, whereupon that king commanded that he be thrust into the straitest and lowest prison cell. After he had been removed, I saw the saint once more arise in accusation, this time against thee, as confederate in the crime for which that other had just been condemned. The judge began to make earnest inquiry whom he might send to thee, and I began to hide myself among the rest, and stood at the back, considering with myself that he might send me, as being known to the man in question. While I was secretly revolving these things every one else vanished, and I was left standing alone. The judge called to me, and I came nearer, but at the sight of his might and splendour I was stupefied and tottered for very dread. Then he said: "My servant, have no fear, but go and say to that priest: 'Come and answer to the charge, for Sidonius has requested that thou be summoned.'" Do thou, therefore, delay not in going, for with great threatenings that king bade me tell thee all these things, saying to me: "If thou tell them not, thou shalt die the worst death."' At these words, the priest in terror let fall the cup from his hand, and gave up the ghost; he was borne away dead from the couch and committed to the grave, to share in hell with that his accomplice. Such judgement upon these unruly priests did the Lord pass in this world: that the one should meet the fate of Arius, that the other, like Simon Magus at the prayer of a holy apostle, should be dashed headlong from the high summit of his pride. None may doubt that both have their part in hell, who together did wickedness against their holy bishop.

In the meantime the rumour of Frankish might already

echoed in these regions, and all men longed for their dominion with a passionate desire. For this reason the holy Aprunculus, bishop of Langres, had fallen under suspicion with the Burgundians; their hatred towards him grew from day to day, and the order went forth that he should be slain secretly with the sword. But tidings of his danger reaching him, he was let down by night from the walls of Dijon and so came to Clermont, where, in accordance with the Lord's word placed in the mouth of Sidonius, he was made eleventh bishop of the city.

16 (24). In the time of Bishop Sidonius a great famine afflicted the Burgundians.* The people scattered themselves through all parts, and there was none to give food to the poor. Then Ecdicius, a man of senatorial family, and a relative of Sidonius, putting his trust in God, is said to have done a great thing.* For when the famine reached its height, he sent out his servants through neighbouring towns with horses and wains to bring in all who were suffering under this privation. And they went out and brought all the poor whom they could find to his house, where he fed them through the whole time of barrenness, saving them from death by starvation. Many assert that there were more than four thousand persons of both sexes. But when a time of plenty returned, he arranged for their transport home again, and sent back each one of them to his own place. But after all were gone a voice came down to him from above, saying: 'Ecdicius, Ecdicius, for that thou hast done this thing, bread shall not fail thee or thy seed for ever; for thou hast hearkened to My words, and in nourishing the poor thou hast satisfied My hunger also.' This Ecdicius is commemorated by many as a man wondrously swift in action; for it is related that once he put to flight a multitude of Goths with ten men.* But the holy Patiens, bishop of Lyons, is said to have done like service to the people during the same famine. There is preserved a letter of Sidonius giving him eloquent praise.*

17 (25). In Sidonius's time also Euric,[1] king of the Goths, passing the frontiers of Spain, began a grievous persecution of the Christians in Gaul. Everywhere he beheaded those who would not conform to his perverse doctrine; he cast priests into prison; some of the bishops he exiled, others he slew with

[1] In the text, *Evatrix*.

the sword. The doors of the holy churches he ordered to be blocked with briers,* that only a few might enter and the faith might pass into oblivion. It was chiefly the cities of Novempopulana and Aquitaine * that were wasted by this storm; there is to-day extant a letter on this subject written by the noble Sidonius to Bishop Basilius, in which these facts are recorded.* But not long afterwards, smitten by the divine vengeance, the persecutor himself perished.

26. After these events the blessed Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, after completing thirty years in his episcopate, went to his rest.[1] Volusianus, a man of senatorial family, was appointed in his place. But he was regarded with suspicion by the Goths, and in the seventh year of his episcopate was taken captive into Spain, where he soon ended his days. Verus, succeeding to his place, was consecrated as seventh bishop after the blessed Martin.

18 (27). After this, Childeric died,[2] and Clovis his son reigned in his stead. In the fifth year of his reign, Syagrius, king of the Romans,* son of Aegidius, had his residence in the city of Soissons, which had before been the home of the above-mentioned Aegidius. Clovis marched against him, with his relation Ragnachar, himself also a king,* and called upon him to fix a field of battle. Syagrius did not seek delay nor did he fear to stand his ground. And so when the battle was joined between them, Syagrius, seeing his army crushed, turned to flight and escaped as fast as he could to Alaric at Toulouse.* But Clovis sent to Alaric calling upon him to surrender the fugitive, else he must look to be himself invaded for giving him refuge. Then Alaric, lest he should incur the wrath of the Franks for his sake, was afraid, after the craven habit of the Goths,* and handed him over to the messengers in bonds. When Clovis received him prisoner, he ordered him to be imprisoned; had him put to the sword in secret, while he took possession of his kingdom.

At this time many churches were plundered by the troops of Clovis, because he was yet fast held in pagan errors. Thus it happened that a ewer of great size and beauty had been taken, with other ornaments used in the service of the church. But the bishop of that church sent messengers to the king, asking that

[1] In A. D. 490. [2] In 481.

if no other of the sacred vessels might be restored, his church might at least receive back this ewer. When the king heard this he said to the envoy : ' Follow us to Soissons, for there all the booty is to be divided, and if the lot gives me the vessel, I will fulfil the desire of the bishop.' When they were at Soissons and all the spoil was laid out in open view, the king said : ' I ask you, most valiant warriors, not to refuse to cede me that vessel ' (he meant the ewer of which I have spoken) ' over and above my share.' After this speech all the men of sense replied : ' All that is before our eyes, most glorious king, is thine ; we ourselves are submitted to thy power. Do now that which seemeth good to thee, for none is so strong as to say thee nay.' At these words a soldier of a vain, jealous, and unstable temper raised his axe and smote the ewer, crying with a loud voice : ' Naught shalt thou receive of this but that which thine own lot giveth thee.' While all stood astounded at this act, the king suppressed his resentment at the wrong under a show of patient mildness ; he then took the ewer and restored it to the bishop's envoy. But the wound remained hidden in his heart. After the lapse of a year, he commanded the whole army to assemble with full equipment, and to exhibit their arms in their brightness on the field of March.* The king went round inspecting them all ; but when he came to the man who struck the ewer he said : ' None hath appeared with his arms so ill-kept as thou ; neither thy lance, nor thy sword, nor thy axe is fit for use.' He then seized the axe, and threw it on the ground. As the man bent down a little to take it up, the king swung his own axe high and cleft his skull, saying as he did it, ' Thus didst thou treat the ewer at Soissons.' The man lying dead, he dismissed the rest, having put great fear of him into their hearts by his act. Clovis waged many wars and won many victories. For in the tenth year of his reign he invaded the Thuringians * and subjected them to his rule.

19 (28). At that time the king of the Burgundians was Gundioc, of the race of the royal persecutor Athanaric whom I have before mentioned.* He had four sons, Gundobad, Godigisel, Chilperic, and Gundomar. Gundobad put his brother Chilperic to the sword, and drowned his wife by tying a stone to her neck. Her two daughters he condemned to exile, the elder of whom, Chrona, had adopted the habit of a nun, while the

younger was called Clotild. It happened that Clovis used often to send envoys into Burgundy, and they discovered the young Clotild. Observing her grace and understanding, and learning that she was of the blood royal, they spoke of these things to King Clovis, who straightway sent an embassy to Gundobad, asking her in marriage. Gundobad was afraid to refuse, and handed her over to the men, who received her, and with all speed brought her before the king. At sight of her he greatly rejoiced and was united to her in wedlock, having already by a concubine one son named Theuderic.

20 (29). Of Queen Clotild * the king had a firstborn son whom the mother wished to be baptized; she therefore persistently urged Clovis to permit it, saying: 'The gods whom ye worship are naught; they cannot aid either themselves or others, seeing that they are images carved of wood or stone, or metal. Moreover the names which ye have given them are the names of men and not of gods. Saturn was a man, fabled to have escaped by flight from his son to avoid being thrust from his kingdom; Jupiter also, the lewdest practiser of all debaucheries and of unnatural vice, the abuser of the women of his own family, who could not even abstain from intercourse with his own sister, as she herself admitted in the words "sister and spouse of Jove".* What power had Mars and Mercury? They may have been endowed with magical arts; they never had the power of the divine name. But ye should rather serve Him, who at His word created out of nothing the heaven and earth, the sea and all therein; who made the sun to shine and adorned the heaven with stars; who filled the waters with fish, the earth with animals, the air with birds; at whose nod the lands are made fair with fruits, the trees with apples, the vines with grapes; by whose hand the race of man was created; by whose largess every creature was made to render homage and service to the man whom he created.' Though the queen ever argued thus, the king's mind was nowise moved towards belief, but he replied: 'It is by command of our gods that all things are created and come forth; it is manifest that thy god availeth in nothing; nay more, he is not even proven to belong to the race of gods.' But the queen, true to her faith, presented her son for baptism; she ordered the church to be adorned with hangings and curtains, that the king, whom no preaching could

influence, might by this ceremony be persuaded to belief. The boy was baptized and named Ingomer, but died while yet clothed in the white raiment of his regeneration.* Thereupon the king was moved to bitter wrath, nor was he slow to reproach the queen, saying: 'If the child had been dedicated in the name of my gods, surely he would have survived, but now, baptized in the name of thy God, he could not live a day.' The queen replied: 'I render thanks to Almighty God, Creator of all things, who hath not judged me all unworthy, and deigneth to take into His kingdom this child born of my womb. My mind is untouched by grief at this event, since I know that they which be called from this world in the white robes of baptism shall be nurtured in the sight of God.' Afterwards she bore another son, who was baptized with the name of Chlodomer. When he too began to ail, the king said: 'It cannot but befall that this infant like his brother shall straightway die, being baptized in the name of thy Christ.' But the mother prayed, and God ordained that the child should recover.

21 (30). Now the queen without ceasing urged the king to confess the true God, and forsake his idols; but in no wise could she move him to this belief, until at length he made war upon a time against the Alamanni,* when he was driven of necessity to confess what of his free will he had denied.[1] It befell that when the two hosts joined battle there was grievous slaughter, and the army of Clovis was being swept to utter ruin. When the king saw this he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and knew compunction in his heart, and, moved to tears, cried aloud: 'Jesus Christ, Thou that art proclaimed by Clotild Son of the living God, Thou that art said to give aid to those in stress, and to grant victory to those that hope in Thee, I entreat from a devout heart the glory of Thy succour. If Thou grant me victory over these enemies, and experience confirm that power which the people dedicated to Thy name claimeth to have proved, then will I also believe on Thee and be baptized in Thy name. I have called upon mine own gods, but here is proof that they have withdrawn themselves from helping me; wherefore I believe that they have no power, since they come not to the succour of their servants. Thee do I now invoke, on Thee am I fain to believe, if but I may be plucked out of the hands of

[1] In A. D. 496.

mine adversaries.' And as he said this, lo, the Alamanni turned their backs, and began to flee. And when they saw that their king was slain, they yielded themselves to Clovis,* saying: 'No longer, we entreat thee, let the people perish; we are now thy men.' Then the king put an end to the war, and having admonished the people, returned in peace, relating to the queen how he had called upon the name of Christ and had been found worthy to obtain the victory. This happened in the fifteenth year of his reign.

22 (31). Then the queen commanded the holy Remigius, bishop of Reims, to be summoned secretly, entreating him to impart the word of salvation to the king. The bishop, calling the king to him in privity, began to instil into him faith in the true God, Maker of heaven and earth, and urged him to forsake his idols, which were unable to help either himself or others. But Clovis replied: 'I myself, most holy father, will gladly hearken to thee; but one thing yet remaineth. The people that followeth me will not suffer it that I forsake their gods; yet will I go, and reason with them according to thy word.' But when he came before the assembled people, or ever he opened his mouth, the divine power had gone forth before him, and all the people cried with one voice: 'O gracious king, we drive forth our gods that perish, and are ready to follow that immortal God whom Remigius preacheth.' News of this was brought to the bishop, who was filled with great joy, and commanded the font to be prepared. The streets were overshadowed with coloured hangings, the churches adorned with white hangings, the baptistery was set in order, smoke of incense spread in clouds, perfumed tapers gleamed, the whole church about the place of baptism was filled with the divine fragrance. And now the king first demanded to be baptized by the bishop. Like a new Constantine, he moved forward to the water, to blot out the former leprosy, to wash away in this new stream the foul stains borne from old days. As he entered to be baptized the saint of God spoke these words with eloquent lips: 'Meekly bow thy proud head, Sicamber;* adore that which thou hast burned, burn that which thou hast adored.' For the holy Remigius, the bishop, was of excellent learning, and above all skilled in the art of rhetoric, and so exemplary in holiness that his miracles were equal to those of the holy Silvester; there is

preserved to us a book of his life,* in which it is related how he raised a man from the dead. The king therefore, confessing Almighty God, three in one, was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and anointed with holy chrism, with the sign of the Cross of Christ. Of his army were baptized more than three thousand; * and his sister Albofled,* who not long after was taken to the Lord, was likewise baptized. And when the king was sorrowing for her death, the holy Remigius sent him a letter of consolation, beginning after this fashion: 'The cause of thy sadness doth afflict me with a great affliction, for that thy sister of fair memory hath passed away. But this shall console us, that she hath in such wise left the world as that we should rather lift up our eyes to her than mourn her.' And another of his sisters was converted, by name Lanthechild,* who had fallen into the heresy of the Arians; she also received the holy chrism, having confessed the Son and the Holy Ghost equal to the Father.

23 (32). At this time two brothers, Gundobad and Godigisel, possessed their kingdom about the Rhône and Saône with the territory of Marseilles. They and their people were in the thraldom of the Arian sect. And as the brothers were on terms of hostility, Godigisel, who had heard of the victories won by King Clovis, sent envoys to him by stealth, saying: 'If thou afford me aid to pursue my brother, so that I may either slay him in battle, or drive him from the kingdom, I will pay thee every year such tribute as thou mayest thyself impose.' This offer Clovis received gladly, and promised him aid whenever his necessity should demand it. At a time appointed between them he marched an army against Gundobad, who, ignorant of his brother's guile, sent to him upon this news, saying: 'Come thou to my deliverance, for the Franks have risen against us, and are come up against our territory to take it. Let us therefore be of one mind against a people that hateth us, for if we hold apart we shall undergo the fate suffered by other peoples.' Godigisel made answer: 'I will come with my army, and will bring thee succour.' So all three kings set their forces in movement together, Clovis marching against Gundobad and Godigisel; they came to Dijon* with all the armaments of war. But when they joined battle on the Ouche, Godigisel joined Clovis, and their united armies crushed the force of Gundobad. But he,

perceiving the treachery of his brother which till that hour he never suspected, turned his back and fled along the Rhône, until he entered the city of Avignon. After his victory thus gained,[1] Godigisel promised Clovis a part of his kingdom, and went home in peace, entering Vienne in triumph, as though he were master of the entire kingdom. But Clovis reinforced his troops, and followed Gundobad with intent to take him from Avignon and slay him. When Gundobad heard this, he was grievously afraid, dreading to be overtaken by a sudden death. Now he had with him Aridius, a man of rank, who was both strenuous and astute. Him he summoned and thus addressed: 'I am hemmed in by straits upon every side, and know not what to do, for these barbarians * are fallen upon me with intent to slay us and lay waste all the land.' Aridius answered: 'Thou hadst best assuage the savagery of this man, and so preserve thy life. Now therefore, if it be pleasing in thy sight, I will feign to forsake thee and desert to him; once with him, I will bring it about that he neither ruin thee nor yet this country. Do thou only have a care to satisfy all the demands which by my advice he shall make of thee, till the Lord of His goodness deign to make thy cause triumph. Gundobad made answer: 'I will do all that thou shalt enjoin.' Thereupon Aridius bade him farewell and departed, and came to King Clovis, to whom he said: 'Behold in me, most pious king, thy humble slave, who hath forsaken the miserable Gundobad to serve thy mightiness. If now thy piety deign to look on me, thou and thy posterity shall find in me an honest and faithful follower.' Clovis forthwith took him to himself, and kept him near his person; for he could tell lively tales, was active in counsel, just in judgement, and faithful in every trust. Clovis then continuing to invest the city with his army, Aridius said: 'O king, if in the majesty of thy high estate thou deign to hear from me a few words of humble advice, though indeed thou hast small need of counsel, I will offer them in all loyalty; and it shall be useful to thee and to the cities through which it is thy intent to pass. Wherefore dost thou keep afoot this army, when thy foe abideth in an impregnable place? Thou layest waste the fields and devourest the meadows, thou cuttest the vines, thou hewest down the olives, all the fruits of this region thou

[1] In A. D. 500.

dost utterly destroy, and yet thou availest not to do him hurt. Send rather envoys to him and impose a yearly tribute, that this region be saved from ruin, and thou be always lord over thy vassal. If he should refuse, then do according to thy pleasure.' The king hearkened to this counsel, and bade his army return home. And he sent an embassy to Gundobad, commanding him yearly to pay the tribute now to be laid upon him. And he paid it forthwith, and pledged himself to pay it hereafter.

24 (33). But later, when he had recovered strength, he disdained to pay the promised tribute to King Clovis, and marched an army against Godigisel his brother, besieging him in the city of Vienne. As soon as provisions began to run short among the common people, Godigisel feared the famine might extend even to him, and ordered them to be driven outside the city. It was done ; but among the rest was expelled the artificer who had charge of the aqueduct. This man, indignant at his expulsion with the others, went in a fury to Gundobad, and showed him how he might break into the city and take vengeance on his brother. Under his guidance armed men were led along the aqueduct, preceded by men with iron crowbars. For there was an outlet covered by a great stone, which was moved away by the crowbars under the direction of the artificer, and so they entered the city, taking in the rear the garrison who were discharging their arrows from the walls. Then at a signal given by a trumpet from the centre of the city, the besiegers seized the gates, threw them open, and crowded in. The inhabitants were caught between two forces and cut to pieces, but Godigisel took refuge in a church of the heretics, and was there put to death with the Arian bishop. The Franks who were with him held together in a tower ; Gundobad commanded that none of them should be harmed, and when they were taken, sent them into banishment to King Alaric at Toulouse ; but the Gallo-Romans of senatorial family and the Burgundians who had taken part with Godigisel he slew. He restored to his dominion the whole region now known as Burgundy, and instituted milder laws among the Burgundians * that there should be no undue oppression of the Romans.

25 (34). Gundobad, perceiving the doctrines of the heretics to be worthless, confessed that Christ, the Son of God, and the Holy Ghost are both equal to the Father, and asked secret

baptism of the holy bishop of Vienne.* But the bishop replied : ' If thou verily believest, it is thy duty to follow the teaching of our Lord Himself, when He said : " If any man will confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven ; but whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven." [1] This also did our Lord urge even upon His holy and beloved, the blessed apostles, when He said : " But beware of men ; for they will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you ; yea, and before governors and kings shall ye be brought for My sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles." [2] But thou that art a king, and needest not to fear that any shall lay hands on thee, see how thou dreadest revolt among the people, not daring to confess in public the Creator of all men. Forsake this foolishness, and that which thou professest to believe in thy heart declare with thy lips before the people. For according to the word of the blessed apostle : " With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." [3] Likewise also the prophet saith : " I will give Thee thanks in the great congregation, I will praise Thee among much people." [4] And again: " I will give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, among the peoples ; I will sing praises unto Thee among the nations." [5] Thou fearest the people, O king ; but perceivest thou not that it is more meet for the people to follow thy belief, than for thee to indulge their weakness ? For thou art the head of the people ; the people is not thy head. If thou goest a warfare, it is thou that goest before the troops of thy host, which follow whither thou leadest. Wherefore it is better that thou shouldst lead them to the knowledge of the truth than that thou shouldst perish and leave them in their error. " For God is not mocked," [6] nor doth He love the man who for an earthly kingdom refuseth to confess Him before the world.' Though troubled by these arguments, Gundobad persisted to his dying day in this madness, nor ever would publicly confess that the three Persons of the Trinity are equal. The blessed Avitus was at this time of

[1] Matt. x. 32, 33, differing slightly from the Vulgate at the beginning.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17, 18. Here again there is occasional divergence from the Vulgate text.
[3] Rom. x. 10. [4] Ps. xxxiv. 18, Vulgate version.
[5] Ps. lvi. 10. Verbal divergences from the Vulgate. [6] Gal. vi. 7.

great eloquence ; for heresy springing up in Constantinople, both that taught by Eutyches and that of Sabellius,* to the effect that our Lord Jesus Christ had in Him nothing of the divine nature, at the request of King Gundobad he wrote against them. There are to-day extant among us his admirable letters,* which, as they once quelled heresy, so now they edify the Church of God. He wrote a book of Homilies, six metrical books on the creation of the world and on various other subjects, and nine books of Letters, including those just mentioned. In a homily composed on the Rogations, he relates that these solemnities which we celebrate before the triumph of our Lord's Ascension were instituted by Mamertus,* bishop of Vienne (his own see when he wrote), at a time when the city was alarmed by many portents. For it was frequently shaken by earthquakes, and wild creatures, stags and wolves, entered the gates, wandering without fear through the whole city. These things befell through the circle of the year, till at the approach of the Easter festival the whole people looked devoutly for the mercy of God, that at last this day of great solemnity might set a term to all their terror. But on the very vigil of that glorious night, while the holy rite of the Mass was being celebrated, on a sudden the royal palace within the walls was set ablaze by fire from heaven. All the congregation, stricken with fear, rushed from the church, believing that the whole city would be consumed in this fire, or that the earth would open and swallow it up. The holy bishop, prostrate before the altar, with groans and tears implored the mercy of God. What need for me to say more ? The prayer of the illustrious bishop penetrated to the height of heaven ; the river of his flowing tears extinguished the burning palace. When, after these events, the day of the Lord's Ascension drew near, he imposed a fast upon the people, instituted the form of prayer, the order of their repasts, and the manner of their joyful almsgiving to the poor. Thereupon all these terrors ceased ; the fame of this deed spread through all the provinces, putting all the bishops in mind to follow the example of his faith. And down to our day these rites are celebrated in all churches in Christ's name, in compunction of the heart and a contrite spirit.

26 (35). Now when Alaric, king of the Goths, beheld the manner in which King Clovis kept steadily subduing his neigh-

bours in war, he sent envoys to him with this message: 'If it please thee, O my brother, I am minded that we two meet by God's grace.' Clovis did not refuse, but came to him. They met on an island in the Loire near the village of Amboise in the territory of the city of Tours. There they conversed, ate and drank together, swore mutual friendship, and parted in peace. Many people in Gaul at this time ardently desired to live under the dominion of the Franks.

36. This was the reason why Quintianus, bishop of Rodez, incurred hatred and was driven from the city. Men said to him: 'It is because thou desirest the Franks to become masters and possess this land.' A few days afterwards there was a quarrel between him and the citizens. Those of the Gothic nation dwelling in the town were suspicious of him, and the citizens accused him of wishing to bring them under the Frankish rule. They took counsel together, and planned to put him to the sword. But the man of God was warned, and rising in the night with the most faithful of his attendants, left Rodez and came to Clermont. There he was kindly received by the holy bishop Eufrasius, successor to Aprunculus of Dijon, who kept him with him, and bestowed on him houses, lands, and vineyards, saying: 'The riches of this church suffice to support us both; only let the brotherly love preached by the blessed apostle continue among the priests of God.' The bishop of Lyons also presented him with possessions of his church in Auvergne. The remaining history of the holy Quintianus, both the treachery which he endured, and the works which the Lord deigned to perform by his hands, is written in the book containing his life.*

27 (37). Now King Clovis said to his men: 'It irketh me sore that these Arians hold a part of Gaul. Let us go forth, then, and with God's aid bring the land under our own sway.' This speech finding favour with all, he assembled his army, and marched on Poitiers, where King Alaric then happened to be. Part of the troops had to traverse the territory of Tours, and out of reverence for the blessed Martin the king issued an edict that none should take anything from that region but water and hay. Now a certain soldier, finding some hay belonging to a poor man, said: 'Was it not the king's order that we should take grass and nothing besides? Well, this is grass, and if we take it

we shall not transgress his bidding.' So he took the hay from the poor man by force, taking advantage of his own strength. The matter came to the ears of the king, who straightway cut the man down with his own sword, saying: 'Where shall be our hope of victory, if we offend the blessed Martin?' And the army was content to take nothing more from this region. Moreover the king sent messengers to the church of the saint, with these words: 'Go now, and haply ye shall bring some good auspice of victory from that sacred house.' He entrusted them with offerings to be set in the holy place, saying: 'If Thou, O Lord, art my helper, and if Thou hast determined to deliver into my hands this unbelieving people, ever set against Thee, deign of Thy favour to give me a sign at the going in to the basilica of the blessed Martin, that I may know that Thou wilt deign to show Thy servant Thy favour.' His men, setting forth on their journey, reached Tours according to the king's command. And as they were entering the church, the precentor chanced to lead this antiphon: 'Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; Thou hast subdued under me those that rose up against me. Thou hast also made mine enemies turn their backs upon me, and Thou hast destroyed them that hate me.' [1] The messengers, hearing these words chanted, gave thanks to God, and vowing gifts to the blessed confessor, joyfully returned with their news to the king. But when Clovis had reached the Vienne with his army he was wholly at a loss where to cross the stream, for it was swollen by heavy rains. That night he besought the Lord that He would show him where he might pass, and lo! at dawn a hind of wondrous size entered the river at God's bidding, and where she forded the host saw that it could cross. When the king came to the neighbourhood of Poitiers, but was abiding at some distance in his tents, he saw a fiery beacon issue from the church of the holy Hilary and come over above his head; it signified that aided by the light of the blessed confessor Hilary he might more surely overcome the host of those heretics against whom the saint himself had so often done battle for the faith. He adjured the whole army to despoil no man, either there or upon the way, and to rob none of his goods.

In those days the abbot Maxentius, a man laudable in holi-

[1] Ps. xvii. 40–1.

ness, lived recluse for the fear of God in his monastery in the territory of Poitiers. I give no particular name to the monastery, since to our own day the place is always known as the cell of the holy Maxentius. Now when the monks beheld a dense body of soldiers drawing near the monastery, they besought the abbot to come forth out of his cell for their encouragement. He delayed to come. Then, stricken with panic, they opened the cell door and brought him out, whereupon he went forth fearlessly to meet the enemy as if to ask peace of them. One of their number unsheathed his sword to strike the abbot on the head, when lo! he found his hand held rigid at the level of his ear, while the sword fell backwards; he then fell at the feet of the holy man, and besought his pardon. When the rest saw what was done, they returned to the army in great dread, fearing that they might all perish. But the blessed confessor rubbed the man's arm with consecrated oil, and making the sign of the Cross, restored him to health; thus by his protection the monastery remained unharmed. He performed many other miracles, which whoso seeks diligently will find as he reads the history of the abbot's Life.* This took place in the twenty-fifth year of Clovis.

In the mean time King Clovis encountered Alaric, king of the Goths, on the field of Vouillé * at the tenth milestone out of Poitiers. Part of the combatants fought with missiles from a distance, another part hand to hand. But when, as their habit is,* the Goths turned to fly, King Clovis by God's aid obtained the victory. He had with him as an ally Chloderic, son of Sigibert the Lame. This Sigibert, in the fight at Zülpich * against the Alamanni, was wounded in the knee so that he limped. When the Goths were put to flight, and the king had slain Alaric, two of the enemy suddenly came up and struck at him with their spears on each side; the cuirass which he wore and the speed of his horse preserved him from death. There perished on this field a great number of the people of Auvergne who had come with Apollinaris, and the chief men of senatorial family fell. From this battle Amalaric,* son of Alaric, fled into Spain and ruled with prudence his father's kingdom. Clovis sent his own son Theuderic through Albi and Rodez to Clermont. Traversing these cities he subdued beneath his father's sway the whole country from the Gothic to the Burgundian frontier.

Alaric had reigned twenty-two years. Clovis, after wintering in Bordeaux, carried off all Alaric's treasures from Toulouse and came to Angoulême. And the Lord showed him such favour that the walls fell down of themselves before his eyes; he drove out the Goths and subjected the city to his own rule. Then, his victory being complete, he returned to Tours and made many offerings to the holy shrine of the holy Martin.

28 (38). Clovis received letters from the emperor Anastasius conferring the consulate*, and in the church of the blessed Martin he was vested in the purple tunic, and in a mantle,* and set the diadem upon his head. Then, mounting his horse, he showered with his own hand in the generosity of his heart pieces of gold and silver among the people all along the road between the gate of the atrium of the holy Martin's church, and the church of the city.* From that day he was hailed as consul or Augustus.* He left Tours and came to Paris, where he established the seat of his government. There he was joined by Theuderic.

39. After the death of Eustochius, bishop of Tours,[1] Licinius was consecrated as eighth bishop after Martin. In his time was waged the war which I have above described, and it was in his time that King Clovis came to Tours. He is said to have been in the East, to have visited the holy places, and to have even entered Jerusalem; it is related that he often saw the places of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, of which we read in the Gospels.

29 (40). While Clovis was sojourning at Paris, he sent secretly to the son of Sigibert,* saying: 'Thy father is grown old, and is lame of one foot. If he were to die, his kingdom would fall to thee of right, together with our friendship.' The prince, seduced through his ambition, plotted his father's death. One day Sigibert left Cologne and crossed the Rhine, to walk in the forest of Buchau.* He was enjoying a midday repose in his tent when his son compassed his death by sending assassins against him, intending so to get possession of the kingdom. But by the judgement of God he fell himself into the pit which he had treacherously digged for his father. He sent messengers to King Clovis announcing his father's death in these terms: 'My father hath perished, and his kingdom and treasures are in my power. Come to me, and right gladly

[1] In 509.

will I hand over to thee whatever things may please thee from his treasure.' Clovis answered: 'I thank thee for thy goodwill, and request of thee that thou show all to my envoys; but thou shalt keep the whole.' On the arrival of the envoys, the prince displayed his father's treasure, and while they were inspecting its various contents, said to them: 'In this coffer my father used to amass pieces of gold.' They answered: 'Plunge in thy hand to the bottom, to make sure of all.' He did so; but as he was stooping, one of them raised his two-edged axe and buried it in his brain; so was his guilt towards his father requited on himself. When Clovis heard that Sigibert was slain, and his son also, he came to Cologne and called all the people together, addressing them in these words: 'Hear ye what hath befallen. While I was sailing the Scheldt, Chloderic, son of my cousin, was harassing his father, and telling him that I desired his death. When his father fled through the forest of Buchau, he set bandits upon him, delivering him over to death. But he in his turn hath perished, stricken I know not by whom, while he was showing his father's treasure. To all these deeds I was in no wise privy; for I could not bear to shed the blood of my kindred, holding it an impious deed. But since things have so fallen out, I offer you this counsel, which take, if it seemeth good to you: turn ye to me, and live under my protection.' At these words the clash of shields vied with their applause; they raised Clovis upon a shield,* and recognized him as their king. Thus he became possessed of the kingdom of Sigibert and of his treasures, and submitted the people also to his dominion. For daily the Lord laid his enemies low under his hand, and increased his kingdom, because he walked before Him with an upright heart, and did that which was pleasing in His sight.*

30 (41). After this he marched against King Chararic.* For during his war with Syagrius, this Chararic, summoned to his aid, stood aloof, joining neither side, but awaiting the issue in order to ally himself with the victor, for which cause Clovis marched against him full of wrath. And he cunningly circumvented him and took him, together with his son; he then bound them, and cut off their hair,* commanding that Chararic should be ordained priest, and his son deacon. Chararic lamented his humiliation and wept; but they say that his son

replied: 'These branches have been cut from a green tree, nor are they all withered, but shall soon shoot forth, and grow again. May he who has done these things as swiftly perish!' This saying reached the ears of Clovis, who thought that they threatened to let their hair grow again and compass his death. He therefore ordered both of their heads to be cut off. After their death, he took possession of their kingdom, together with their treasure and their people.

31 (42). There was at that time in Cambrai a king named Ragnachar, whose wantonness was so unbridled that he hardly spared his own near kindred. He had as counsellor a certain Farron, defiled by the same foul taint, in regard to whom it was alleged that when any one brought the king a gift of food or a present, or any other kind of thing, the king would say that the gift was sufficient for him and his Farron. On this account the hearts of the Franks were swollen with the utmost indignation. Thereupon Clovis presented armlets and baldrics of spurious gold to the *leudes* * of Ragnachar in order that they might call him in against their lord; the supposed gold was only copper, cunningly gilded. When he had set his army on foot against him, Ragnachar kept sending out scouts to bring in intelligence. These men were asked on their return in what strength the enemy was. They answered: 'Abundant force for thee and for thy Farron.' But Clovis came, and drew up his battle array. And when Ragnachar saw his army vanquished, he made ready to escape in flight, but he was caught by his own men, and brought before Clovis with his arms bound behind his back; so likewise was Ricchar his brother. Clovis said to him: 'Why hast thou disgraced our race by suffering thyself to be bound? It had been better for thee to die'; he then raised his axe and buried it in his head. Afterwards he turned to his brother, and said: 'If thou hadst stood by thy brother, he would not have been thus bound', and slew him in the same way with a blow of his axe. After their death, their betrayers for the first time discovered that the gold which Clovis had given them was false.* But when they remonstrated with the king, men say that he replied: 'This is the kind of gold deserved by the man who of set mind lureth his lord to his death'; adding that they ought to be content to have escaped with their lives, not

expiating the betrayal of their lords by a death amid torments. When they heard this, they chose to sue for grace, declaring that it sufficed them if they were judged worthy to live. The two kings of whom I have spoken were kinsmen of Clovis. Their brother, Rignomer, was slain at Le Mans by his command, and the kingdom and treasures of all three passed into his possession. He caused many other kings to be slain and the near relatives whom he suspected of usurping his kingdom ; in this way he extended his dominion over all Gaul. Upon a day when he had assembled his own people, he is said to have spoken as follows of the kinsmen whom he had destroyed : ' Woe unto me who remain as a traveller among strangers, and have none of my kin to help me in the evil day.' But he did not thus allude to their death out of grief, but craftily, to see if he could bring to light some new relative to kill.

31 (43). After these events Clovis died at Paris,[1] and was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles * which he had himself built, with Clotild his queen. It was the fifth year after the battle of Vouillé that he passed away. And all the days of his reign were thirty years, and of his own age forty-five. From the passing of the holy Martin to the passing of Clovis, which was in the eleventh year of the episcopate of Licinius,* bishop of Tours, there are counted one hundred and twelve years. After the death of her lord, Queen Clotild came to Tours, and, save for rare visits to Paris, here she remained all the days of her life, distinguished for her great modesty and kindliness.

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BOOK

[1] In 511.

BOOK III

[BOOK THE THIRD]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE THIRD BOOK

I. Of the sons of Clovis.
II. Of the episcopate of Dinifius, Apollinaris, and Quintianus.
III. How the Danes attacked Gaul.
IV. Of the Thuringian kings.
V. How Sigismund slew his own son.
VI. Of the death of Chlodomer.
VII. Of the war against the Thuringians.
VIII. Of the death of Hermanfled.[1]
IX. How Childebert went to Auvergne.
X. Of the death of Alaric.
XI. How Childebert and Lothar went to Burgundy, and Theuderic to Auvergne.
XII. Of the devastation of Auvergne.
XIII. Of Lovolautrum and Chastel-Marlhac.
XIV. Of the death of Munderic.
XV. Of the captivity of Attalus.
XVI. Of Sigivald.
XVII. Of the bishops of Tours.
XVIII. Of the death of Chlodomer's sons.
XIX. Of the blessed Gregory, and the site of Dijon.
XX. How Theudebert was betrothed to Visigard.
XXI. How Theudebert went to Provence.
XXII. How he then took Deuteria to wife.
XXIII. Of the death of Sigivald.
XXIV. How Childebert rewarded Theudebert.
XXV. Of the goodness of Theudebert.
XXVI. Of the death of Deuteria's daughter.
XXVII. How Theudebert took Visigard to wife.
XXVIII. How Childebert joined Theudebert against Lothar.
XXIX. How Childebert and Lothar went to Spain.
XXX. Of the kings of Spain.
XXXI. Of the daughter of Theodoric, king of Italy.
XXXII. How Theudebert went to Italy.
XXXIII. Of Asteriolus and Secundinus.
XXXIV. Of the generosity of Theudebert to the citizens of Verdun.
XXXV. Of the death of Sirivald.
XXXVI. Of the deaths of Theudebert and of Parthenius.
XXXVII. Of the severe winter.

HERE ENDS THE LIST OF CHAPTERS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 511 to 547.]

[1] Hermanfrid is intended.

HERE BEGINS THE THIRD BOOK

(*Prologue.*)

I WOULD fain, if it be permitted, compare awhile the successes of the Christians who confess the blessed Trinity with the disasters befalling those who sought to rive it asunder. I will say nothing of the manner in which Abraham worshipped it at the oak, or Jacob proclaimed it in his blessing, or Moses knew it in the bush, or the people of Israel followed it in the cloud and saw it with dread in the Mount; I shall not describe how Aaron wore it in his ephod, nor how David prophesied it in his psalms, praying that a right spirit might be renewed within him, or that the Holy Spirit might not be taken from him, or, again, that he might be strengthened by the august Spirit of the Lord.[1] Herein also do I perceive a great mystery, inasmuch as that which the heretics maintain to be the less the prophetic voice declares original. But as I have said, I pass over these things, and come back to our own times. Arius,* the first and wicked founder of this wicked sect, his bowels gushing forth into the privy, was delivered to hell fire; Hilary, blessed defender of the undivided Trinity, and for its sake driven into exile,* was both restored to his own country and entered Paradise. Clovis, who confessed it, by its aid overcame these heretics, and extended his kingdom over all Gaul; Alaric, denying it, was punished by the loss of kingdom and people, and, what is more, of eternal life. For though the wiles of the enemy rob true believers of many things, yet the Lord restoreth them a hundredfold; but the heretics make no gain, while that which they possessed is taken from them. The death of Godigisel, Gundobad, and Godomar * afforded proof of this, for they lost at one stroke their country and their souls. But as for us, we confess the Lord one and invisible, infinite, incomprehensible, glorious, everlasting, and eternal, one in Trinity by reason of the three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; we confess Him three in one, through equality of substance, of godhead,

[1] Ps. l. (li.) 11–13. The word 'august' translates the *principalem* of the text, but the primary meaning of the Hebrew original is 'free' or 'willing'.

of omnipotence and power, who is one God, almighty and supreme, reigning world without end.

1. Upon the death of King Clovis, his four sons, Theuderic, Chlodomer, Childebert, and Lothar,* inherited his kingdom and divided it in equal measure between them.* Theuderic already had a son Theudebert, a boy of good presence and capacity.* Since these princes were very powerful by virtue of their own valour, and their armies gave them abounding strength, Amalaric, son of Alaric, king of Spain, asked of them their sister in marriage,* which request they graciously accorded, sending her with a store of rich ornaments into Spain.

2. On the death of Licinius, bishop of Tours,* Dinifius ascended the episcopal throne. At Clermont, after the decease of the blessed Aprunculus, the holy Eufrasius * ruled as the twelfth bishop of the see. He lived four years after the death of Clovis, passing away in the twenty-fifth year of his episcopate. The choice of the people fell upon the holy Quintianus,* who had been expelled from Rodez ; * but Alcima and Placidina,* wife and sister of Apollinaris,* came to the holy Quintianus and said : ' Let it content thee, holy lord, in thine old age to have been appointed bishop, and let thy piety allow thy servant Apollinaris * to occupy this post of honour. Be sure that when he has reached it he will do thy pleasure. It will be for thee to command, and for him to obey thy direction in all things. Do thou only lend a kindly ear to this our humble proposal.' He answered : ' What can I do, since I have power over nothing ? Enough for me if, while I devote my days to prayer, the church provide me my daily bread.' Receiving this reply, these ladies sent Apollinaris to the king, and going with many gifts, he obtained the succession to the bishopric.* But after abusing the dignity for four months he departed from this world. When the news of his death was carried to Theuderic, he commanded that the holy Quintianus should be appointed to the see, and all ecclesiastical power vested in him, adding these words : ' He was banished from his city on account of his love towards myself.' Forthwith messengers were dispatched, and bishops and people, meeting together, placed him on the throne of Clermont, as the fourteenth ruler of the church in that city. The rest of his acts,

his miracles, and the time of his passing away are recorded in the book which I have written on his life.[1]

3. After these events the Danes and their king Chlochilaich * crossed the seas with their fleet and came to Gaul. They landed, devastated one region of Theuderic's kingdom, and took the people prisoners, after which they loaded their vessels with captives and other spoils, and were ready to return to their own country. Their king remained on shore until the ships took the high sea, intending himself to follow later. News was brought to Theuderic that his land had been ravaged by foreigners, whereupon he sent his son Theudebert into those parts with a strong force and great armament. The Danish king was killed and the enemy severely defeated in a sea battle; all the booty was brought on shore again.

4. At this time three brothers ruled together over the Thuringians: * Baderic, Hermanfrid, and Berthar. Hermanfrid overcame his brother Berthar by force of arms and slew him. At his death he left an orphan daughter, Radegund,* with sons, of whom I shall hereafter speak. Hermanfrid's wife was a wicked and cruel woman named Amalaberg,* who sowed the seeds of civil war between the brothers. For her lord, coming one day to the banquet, found half the table unlaid, and inquiring of his wife what this meant, received the answer: 'He who suffereth himself to be robbed of half his kingdom should have half his table bare.' Roused by this and by like incitements, he rose up against his brother and sent secretly messengers to King Theuderic inviting him to attack him in these terms: 'If thou slay him, we will divide his kingdom in equal parts.' Theuderic was well pleased at the message, and marched to meet him with his army. They joined forces and exchanged pledges of good faith; after which they set out to war. They encountered Baderic and destroyed his army, beheading him with the sword; the victory thus won, Theuderic returned home. But Hermanfrid, at once forgetting his plighted word, failed to fulfil his promise to King Theuderic, whence great enmity arose between them.

5. On the death of Gundobad,[2] Sigismund * his son succeeded to his kingdom; with understanding and watchful care he built the monastery of Agaune * with its churches and habitations.

[1] V. P., ch. iv.

[2] A. D. 516.

Having lost his first wife, daughter of Theodoric, king of Italy, by whom he had a son named Sigeric, he had married another wife, who, as is the way of step-mothers, began to ill-treat and abuse her step-son. Whence it befell that on a day of solemn festival the boy, noticing that she wore robes once belonging to his own mother, was moved to wrath, and said to her: 'Thou wert not worthy that these garments should cover thy back, for it is known to all that they belonged to thy mistress, my mother.' But she was inflamed to fury, and with crafty speeches set on her lord against him, saying: 'This wicked son of thine yearneth to usurp thy kingdom, and proposeth, first putting thee to death, to extend his power even to Italy, that he may possess the dominion which his grandfather Theodoric held in that country. He knoweth well that while thou livest he cannot fulfil his designs, and that he cannot rise unless thou fallest.' Incited by these and like words, the king, following the counsels of his evil wife, became the foul murderer of his own son.* One day, when his son was drowsy with wine, he bade him go sleep in the afternoon; and while he slept a kerchief was placed round his neck and tied in a knot; then two servants drew the ends together and throttled him.[1] When the deed was done, the father, repenting too late, began to weep most bitterly, throwing himself upon the lifeless body. To whom a certain old man is said thus to have spoken: 'Weep for thyself, who, by following accursed counsels, hast become a most savage destroyer of thine own blood, for there is no need to bewail this boy, strangled in his innocence.' But the king went to the monastery of Agaune, and continued many days weeping and fasting, and beseeching the divine pardon. He founded there perpetual chants * and returned to Lyons, but the divine vengeance followed at his heels. His daughter was taken to wife by King Theuderic.

6. Queen Clotild thus spoke to Chlodomer and her other sons: 'Let it not repent me, dearest sons, to have brought you up with tenderness; resent in wrath, I entreat you, the wrong done to me; with all your hearts and minds avenge the death of my father and mother.*' After this appeal they set out for Burgundy and marched against Sigismund and his brother Godomar. The Burgundian army was defeated, and

[1] In 522.

Godomar took to flight. Sigismund was taken prisoner by Chlodomer with his wife and sons, while endeavouring to escape to the monastery of Agaune, and was kept imprisoned in the territory of Orleans.[1] When the Frankish kings had departed, Godomar recovered his powers, rallied the Burgundians, and won his kingdom again. Chlodomer prepared once more to attack him, and determined upon the death of Sigismund. But the blessed abbot Avitus,* great among the priests of those days, addressed him in these terms: 'If for the fear of God thou amend thy purpose, and wilt not suffer these men to be slain, God shall be with thee, and thou shalt go forth to victory. But if thou slay them, thou shalt thyself be given into the hands of thine enemies, and shalt die by a like fate. It shall be done unto thee and thy wife and thy sons according as thou doest unto Sigismund, his wife, and children.' But the king scorned to hearken to his counsel, and said: 'Methinks it were a fool's act to leave some of my foes behind me when I march against the rest; for were some to rise up before me and others behind, I should fall between forces on either hand. I shall triumph better and with more ease, if I keep the one party from the other; if one be slain, the other can readily be marked to die.' And immediately he ordered Sigismund to be slain with his wife and sons, and to be thrown down a well in the village of S. Péravy la Colombe * in the territory of Orleans. Whereupon he set forth for Burgundy, first calling King Theuderic to his assistance. This king, having no wish to avenge the wrong done to his father-in-law,* promised that he would come. They joined forces at a place named Vézeronce * in the territory of Vienne, and there gave battle to Godomar.[2] But Godomar retreated with his army, pursued by Chlodomer, who was soon separated by some distance from his own men. Thereupon the Burgundians imitated his battle-cry, shouting to him: 'This way, this way! we are thy own men.' He was tricked and went, falling thus into the midst of his enemies, who cut off his head, fixed it on a pole, and raised it aloft. When the Franks saw this, and learned that Chlodomer was slain, they rallied, put Godomar to flight, bore down the Burgundians, and brought the country into their own power. Lothar forthwith espoused his brother's

[1] In 523. [2] A. D. 524.

wife, whose name was Guntheuc. Queen Clotild, when the days of mourning were over, took his sons and kept them with her ; the name of the first was Theudovald, that of the second Gunthar, that of the third Chlodovald.* Godomar once more recovered his kingdom.

7. Theuderic, ever mindful of the wrong wrought by Hermanfrid, king of the Thuringians, summoned his brother Lothar to his aid, and prepared to march against him,[1] promising King Lothar a share of the booty, should Heaven grant them the reward of victory. He therefore assembled the Franks and spoke as follows : ' Rouse ye to wrath, I pray you, remembering now both the wrong done to me and the murder of your kinsfolk.* Forget not that the Thuringians in the past fell brutally upon our fathers and did them much evil. Our people gave them hostages, and desired to make a treaty of peace, but they did the hostages to death by divers tortures ; they then broke in upon our people, seized all their goods, and hanged the boys upon the trees by the sinews of their thighs. Two hundred girls they caused to perish by a cruel death ; they bound their arms about the necks of horses which, goaded with sharp points, dashed asunder and tore the victims limb from limb. Others they stretched out on the ruts of roads, fixing them to the earth with stakes ; then they caused laden wains to pass over them, breaking their bones, and gave their bodies to feed dogs and birds. Behold now, Hermanfrid hath been false to the promise given to me, and altogether refuseth to fulfil it. Lo, here have we a clear cause ; up and against them, with the aid of the Lord.' When the Franks heard this, they were wroth at the commission of such crimes ; with one intent and with a single mind they set forth against Thuringia. Theuderic, taking with him as allies Lothar his brother and Theudebert his son, took the field with his army. When the Franks approached, the Thuringians prepared stratagems against them. They dug ditches in the future field of battle, and covered them over closely with sods, so that they seemed part of the unbroken plain. When the encounter began, numbers of Frankish horsemen fell into these ditches, and were sorely hindered ; though when the trick was once discovered, they began to look more cautiously about them.

[1] About A. D. 531.

At length, when Hermanfrid their king was put to flight, and they saw their army cut to pieces, the Thuringians turned their backs and fled as far as the river Unstrut; but there was made such slaughter of them that the bed of the stream was choked with their dead bodies, and the Franks used them as a bridge on which to cross to the other side. The victory thus achieved gave them possession of that region,* which they subjected to their authority.

Lothar, returning home, took with him as his captive Radegund, daughter of King Berthar; her he wedded, though afterwards he caused her brother to be slain by evil men. This queen turned to God and, changing her habit, built for herself a monastery in Poitiers;* by the virtue of her prayers, fastings, charities, and vigils she won so shining a repute that her name was held great among the peoples.* While the above-named kings were in Thuringia, Theuderic sought to slay his brother Lothar. Having first set armed men in ambush, he invited him to his presence, as if he would discuss with him some privy matter. He had stretched tent-canvas from one wall to the other in a part of the house, and stationed the armed men behind it. But the hanging was too short, and the feet of the men showed below it. Lothar, warned already of the trap, entered the house accompanied by his men-at-arms. As soon as Theuderic saw that he knew all, he made up some story, and talked at random of one thing after another; at last, seeing no way of glozing over his treachery, he made him a present of a great silver salver. Lothar thanked him for the gift, bade him farewell, and returned to his lodging. Then Theuderic complained to his people that he had lost his silver dish without sufficient cause, and said to his son Theudebert: 'Go to thy uncle, and ask him to give up to thee the present which I made to him.' The boy went, and obtained his request. Theuderic was very artful in this kind of trickery.

8. This king on his return home invited Hermanfrid to come to him, giving a personal pledge for his safety; he then enriched him with gifts of honour. It befell upon a day, as they walked together along the walls of the city of Zülpich,* that Hermanfrid was pushed by some person unknown, and fell headlong from the summit to the earth beneath, there

giving up the ghost. Who cast him down we cannot say, but many declare that the guile of Theuderic was very manifest in the deed.

9. While Theuderic was still in Thuringia, the rumour spread at Clermont that he had been slain. Arcadius, a man of senatorial family in the city,* invited Childebert to take possession of Auvergne. The king without delay set forth for Clermont. On that day there was so thick a mist that nothing could be seen at a greater distance than a few yards.* He had been wont to say: 'Fain would I see with my own eyes the Limagne of Auvergne which men call so bright and so gay.' But God did not grant him the fulfilment of his wish. The city gates were closed, and there was no way of ingress open to him, till Arcadius cut through the bar of one gate and gave him admittance to the town. While this was happening, news was brought that Theuderic was not dead, but had returned out of Thuringia.

10. When Hildebert was assured of this, he came back from Clermont and went to Spain * for the sake of his sister Clotild, who had to suffer much treacherous dealing from her lord, King Amalaric,* on account of her Catholic faith. For often as she was going to the holy church he ordered dung and all manner of filth to be thrown over her. And at last he is said to have beaten her so cruelly that she sent her brother a kerchief stained with her own blood, by which he was so moved that he set out for Spain. When Amalaric heard of his approach, he made ready ships for flight. But when Hildebert was very near, and it was time for Amalaric to go aboard, he remembered that he had left behind in his treasury a multitude of precious stones. He returned to the city * to fetch them, but was cut off from the harbour by the forces of the enemy; seeing that he could not escape, he thought to take refuge in the church of the Catholics. But before he could reach the holy threshold, one cast a lance, and gave him a mortal wound, so that he died there and gave up the ghost. Hildebert then desired to take his sister with him together with great treasures; but by some mishap she died upon the journey. Her body was taken to Paris and buried near her father Clovis.* Among other treasures, Hildebert carried off very precious services of church plate. For he took sixty chalices, fifteen patens, and

twenty covers for the Gospels, all of pure gold and adorned with precious stones.* He did not allow them to be broken up, for he presented all of them to cathedral and monastic churches.*

11. After this Lothar and Childebert determined to attack Burgundy. They invited Theuderic also, but he refused to go in their support. The Franks under his dominion said to him: 'If thou refusest to go into Burgundy with thy brothers we shall desert thee,* for we choose rather to follow them.' But all his thought was how the Arvernians were faithless to him,[1] and he made answer: 'Follow me, and I will lead you into a land where ye shall win gold and silver, after your heart's desire, a land from which ye may take herds and slaves and raiment in abundance; only follow not my brothers.' Enticed by these promises, they swore to do as he willed. Thereupon he prepared to make an expedition to Clermont, promising his army again and again that he would allow them to carry back home the whole booty to be obtained in that region and even the people as well. Meanwhile Lothar and Childebert marched into Burgundy and besieged Autun; * Godomar was put to flight, and the whole of Burgundy taken.

12. But Theuderic with his army marched into Auvergne, bringing ruin and devastation to the whole region.[2] Meanwhile Arcadius, the instigator of the mischief, through whose wickedness the land was laid waste, betook himself to Bourges, which city at that time formed part of Childebert's kingdom; his mother, Placidina, and Alcima, his father's sister, were taken at Cahors, deprived of their property, and banished.[3] King Theuderic, then, arriving at the city of Clermont, pitched his camp in the suburb. In those days the blessed Quintianus * was bishop. Meanwhile his troops overran the whole of that region, destroying everything and dealing the ruin of war on every side. Some of them came to the church of the holy Julian, broke in the doors, removed the bars, pillaged the possessions of the poor which were brought together there,* and committed many outrages. But those who were guilty of these misdeeds were seized by an unclean spirit, so that they bit and rent each other with their own foul teeth, while they cried aloud, saying: 'Wherefore, O holy martyr, dost

[1] See ch. 9, above. [2] A. D. 532. [3] Cf. notes to chs. 2 and 9.

thou thus afflict us?' Which things I have written in my book of his Miracles.[1]

13. The hostile army stormed the strong place of Vollore * and cruelly slew at the altar of the church the priest Proculus, who formerly had done the holy Quintianus wrong.[2] And I believe it was through him that this strong place was delivered into the hands of wicked men, since down to that day it had always been successfully defended. For the besiegers were unable to take it by assault, and were already preparing to return home; and the besieged, at news thereof, were deceived into joy and security, according to the words of the apostle: 'When they shall say, Peace and safety, then shall sudden destruction come upon them.'[3] It was through the foul deed of Proculus that the people, now off their guard, were delivered into the hands of their enemies. After the place had been laid waste, and they were led away captive, the rains, which for thirty days had been withheld, fell in deluge. Next Chastel-Marlhac * was besieged, though here the defenders, by paying a ransom, saved themselves from captivity. But this was the result of cowardice, since the castle was a natural fortress, being surrounded not by constructed walls, but by cliffs a hundred feet or more high, strengthened by hewing. In the middle was a great pool of water excellent to drink, and in another part were springs so copious that they flowed away through the whole place[4] in a stream of living water. The ramparts enclosed so great a space that the dwellers within the walls cultivated the soil and reaped abundant crops. Over-confident through the protection of such defences, the besieged had sallied out, to the number of fifty, in the hope of taking some booty and withdrawing safely within their citadel. They were taken by the enemy and led in full view of their kinsmen with their hands bound behind their backs. The drawn sword was already over them, when those in the fortress, to save their lives, consented to pay a ransom of one *triens* for each man's head.* On his departure from Clermont, Theuderic left behind his kinsman Sigivald to protect the town. There was in the place at that time a certain Litigius, an official,* who was always plotting against the holy Quintianus; and even

[1] V. S. J., ch. 13. [2] V. P. iv, chs. 1, 2. [3] 1 Thess. v. 3.
[4] Or, reading *portam* for *totam*: 'through the gate of the place'.

though the holy bishop prostrated himself at his feet, this man could not be moved to show him due deference. On one occasion he even made fun before his wife of what the holy man had done. But she, having a better sense of things, said to him: 'If he is to-day so deeply fallen, thou shalt never be raised to honour.' Three days afterwards messengers came from the king and took him off in chains, his wife and children with him. So he departed and never came again to Clermont.

14. Munderic, who pretended to be of the blood royal, was puffed up with pride, and said: 'What have I to do with King Theuderic? My right to the throne is as good as his. I will go forth and gather my people together, and will take an oath of fealty from them, that Theuderic may know I am a king like himself.' * And he went forth and began to seduce the people, saying: 'I am a prince; follow me and it shall be well with you.' And a multitude of simple folk followed him, after the usual manner of weak mankind, taking the oath of allegiance and honouring him as king. When Theuderic heard this, he sent him the following message: 'Come to see me, and if any part of my kingdom be thy due, it shall be given thee.' Theuderic said this in guile, intending that he should be slain if he came. But Munderic refused, and answered thus: 'Go, take back this message to your king, that I also am a king no less than he.' Thereupon the king levied an army to put him down and punish him. As soon as Munderic was informed of this, having no confidence in his own power of resistance, he took refuge within the walls of Vitry * with all his goods, and there prepared to defend himself, gathering together there those whom he had led astray. The army that marched against him surrounded the castle and besieged it for seven days. But Munderic with his men repulsed the attack, saying: 'Let us stand fast and fight to the death together; let us never submit to our enemies.' The investing army flung javelins into the place from every side, but meeting no success, informed the king, who sent to them one of his retainers named Aregisel, first instructing him thus: 'Thou seest how this traitor succeedeth in his contumacy. Go to him, and promise him a safe-conduct under oath, and when he cometh out, slay him and destroy his memory from out my kingdom.' Aregisel departed, and did as he was com-

manded. He first of all arranged a signal with his men, saying to them: 'As soon as I speak thus and thus, rush in forthwith and slay him.' He then went in, and said to Munderic: 'How long wilt thou stay here like one bereft of sense? How canst thou long resist the king? Provisions will fail thee, hunger will wear thee down, till thou have no choice but to come forth; then art thou delivered into the hands of thine enemies, by whom thou shalt be slain like a dog. Hear rather my counsel; submit to the king, that thine own life may be spared and the life of thy sons.' Munderic, influenced by these words, replied: 'If I go forth, I shall be taken by the king and slain, I and my sons and all my friends who are here gathered about me.' Aregisel made answer: 'Have no fear; if thou desirest to go forth, receive my oath that thine offence shall not be remembered, and thou mayst stand secure in the king's sight. Fear nothing; thou shalt be with him as thou wert before.' To this Munderic replied: 'Would indeed I could be sure of not being slain!' Then Aregisel laid his hands upon the holy altar and swore that he should go forth unharmed. After receiving this oath, Munderic issued from the castle gate, holding Aregisel's hand; the people were on the alert, keeping their eyes upon him while he was yet far off. Then, as the signal agreed upon, Aregisel cried: 'Wherefore gaze ye thus intently, O ye people? Have ye never seen Munderic until now?' Instantly the men came rushing upon him. Then Munderic saw that he was betrayed, and said: 'Now know I right well that with these words thou hast given thy men a sign to slay me. But I say to thee that for deceiving me thus by a false oath, no man shall see thee any more alive.' Therewith he hurled his lance between his enemy's shoulders and pierced him through, so that he fell down dead. And after that Munderic drew his sword, together with his following, and made great slaughter of Aregisel's men, and to the drawing of his last breath he ceased not to slay all who came within his reach. After his death his property passed to the king's treasury.

15. Theuderic and Childebert entered into a treaty, and took a mutual oath that neither would make any attack upon the other; they exchanged hostages to ensure the keeping of their promises. Many of these were sons of senatorial families, but

new contention arising between the two kings, they were reduced to servitude on the royal domain, or were made the slaves of those to whose custody they had been committed.* Many of them escaped and returned home; but some were kept in servitude; among these was Attalus, nephew of the blessed Gregory, bishop of Langres;* he was made a public slave and set to look after horses; his master was a certain Frank * in the territory of Trèves. The blessed Gregory sent his servants to find him out. And when they discovered him, they offered his master presents; but he spurned them, saying: 'A man of such a family should not be redeemed for less than ten pounds of gold.*' When the servants returned home, a certain Leo, the bishop's cook, said to his lord: 'If thou wouldst but grant me leave, haply I could bring him back out of his captivity.' The bishop was glad, and Leo was sent to the place. On his arrival there, he tried to bring the boy away by stealth, but failed. He then made an agreement with a certain man, to whom he said: 'Come with me and sell me into the household of this Frank, and the price which he shall pay for me shall be thy profit; all that I want is freer opportunity of carrying out the design on which I am bent.' An oath was sworn between them; the man took him and sold him for twelve pieces of gold, after which he went his way. The purchaser asked his new slave what kind of work he could do, and Leo answered: 'I am skilled in the preparation of all manner of dishes for lords' tables; I have no fear that my equal shall be found in the art of cookery. I tell thee sooth, that if thou wert minded to offer a banquet to the king himself, I am able to prepare royal dishes; none can do it better than I.' The other then said: 'Sunday[1] is near' (for so the barbarians are wont to call the Lord's Day), 'when I shall invite my neighbours and my kinsfolk to my house. I would have thee make me such a supper as shall make them marvel and say: "Never saw we anything better even in the king's house."' Leo made answer: 'Let my lord cause to be brought in a great number of fowls, and I will do his bidding.' All that he required having been made ready, the Lord's Day dawned, and he set forth a great feast, abounding with all manner of delicacies. The guests feasted and praised the meal, and the kinsfolk

[1] *Dies Solis.*

departed to their homes. And the lord accorded his favour to his servant, who received power over all his goods. He was much beloved of his lord, and distributed the bread and meat [1] to all the household. Now after the lapse of a year, when he was wholly trusted by his master, he went out into a field near the house with the youth Attalus, the keeper of the horses. They both lay down on the ground, but some distance apart, and back to back, that none might perceive that they were talking to each other. He then said to the youth: 'It is time for us to be thinking of our own country. So I warn thee, when to-night thou hast brought the horses in to be stabled, not to fall asleep, but to join me as soon as I call, that we may start on our way.' The Frank had invited a number of his relations to a feast, and among them his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter. They rose from the board about midnight and betook themselves to rest; but Leo attended his lord's son-in-law to his room with a draught, and offered him to drink. And the man said to him: 'Tell me, O thou to whom my father-in-law entrusteth so much: hast thou the chance, wilt thou resolve to take his horses and go back to thy own country?' This he said in jest, of his good humour. Leo answered in the like jesting manner, but at the same time telling him the truth: 'I intend doing it this very night, if it be God's will.' The other rejoined: 'I hope my servants will keep a good watch, and see that thou takest nothing belonging to me.' So they parted in merriment. But as soon as all were asleep, Leo called Attalus, and when the horses were saddled, asked him whether he had a sword. Attalus answered: 'No; I need nothing but a small javelin.' Upon this Leo went into his master's room and took his shield and spear. When his master asked who it was, and what he wanted, he replied: 'It is thy servant Leo; I go to wake Attalus, and bid him rise forthwith to take the horses out to graze; for he is fast in a deep sleep, as if he were drunken.' The other said, 'Do as thou wilt!' and fell asleep. Leo went out and armed the boy, and found the yard gates miraculously opened, though in the early part of the night they had been fastened by hammering in wedges to keep the horses safely in. Then, giving thanks to God, and

[1] *cibaria et pulmenta.*

taking the rest of the horses with them, they made their escape, carrying a single bundle with their clothes. When they came to the ford of the Moselle,* they were detained by certain people there ; so they abandoned the horses and their clothes, and swam the river on their shields. Landing on the farther bank, they went into a wood under cover of night, and there lay concealed. It was now the third night that they were travelling without a mouthful of food ; when lo ! by the help of God they found a tree covered with the fruit called plums. They ate, and, somewhat sustained, set forth on the road into Champagne. But as they pressed forward they heard the noise of galloping horses, and said one to the other : ' Let us lie flat on the ground, so as to be invisible to the men behind us.' And suddenly they found near by a large bramble bush, behind which they ran and flung themselves down, drawing their swords that if discovered they might instantly defend themselves from any evil men. When the riders came up, they paused by the bramble bush, and while the horses staled, one of them said : ' A curse upon it that these rogues have got away, and are not to be found. I swear, by my life, that if ever they are caught I will have one gibbeted and the other cut to pieces by the sword.' It was the Frank himself, their master, coming from Reims in pursuit of them, and he would have surely found them on the road had not nightfall hindered his search. The party spurred their horses and went off again. But the same night the fugitives reached Reims, and entering the city asked a man whom they met where the house of the priest Paulellus [1] might be found. He told them, and while they were going along the street the bell rang for morning service, for it was the Lord's Day They knocked at the priest's door, and Leo explained whose servant he was. ' So my vision was true,' cried the priest. ' For this very night I saw two doves fly up and settle upon my hand, one white, the other black.' Then Leo said to the priest : ' May the Lord grant us indulgence, if on His holy day we beg thee for some food.* This is the dawning of the fourth day since we have tasted neither bread nor meat.' The priest concealed them, gave them bread steeped in wine, and went to service. The Frank, too, came in his turn inquiring after his escaped

[1] Other texts have Paulinus.

slaves ; but the priest frustrated him, and he withdrew ; this priest was bound to the blessed Gregory by ties of ancient friendship. The two recovered strength with nourishment, and stayed two days in the priest's house before they renewed their journey. And so they came to the blessed Gregory. At sight of them the bishop rejoiced, and wept upon the neck of his nephew Attalus. And he enfranchised Leo * and all his kin, and gave him land of his own on which he lived as a free man with his wife and children all the days of his life.

16. When Sigivald dwelled in Auvergne he wrought much evil there.[1] He despoiled many of their possessions, and his servants never ceased from thefts, murders, assaults, and other crimes, while no one dared open his lips in their presence. He seized in the most audacious manner the estate of Bougéat,* formerly left by the blessed bishop Tetradius to the church of the holy Julian. But as soon as he set foot in the house, he straightway lost his reason and dropped upon a bed. His wife, warned by the bishop, now had him lifted into a carriage * and taken to another domain, where he recovered his health. She then came to him, and told him of all that had befallen him. When he heard it, he made a vow to the blessed martyr, and restored the double of everything which he had taken. In my book on the wonders wrought by the holy Julian I have made mention of this miracle.[2]

17. Bishop Dinifius now died in the city of Tours, and Ommatius presided for three years over the see ; he had been consecrated by the command of that king, Chlodomer, of whom I have already made mention. He, too, dying, Leo held the office for seven months ; he was a man of great activity and skilled in the art of working in wood. After his decease the two bishops Theodore and Proculus, who came from the country of Burgundy at the bidding of Queen Clotild, governed the church of Tours ; they were succeeded by Francilio, a man of senatorial family. In the third year of his episcopate, when the night of the Lord's nativity shed its gracious light upon the people, he commanded a draught to be served him before he went down to vigils. A servant at once came and handed him a cup. But as soon as he had drained it he gave up the

[1] Cf. ch. 13, above.

[2] V. S. J., ch. xiv.

ghost; it was suspected that he had been poisoned. After his death Injuriosus, a citizen of Tours, obtained the episcopal throne as the fifteenth bishop after the blessed Martin.*

18. During the sojourn of Queen Clotild at Paris, Childebert observed that his mother lavished all her affection on the sons of Chlodomer, whom I have above mentioned.[1] This filled him with jealousy, for he feared that by her favour they might be admitted to a share in the kingdom. He therefore sent a secret message to his brother, King Lothar, to this effect: 'Our mother keepeth our brother's sons ever at her side, and is fain to give them their father's kingdom; it were well, therefore, if thou camest with all speed to Paris, that we may take counsel together and consider what we should do in the matter; whether we should cut their long locks * so that they may be held as the common sort, or whether we should put them to death and equally divide our brother's kingdom between us.' Lothar was rejoiced at the message and came to Paris. Childebert spread the rumour among the people that this meeting of two kings had for its object the raising to the throne of the young boys. When they met, they sent to the queen, who was residing at the time in Paris, a request that she should let the boys come to them, as they wished to exalt them in the kingdom. Thereupon she rejoiced, perceiving nothing of their guile, and after giving the boys to eat and drink, sent them forth with these words: 'I shall not feel that I have lost my son, if I see you raised to his place in the kingdom.' So the children went, but were straightway seized and kept in custody, apart from their attendants and governors;* they were in one place, their attendants in another. Then Childebert and Lothar sent to the queen that Arcadius, of whom I have spoken above,[2] with a pair of scissors and a naked sword. Admitted to the queen's presence, he showed her both, and said: 'Most glorious queen, our lords thy sons seek to know thy desire with regard to the boys; is it thy will that they live with shorn locks, or that they both be slain?' But she, terrified at these words and moved to violent wrath, especially when she looked upon the drawn sword and the scissors, distraught by bitterness of grief, and not knowing in her trouble what words came to her

[1] Ch. 6, above.

[2] Above, chs. 9 and 11.

lips, said simply: 'If they are not to be raised to the throne, I had liever see them dead than shorn.' But Arcadius took small account of her grief, nor cared to see what she might afterwards resolve after fuller reflection, but hurried back with his tale and said: 'The queen approveth; finish the task which ye have begun; she herself desireth the completion of your design.' They did not wait for more, but Lothar seized the elder boy by the arm, dashed him to the ground, and driving his dagger deep under his armpit, did him cruelly to death. At the sound of his cries his brother flung himself at Childebert's feet, clasped his knees, and cried amid his tears: 'Help, dearest uncle, lest I, too, perish like my brother.' Then Childebert, his face wet with tears, cried: 'I entreat thee, beloved brother, of thy pity grant me his life; only let him be spared, and I will pay whatsoever thou mayst ask in return.' But the other, giving way to violent abuse, cried to him: 'Cast him from thee, or thyself shalt surely die in his place. It was thou didst prompt to this business, and art thou now so swift to recoil from thy pledge?' At this rebuke Childebert pushed the boy from him and drove him to Lothar, who received him with a dagger-thrust in the side and slew him as he had done his brother. The attendants and governors of the young princes were then slain. After all were killed, Lothar took horse and rode away recking little of the murder of his nephews; Childebert withdrew to a suburb of the town. But the queen had the bodies of the two boys laid upon a bier, and to the sound of chanted psalms followed them in her measureless grief to the church of Saint Peter,* where they were both interred, one having lived ten years, the other seven. The third child, Chlodovald,* could not be taken; he was saved by the help of brave defenders. This prince grew up to despise an earthly kingdom, and passed into the service of the Lord. With his own hands he cut off his hair * and became a cleric, continuing earnest in good works; he passed away from this world as a priest.[1] The two kings divided the realm of Chlodomer between them in equal shares. But Queen Clotild revealed herself of such a noble and pious nature that she won the respect of all. She was never weary in almsgiving or in prayer through the night watches; in

[1] About 560.

chastity and in all virtue she showed herself without stain. To the churches, the monasteries, and other sacred places she gave the lands needful for their welfare, which she distributed with such generosity and eagerness that she was held in her day not so much a queen as the peculiar handmaid of the Lord, devoted without ceasing to His service. Her neither the royal estate of her sons, nor riches, nor ambition carried away to destruction ; but humility bore her to grace.

19. At that time the blessed Gregory was at Langres, a great priest of the Lord, renowned for his signs and miracles. As I have made mention of this bishop,* I have deemed that it might be welcome to the reader were I to insert here some account of the site of Dijon, where he most delighted to sojourn. It is a fortified place * with very strong walls, built in the middle of a pleasant plain. Its lands are fertile, and so productive that the fields are sown after a single ploughing, whereupon follows a great and rich harvest. On the south is the river Ouche, exceeding rich in fish ; on the north another and smaller stream * which enters at one gate, passes under a bridge, and issues through another gate, surrounding all the fortifications with its tranquil flow : before the gate it turns mill-wheels with a wondrous speed. Four gates face the four quarters of the world, and thirty-three towers guard the circuit of the walls, which are of squared stones to a height of twenty feet, and above of smaller stones, the total height being thirty feet with a thickness of fifteen. Why the place is not styled a city I cannot say. Round about are excellent springs. On the west side are very fertile hills covered with vines, yielding the inhabitants so noble a Falernian that they scorn the wine of Chalon. The ancients relate that Dijon was built by the Emperor Aurelian.

20. Theuderic betrothed his son Theudebert to Wisigard, daughter of a certain king.*

21. After the death of Clovis, the Goths had overrun many of his conquests ; Theuderic now [1] sent Theudebert to recover them, while Lothar sent his eldest son Gunthar. Gunthar, after advancing as far as Rodez, returned, I know not for what reason ; but Theudebert, pushing on to Béziers, took and sacked the strong place of Dio.* He then sent heralds

[1] In 533.

to another fortified place named Cabrières,* with the message that unless it surrendered it should be burned to the ground and its inhabitants taken captive.

22. There was at that time in the place a matron named Deuteria, a clever woman, full of resource, whose husband had withdrawn to the town of Béziers.* She now sent messengers to the king, saying: 'No man, most pious prince, may resist thee. We know thee for our lord; come, and do that which is pleasing in thy sight.' Theudebert therefore came to the place, entering it without resistance; and when he perceived the people submissive to him, he did harm to no man. Deuteria came out to meet him; and when he saw that she was fair, he was enamoured of her, and took her to his bed.

23. In these days Theuderic slew with the sword his kinsman Sigivald,[1] sending word secretly to Theudebert that he should put to death Sigivald's son, who was with him at the time. But Theudebert, who had received him from the sacred font, would not so destroy him, but gave him his father's letter to read, saying: 'Fly hence, for I am bidden to slay thee by my father. But when thou hearest that he is no more, and that I reign in his stead, then come thou back to me without fear.' Whereat the other rendered him thanks, and, bidding him farewell, departed. The Goths at this period had invaded Arles, from which city Theudebert held hostages; thither Sigivald fled. But finding little safety there, he went into Italy, and there lived in hiding. In the meanwhile news was brought to Theudebert that his father was grievously ill, and that if he did not hasten, so as to find him yet alive, he would be shut out by his uncles from the succession, and would never return into the kingdom. At this news he hastened to the place where his father was, regardless of all else, leaving behind Deuteria and her daughter[2] at Clermont. Not many days after his departure Theuderic died in the twenty-third year of his reign.[3] Then Childebert and Lothar rose up against Theudebert and sought to take his kingdom, but he sought conciliation by gifts, and with the support of his *leudes* established himself upon the throne. Thereupon he sent to fetch Deuteria from Clermont, and made her his queen.

24. Childebert, perceiving that he could not prevail against

[1] Cf. above, chs. 13, 16. [2] See ch. 25, below. [3] Early in 534.

Theudebert, sent an embassy to him, and bade him come to him, saying: 'I have no sons, and I would fain regard thee as my son.' And when Theudebert came, he enriched him with so many gifts, that it was a marvel to all. For he gave him three pairs of all things meet for a king's possession, as well arms as raiment; in like manner he presented him with horses and dogs.*

Now when Sigivald [1] heard that Theudebert had inherited his father's kingdom, he returned from Italy to seek him. Theudebert received him with joy, and embraced him, presenting him with a third part of his uncle's gifts, and ordering that all Sigivald's property which his father had confiscated should now be restored.

25. Confirmed in the possession of his kingdom, Theudebert showed himself a great king * and distinguished for every excellence. He ruled with justice, venerated the bishops, was liberal to the churches, relieved the poor, and distributed many benefits on all hands with piety and friendliest goodwill. He generously remitted to the churches in Auvergne all the tribute which they used to pay the royal domain.

26. When Deuteria perceived how her daughter was grown up, she feared that the king might desire her and take her to himself; she therefore set her in a cart drawn by untamed bulls and caused her thus to be driven over a bridge, so that she was drowned in the river. This happened at Verdun.

27. Theudebert had now been betrothed to Wisigard for seven years,[2] but refused to take her to wife on account of Deuteria. The Franks met in assembly * and reproached him for thus abandoning his betrothed. The king yielded, and putting away Deuteria, by whom he had a young son, Theudebald, took Wisigard to wife. She did not live long; upon her death he entered upon another union, and did not take Deuteria back.

28. Childebert and Theudebert levied an army and prepared to march against Lothar, who, hearing of their purpose, and not deeming himself strong enough to withstand such a force, took refuge in a forest *; there he made great barricades in the woods, and put his whole hope in God's mercy. When

[1] i. e. the son of the elder Sigivald.

[2] Cf. ch. 20, above.

this news came to Queen Clotild, she went to the tomb of the holy Martin, and there prostrated herself in prayer, keeping vigil all night long, and praying that no civil war might arise between her sons. Childebert and Theudebert advanced with their armies and blockaded their brother, preparing to slay him on the following day. But at dawn a tempest rose in the place where they were encamped; their tents were blown down, their gear scattered, and everything was overturned. There was thunder and lightning, and showers of hailstones fell on them. They flung themselves on their faces on the ground amid the hail, and were severely lashed by the falling stones; for they had no protection but their shields, and their chief fear was that they might be destroyed by the flame from the heavens. Their horses, too, were scattered so far and wide that they were hardly recovered twenty stadia away,* while many were never found at all. The kings, then, as I have said, being stricken with hailstones and prostrate on the ground, did penitence and besought pardon of God for having designed such cruel deeds against their own blood. Over Lothar not a drop of rain fell; no sound of thunder was heard, nor was the breath of any wind perceived in the place where he was. The brothers sent envoys to him, asking peace and concord; as soon as it was granted they returned to their homes. Let no man doubt that here the power of the blessed Martin was manifested * through the intercession of the queen.

29. After these events King Childebert went into Spain.* He invaded the country with Lothar, surrounding and besieging with his army the city of Saragossa. But the besieged turned with great humility to God; abstaining alike from food and drink, and clothing themselves in shirts of hair, they marched round their walls singing psalms, and bearing the tunic of the blessed martyr Vincent.* The women followed weeping, clad in black raiment with their hair unbound and ashes on their heads, so that they seemed as widows at the funerals of their dead husbands. In this wise the city placed all its hope in the mercy of God, and it might have been said to fast even as Nineveh;[1] its prayers could not fail to bend the divine compassion. The besiegers, not understanding what the beleaguered did, circumambulating the walls thus in their

[1] Cf. Jonah iii. 5.

sight, conceived that they were practising some kind of enchantment. But having taken prisoner a poor man of the place, they asked him the meaning of these proceedings. He answered: 'They are bearing the tunic of the blessed Vincent, and with it are imploring the Lord to have mercy upon them.' This filled them with fear, and they withdrew from the city. But they had conquered a large part of Spain, and returned with great booty into Gaul.

30. In Spain, after Amalaric, Theuda * was elected king. He was put to death, and Theudegisel was raised on the shield.* But while he was feasting with his friends, and very merry, the lights were suddenly put out while they lay * at the board, and he was put to the sword by his enemies. After him Agila received the kingdom.[1] For the Goths had adopted the hateful custom of killing in this way such of their kings as did not please them, and appointing the person on whom their fancy fell.

31. Theodoric, king of Italy, who had taken to wife the sister of King Clovis, now died and left his queen with a little daughter.* When the girl grew up, the levity of her lover [2] caused her to neglect the wise counsel of her mother, who destined a king's son for her; she chose instead her slave named Traguilla, with whom she eloped to a city where she was safe from attack. Her mother was enraged, and implored her no longer to abase her noble lineage, but to dismiss the slave and accept a man of royal blood equal to her own, whom she had chosen for her. But the daughter would by no means consent. Then the mother in her wrath sent armed men against her, who, coming upon them, put Traguilla to the sword, beat the princess, and brought her back to her mother's house. They both lived as members of the Arian sect, and as it is their custom, when they approach the altar, for the kings to communicate from one cup and the lesser people from another, the daughter put poison in the chalice from which her mother was to drink. The queen drank from it, and straightway died. There can be no doubt that such a crime as this was the work of the Devil. What shall these miserable heretics answer to the charge that the Enemy is present in

[1] 549–54.

[2] *Amici sui*. Perhaps *animi* should be read, when the sense would be 'levity of mind'.

their holy place? But as for us who confess the Trinity in one equality and omnipotence, even should we drink deadly poison in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, it should nothing harm us.* The people of Italy, indignant at the act of this woman, called in Theudat, king of Tuscany, and established him as king over them. But when the new king learned the wickedness which the harlot had wrought, and how she had murdered her own mother for the sake of a slave whom she had taken to her, he caused a bath to be heated * to an exceeding great heat, and commanded that she should be shut up in it together with one of her maids. But no sooner had she gone within amidst the hot vapour than she fell dead upon the paved floor and was destroyed. When the two kings Childebert and Lothar, her cousins, and likewise Theudebert, heard that she had lost her life through so shameful a punishment, they sent an embassy to Theudat, upbraiding him for her death, and saying: 'If thou make not composition * for so having used us, we will take away thy kingdom, and condemn thee to a like punishment.' The king in fear sent them fifty thousand pieces of gold. Childebert, who was always envious and crafty in his dealings with King Lothar, divided this gold between himself and his nephew Theudebert, and they agreed together to give no share to King Lothar. But he, by seizing the treasure of Chlodomer, deprived them of much more than the sum of which they had defrauded him.

32. Theudebert marched into Italy and made great gain from that country. But as those parts are unhealthy of repute, his army collapsed under divers kinds of fever that attacked it, and many of his followers died in that land. For this reason Theudebert returned to Gaul, bringing, both himself and his men, great booty home. It is said that on this occasion he advanced as far as Pavia,* to which place he afterwards sent Buccelin.* This leader first took Lesser Italy,* and brought it under the sway of the above-named king, then moved to Greater Italy, where, after many an encounter, he was victorious over Belisarius. When the emperor saw the frequent defeats of Belisarius, he removed him, and appointed Narses in his place; and to humiliate Belisarius, he put him once more in his old post of count of the stables.* Buccelin fought

great battles against Narses, taking all Italy and pushing his conquests to the sea ; moreover, he sent great treasures home from Italy to Theudebert. When Narses had reported this to his master, the emperor hired foreign mercenaries, and sent them in support of Narses, who again gave battle, and afterwards retired vanquished. Then Buccelin took Sicily,* from which he exacted tribute, sending it to the king. For he had great good fortune in these enterprises.

33. Asteriolus and Secundinus were at this time in great place about the king ; both of them were well-educated men and versed in rhetoric.* Secundinus had several times gone as the king's envoy to the emperor, which made him arrogant and often guilty of outrageous behaviour. This caused a bitter quarrel to arise between the two men, which went so far that, offensive words no more sufficing, they came to fisticuffs. The king appeased their wrath ; but while Secundinus was still swollen and sore from the blows which he had received, a fresh feud began between them. The king espoused the cause of Secundinus, and abandoned to his tender mercies Asteriolus, who was deeply humiliated and deprived of his honours ; though these were restored by the influence of Queen Wisigard. Upon her death, Secundinus rose once more against him, and put him to death. He left a son, who, growing up to man's estate, prepared to avenge his father's wrongs. Secundinus, panic-stricken, fled before him from one country estate to another ; but seeing his pursuer hard upon him and escape impossible, he is said to have killed himself by taking poison, that he might not fall into the power of his enemy.

34. Desideratus, bishop of Verdun, to whom King Theuderic had done many injuries, was by the Lord's will restored to liberty after many calamities, losses, and sorrows, and once more took possession of his bishopric. But he found the people of his city exceeding poor and destitute, and his heart grieved for them. And as, through the act of Theuderic, he was deprived of his own property, and had no means of succouring them, he sent messengers to Theudebert, perceiving the goodness and clemency of that king. They carried this message : ' The fame of thy goodness is noised abroad over the whole earth, that thou art one to lend aid even to those who ask thee nothing. I pray therefore, if thy piety can spare us money,

lend it to us, that we may restore our citizens to prosperity. And as soon as, by exercise of their industry, they have won such a return as other cities can show, we will render thy loan with the lawful interest.' The king, moved to compassion, lent him seven thousand pieces of gold, which he took and distributed among the citizens. And they, devoting themselves to their affairs, were by this means enriched, and to this day are held in great consideration. But when the bishop offered to return the money, the king answered: 'I have no need of it. Enough for me that under thy dispensation the poor and oppressed by want have been relieved, thou asking, and I giving.' He refused to receive anything, and thus enriched the citizens of Verdun.

35. This bishop dying in the above-named town, one of the citizens, Agyric,* succeeded to his throne. But Syagrius, his son, remembering his father's wrongs, how he was accused by Syrivald before King Theuderic, and not only robbed but even tortured, fell upon Syrivald with an armed band and slew him in the following manner. On a morning of dense fog, when the shades of darkness were only just dissolving, and hardly might things be distinguished, he came to Syrivald's estate named Floriacus* in the territory of Dijon; a friend of his coming out of the house, they slew him, by mistake for Syrivald. They then set off home, believing that they had triumphed over their enemy; but one of his slaves told them that they had not killed the master of the house, but only one of his household. They turned back to seek Syrivald himself, and finding the chamber in which he usually slept, for a long time made repeated efforts to force the door, against which they could do nothing. They then broke down the wall upon one side, and effecting an entry, put Syrivald to the sword. It was after the death of Theuderic that he was slain.

36. After these events King Theudebert fell ill.* The physicians lavished all their care upon him; but nothing availed, for the Lord bade him be summoned. And so after a very long illness, failing for very feebleness, he gave up the ghost.[1]

Now the Franks bore deep hatred against Parthenius because he had laid the burden of taxes upon them in the time of the late king; they now went after him. But perceiving his danger, he fled the city, and earnestly besought two bishops

[1] A. D. 548.

to escort him to Trèves, and quell by their exhortations the riot of the enraged people. Upon the journey, while he was in bed one night, he called out loudly in his dreams, crying: 'Help, help! O ye there! succour me, for I am like to perish!' Those within call were roused by his clamour, and asked what was the matter. He answered: 'Ausanius, my friend and my wife Papianilla, whom I put to death, were summoning me to judgement, saying: "Come and make answer, for thou must plead thy cause against us before the Lord."' For some years before, in a fit of jealousy, he had slain his innocent wife and his friend. On their coming to Trèves, the bishops, unable to withstand the rebellious uproar of the people, endeavoured to conceal him in the church, by putting him in a chest, and laying over him ecclesiastical vestments. The people rushed in and searched every corner of the building, but found nothing, and were going off in a frenzy, when suspicion struck one man, who cried: 'Look at that chest there; we have not yet searched it for our enemy.' The guardians declared that it contained nothing but church ornaments;[1] but the people demanded the key, threatening to break in the chest themselves unless it were immediately opened. So it was unlocked, and there, when they had removed certain linen cloths, they found him, and dragged him out with hurrahs, crying: 'The Lord hath delivered our enemy into our hands.' Then they struck him with their fists and spat upon him; after that they tied his hands behind his back, bound him to a column, and stoned him. He was a voracious glutton, taking aloes to quicken digestion and recover appetite sooner, and venting his wind without any regard for those who might hear him. Such was the manner of his end.

37. This year there was a bad winter, much severer than usual; the streams were frozen, and people crossed them as if they were dry ground. The snows lay deep, and the birds, either numbed or famished, were caught in the hand without need of snares.

From the death of Clovis to the death of Theudebert are counted thirty-seven years. Theudebert dying in the fourteenth year of his reign, his son Theudebald reigned in his stead.[2]

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BOOK

[1] *Ornamenta ecclesiae.* [2] A. D. 548–56.

BOOK IV

[BOOK THE FOURTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE FOURTH BOOK

I. Of the death of Queen Clotild.
II. How King Lothar would have seized a third part of Church revenues.
III. Of his wives and children.
IV. Of the counts of the Bretons.
5. Of the holy Gall, the bishop.
6. Of the priest Cato.
7. Of the episcopate of Cautinus.
V. (8) Of the kings of Spain.
VI. (9) Of the death of King Theudovald.
VII. (10) Of the rebellion of the Saxons.
11. How at the king's bidding they sought Cato for the bishopric of Tours.
12. Of Anastasius the priest.
VIII. (13) Of the frivolity and wickedness of Chramn; and of Firminus.
IX. (14) How Lothar marched a second time against the Saxons.
15. Of the episcopate of the holy Eufronius.
X. (16) Of Chramn and his abettors, and the evil which he did, and how he came to Dijon.
XI. (17) How Chramn went over to Childebert.
XII. (18) Of Duke Austrapius.
19. Of the death of the holy Medard, the bishop.
XIII. (20) Of the death of Childebert and of Chramn.
XIV. (21) Of the death of King Lothar.
XV. (22) The division of the kingdom between his sons.
XVI. (23) How Sigibert marched against the Huns, and how Chilperic fell upon his cities.
XVII. (24) Of the patriciate of Celsus.
XVIII. (25) Of the wives of Guntram.
XIX. (26) Of the wives of Charibert.
XX. (27) How Sigibert took Brunhild to wife.

XXI. (28) Of the wives of Chilperic.
XXII. (29) Of the second war of Sigibert against the Huns.
XXIII. (30) How by command of King Sigibert the men of Auvergne marched to the city of Arles.
XXIV. (31) Of the strong place of Tauredunum, and of other wonders.
32. Of the monk Julian.
33. Of the abbot Sunniulf.
34. Of the monk of Bordeaux.
35. Of the episcopate of Abitus of Clermont.
36. Of the holy Nicetius of Lyons.
37. Of the holy Friard, the recluse.
XXV. (38) Of the kings of Spain.
XXVI. (39) Of the death of Palladius of Auvergne.
XXVII. (40) Of the emperor Justin.
XXVIII. (41) How Alboin with the Lombards invaded Italy.
XXIX. (42) Of the wars of Mummolus against the Lombards.
43. Of the archdeacon of Marseilles.
XXX. (44) Of the Lombards and Mummolus.
XXXI. (45) How Mummolus came to Tours.
XXXII. (46) Of the death of Andarchius.
XXXIII. (47) How Theudebert overran the cities.
48. Of the monastery of Latte.
XXXIV. (49) How Sigibert came to Paris.
XXXV. (50) How Chilperic made a treaty with Guntram, and of the death of his son Theudebert.
XXXVI. (51) Of the death of Sigibert.

HERE ENDS THE LIST OF CHAPTERS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 547 to 575.]

HERE BEGINS THE FOURTH BOOK

IN the time of Bishop Injuriosus died at Tours Queen Clotild, full of days and rich in good works.[1] She was borne to Paris with great chanting of psalms and buried by her sons Childebert and Lothar by the side of King Clovis in the sanctuary of the church of Saint Peter; for she herself had erected this church, in which the most blessed Genovefa is also interred.*

2. Now King Lothar had ordained that all the churches in his kingdom should pay a third part of their revenues to his treasury.* All the other bishops had consented and signed their names; but the blessed Injuriosus manfully refused, and disdained to sign, saying: 'If thou desirest to take that which is God's, the Lord shall quickly take away thy kingdom, for it is a wickedness that when thy duty biddeth thee feed the poor from thy granary, thou shouldst fill it by taking their pence.' And being angered with the king, he withdrew without taking his leave. Then was the king vexed in spirit, fearing the power of the blessed Martin,* and sent after him with gifts, beseeching his pardon, condemning that which he had done, and at the same time asking him to pray that the power of the blessed bishop Martin might be his aid.

3. Now King Lothar had seven sons by divers women: by Ingund he had Gunthar, Childeric, Charibert, Guntram, Sigibert, and a daughter Chothsind; by Aregund, sister of Ingund, Chilperic; by Chunsina he had Chramn. I will now tell how it was that he married his wife's sister. When he was already wedded to Ingund, and loved her with his whole heart, she made him the following suggestion: 'My lord hath done with his handmaid according to his pleasure, and taken her to his bed; now to make my reward complete, let my lord hear the proposal of his servant. I entreat him graciously to choose for his servant my sister an able and rich husband, that I be not humbled but exalted by her, and thus may give thee yet more faithful service.' On hearing this, the king, who was

[1] A. D. 544.

most amorous by temperament, began to desire Aregund, and betaking himself to the domain where she lived, he married her. When she was his, he returned to Ingund and spoke as follows: 'I have done my best to procure for thee the reward which thy sweetness asked of me. I sought a man wealthy and of good wit, whom I might give in marriage to thy sister, but I found none better than myself. Know therefore that I have taken her to wife, which I believe will not displease thee.' She answered: 'Let my lord do that which seemeth good in his sight; only let his handmaid live in the enjoyment of his favour.' Gunthar, Chramn, and Childeric died during their father's lifetime; the death of Chramn I shall tell in the sequel.[1] Alboin, king of the Lombards, received as his bride Chlothsind, the king's daughter.

Injuriosus, bishop of Tours, died in the seventeenth year of his episcopate;[2] Baudin, ex-domestic * of King Lothar, succeeded him as sixteenth bishop after the death of the blessed Martin.

4. Chanao, a count of the Bretons,* put to death three of his brothers. He also wished to kill Macliav, whom he seized, loaded with chains, and kept in prison. Felix, bishop of Nantes,* saved him from death, whereupon he swore loyalty to his brother, but on some occasion or other he determined to break his oath. When Chanao discovered this, he pursued him to take him again. When Macliav saw that he had no chance of escape, he fled for refuge to another count of that region,* named Chonomor, who, on the approach of the pursuers, concealed him in an underground cavity, erecting a regular tomb above him, but leaving a hole through which he might breathe. On the appearance of the pursuers, they were told: 'Macliav is dead, and lo! here is his place of burial.' When they heard that, they rejoiced, and drank upon the very tomb, afterwards returning to Chanao with the news of his brother's death. But as soon as he heard it, he took possession of all his brother's lands; for after the death of Clovis, the Bretons were always under the dominion of the Franks, and were called counts, not kings. Then Macliav, emerging from underground, went to Vannes, where he received the tonsure and was consecrated as bishop. But on the death

[1] Below, ch. 13 (20). [2] About 546.

of Chanao he renounced his holy calling, let his hair grow long again,* recovered his wife, whom he had forsaken when he became a cleric, and at the same time took possession of his brother's territory; for this he was excommunicated by the bishops. The manner of his death I will recount in the sequel.[1] Bishop Baudin also died in the sixth year of his episcopate;[2] the abbot Gunthar was appointed in his place as seventeenth bishop after the passing of the holy Martin.

5. When, as I have above related,* the blessed Quintianus had passed from this world, the holy Gall,* with the king's support, was appointed in his place. In his time raged the pestilence known as the plague of the groin * in divers regions, but especially in the province of Arles; but the holy Gall trembled not so much on his own account as for his flock. By day and night he besought the Lord that he might not live to see his people devastated, and lo! there appeared to him an angel of the Lord, whose hair and raiment were white as snow. And the angel said to him: 'Thou dost well, O bishop, thus to entreat the Lord on behalf of thy people, for thy prayer is heard, and behold, thou and thy people shall be freed from this malady, for while thou livest no man in this region shall perish of this plague. Fear not therefore now; but when eight years are gone by, then fear.' Whence it was clear that after that lapse of time he should depart from this world, he awoke, and giving God thanks for such a consolation, in that He had deigned to comfort him by a messenger from above, he instituted those Rogations * in which all went on foot at mid-Lent to the tomb of the blessed Julian the martyr, a distance of about three hundred and sixty stadia.* Then suddenly, as men looked, signs appeared on the walls of houses and churches, which writing was called Tau by the people.* But while, as I have elsewhere related,[3] that plague consumed other regions, through the intercession of the holy Gall it did not reach Clermont. I hold it no small grace that this shepherd by his merit was not left to see his sheep devoured, for the Lord preserved them.

When he had passed from this world, and his body was washed and carried into the church, the priest Cato forthwith

[1] See V. 16. [2] About 552. [3] G. M., ch. 50.

received the salutations of the clergy as their new bishop, and assumed control of all Church property as if he were already enthroned, removing the superintendents, dismissing Church servants, and regulating everything by his sole authority.

6. But the bishops who had assembled for the funeral of the holy Gall, after they had buried him, said to the priest Cato: 'We see that the choice of the majority of the people is fixed on thee; come, therefore, agree with us; we will bless thee and consecrate thee bishop. The king is a boy;* if fault is laid to thy charge, we will take thee under our protection; we will so deal with the lords and chief men of Theudebald's kingdom as to prevent any wrong being done thee; put all thy trust in us; we promise that all shall go well for thee, and that of our own resources we will make good any loss which may befall thee.' But he, all swollen and vainglorious as he was, made this answer: 'Ye know by general report that from my earliest years I have ever lived according to religion; that I have fasted, and had delight in almsgiving; that many a time I have prolonged my vigils; that often I have stood the whole night through fervently chanting the psalms. Nor shall the Lord my God suffer me now to be deprived of this consecration, since I have shown so great a zeal in His service. I have ever attained the grades of clerical rank according to canonical precept.* I was reader ten years; five years I ministered as subdeacon; for fifteen years I served as deacon; for twenty years I have held the dignity of the priesthood. What remaineth to me but that I should receive the bishopric as the reward of my faithful service? Return ye therefore to your cities, and do whatsoever may befit your interests; as for me, I intend to assume this honour, which according to the canons is my due.' When they heard this, the bishops departed, expressing their disgust at his vanity.

7. Having therefore been chosen bishop by formal consent of the clergy, he took the sole direction of all affairs before the election was confirmed, and began uttering various threats against the archdeacon Cautinus, saying: 'I will remove thee from thy office, I will abase thee, I will hold thee in suspense of many deaths.' The other replied: 'Most pious lord, I desire thy good favour; if I win it, I will do thee a service. To

spare thee all trouble, with a heart free from all guile, myself will go to the king and obtain the bishopric for thee; I ask nothing for my own part but that I may deserve thy favour.' Cato, suspecting a snare, disdained his offer. Then Cautinus, seeing himself slighted and exposed to false accusation, feigned illness, and left the city in the night, making his way to King Theudebald, to whom he announced the death of the holy Gall. When the king and those about him heard the news, he convened the bishops at Metz, and Cautinus the archdeacon was himself consecrated. He was already bishop on the arrival of the messengers sent by the priest Cato. The king ordered these clerics to be handed over to Cautinus, together with all the property of the Church which they had brought with them, after which he was escorted to Clermont by the bishops and chamberlains * appointed to accompany him. The clergy and people of that city gave him a glad welcome, and he was installed as bishop of Clermont. Afterwards there arose great occasions of ill blood between him and the priest Cato, for none could ever persuade Cato to submit himself to his bishop. There were two parties among the clergy—one recognizing Cautinus, the other Cato—which resulted to their great detriment. For when Bishop Cautinus perceived that nothing would induce him to make submission, he deprived Cato and his supporters of all that they received from the Church, and left them empty and destitute. But if any among them was converted to his side, he restored to him everything which he had lost.

5 (8). King Agila,* who now reigned in Spain, oppressed the people with the exceeding heavy yoke of his tyranny. Wherefore the army of the emperor [1] entered the country, and overran several cities. Agila was slain, and Athanagild [2] received the kingdom. Who afterwards waged many wars against that army, and often vanquished it, taking from it in part the cities which it had wrongfully invaded.*

6 (9). Theudebald, on reaching man's estate, wedded Vuldetrada.* This Theudebald is said to have been of a malicious humour. Once, when angry with a man suspected of robbing him, he related to him the following fable: 'A serpent found a jar of wine, entered by the mouth, and drank the

[1] Justinian. A. D. 554–67.

whole contents. Swollen by the wine, it could not get out as it had got in. The owner of the wine came up while the serpent was vainly seeking a way out, and said to it: "Cast up first what thou hast swallowed, and then thou wilt be able to go free." ' This fable filled the hearer with exceeding fear and hatred. It was in this king's reign that Buccelin was slain by Narses,* after having brought the whole of Italy under the dominion of the Franks. Italy was won for the emperor, nor was any afterwards able to recover it.

In the same reign we saw grapes grow on the tree called the elder, apart from any conjunction with the vine; the flowers of this tree, which, as you know, usually produce black berries, now yielded grapes. At this time also a fifth star coming from the adverse side was seen to enter the circle of the moon. I believe that these signs presaged the king's death. He fell into a great weakness, and from the waist downwards lost control of his limbs; after a gradual decline, he died in the seventh year of his reign.[1] Lothar succeeded to his kingdom,* and took Vuldetrada to wife. But the bishops rebuked him, so that he left her, and gave her in marriage to Duke Garivald.* His son Chramn he sent to Auvergne.

7 (10). In this year the Saxons rebelled,* and King Lothar, raising an army against them, destroyed the greater part. He then overran and ravaged all Thuringia because the people had helped the Saxons.

11. Gunthar, bishop of Tours, died in that city. At the suggestion, as it was said, of Bishop Cautinus,[2] the priest Cato was invited to govern the Church of Tours, and a deputation of clergy with Leubast, abbot and *martyrarius*,* journeyed with great pomp to Clermont. They declared the king's pleasure to Cato, who kept them waiting a few days for his reply. They grew impatient to return, and said: 'Reveal thy decision, that we may know what course to take; else we shall go back to our homes. For it was not of our own choice that we have sought thee, but by injunction of the king.' But Cato, vainglorious ever, got together a crowd of poor people, and instructed them to make outcry in these words: 'Wherefore, O good father, dost thou leave thy children whom thou hast brought up until now? If thou goest, who shall refresh

[1] A. D. 555. [2] Cf. ch. 7, above.

us with food and drink? We entreat thee, leave not those whom thou wert wont to nourish.' He then turned to the clergy of Tours and said: 'Ye see now, beloved brethren, after what manner I am cherished by this multitude of the poor. I cannot abandon them to go with you.' They therefore took this answer back to Tours. Cato had ingratiated himself with Chramn, from whom he had received a promise that if Lothar should at this time chance to die, Cautinus should be ejected from the bishopric, and he himself should be set over the church of Clermont. But it was not given to him who had despised the throne of the blessed Martin to obtain that of his own desire; and there was fulfilled in him that which David sang: 'He would not receive the blessing, and it shall be removed from him.' [1] For he was strutting in the elation of his conceit, and deemed that none was more renowned for sanctity than he. Once upon a time he hired a woman to cry aloud in the church, as if possessed,* declaring him a great saint and one dear to God, but Bishop Cautinus guilty of every crime and unworthy ever to have received the priesthood.

12. Now Cautinus, after his succession to the see, so demeaned himself as to be held in general loathing. He was given to wine beyond measure, and was often so far gone in drink that four men might scarce carry him from table; the result was that at a later time he became epileptic. These excesses frequently occurred in public view. He reached, moreover, such a pitch of avarice that it seemed almost death to him if he failed to get at least some part of any lands marching with his own. If the owner was a person of standing, Cautinus picked a quarrel and robbed him with abuse; if he was of less account, he seized the property by force. As our own Sollius says: * 'In his arrogance he did not pay the money due, and when he received no title-deeds he was in despair.'

There was at this time in Clermont a priest named Anastasius, a man of free birth, who owned a property by grant of Queen Clotild of glorious memory. At several interviews the bishop had earnestly begged him to give him the queen's grant, and cede him the land. He was slow in yielding to the desire of the bishop, who sometimes sought to obtain his

[1] Ps. cviii. 18. The Vulgate has *elongabitur ab eo*; Gregory writes *prolongabitur*.

object by cajolery, at other times by threats; but at last ordered him to be brought to the city against his will, and there in the most shameless manner had him detained, commanding that if he refused to surrender the documents he should be roughly used and starved to death. Anastasius resisted like a man, and would not give up the deeds, affirming that he would rather himself waste away for want of food than leave his children destitute. He was then by the bishop's orders placed under guard to meet death by starvation unless he consented to produce the documents. Under the church of the holy martyr Cassius there was a most ancient crypt, far removed from sight; it contained a great sarcophagus of Parian marble in which lay the remains of some person dead long ago.* The priest was buried alive above the dead man in this tomb, and the stone which had previously covered it was replaced; guards were then posted at the crypt door. But the men, satisfied that he was safe under the stone lid, lit a fire (for it was winter) and fell asleep under the influence of the wine which they warmed at it. Then the priest, like a new Jonah,[1] from the confinement of his tomb, as from the bowels of hell, kept beseeching the mercy of the Lord. Now the sarcophagus, as I have said, was spacious; and though he was unable to turn his whole body, he was free to stretch out his hands at will. The remains of the dead man, as he used afterwards to relate, gave out a mortal stench which caused a tremor not alone in his external organs of sense, but in his very vitals. As long as he could close his nostrils with his mantle he escaped the worst; but as soon as he moved the cloak a little, when he felt half stifled, the pestilential odour penetrated him through the mouth, through the nose, and, one might almost say, through the ears as well. To be brief, at the moment when, as I believe, the Lord had compassion on him, he stretched out his right hand to the border of the sarcophagus and found an iron crowbar, which, at the letting down of the lid, had remained between it and the rim of the tomb beneath. He moved this little by little, and, God's aid working with him, he felt the stone shift. When it was so far pushed aside as to let him put out his head, he widened the opening until his body could pass too. The shades

[1] Jonah ii. 1.

of night were now obscuring the daylight, though they were not everywhere diffused. Anastasius sought another door of the crypt ; it was secured by exceeding strong locks and by great nails, but was so ill fitted together that he could see out between the planks. The priest bent his head to the chinks, and perceived a man passing by. He called to him, though with a faint voice. The man heard him, and at once grasped his axe, cut through the planks to which the bolts were fixed, and opened a way out for the prisoner, who, coming up out of the darkness, proceeded home, first earnestly enjoining on the man to say nothing to any one of his adventure. Entering his house, he found the deeds given him by Queen Clotild, and took them with him to King Lothar, to whom he told the story of his burial alive by the bishop. All present were astounded, declaring that not even Nero or Herod had perpetrated such a crime as to put a man alive into the grave. While they still spoke, Bishop Cautinus appeared before the king ; but on the accusation of Anastasius he went away vanquished and confounded. Anastasius received diplomas from the king enabling him easily to defend his property, which he continued to possess, and bequeathed to his descendants. In Cautinus was neither piety nor consideration ; he was wholly unversed in letters, whether sacred or profane. With the Jews, to whose influence he submitted, he was on familiar terms, not for their conversion, which should have been his care as a good shepherd, but to buy of them precious objects. He was easily flattered, and they gave him gross adulation. Then they sold him the things at a higher price than they were worth.

8 (13). At this time Chramn held his residence in Clermont ; he was senseless in many of his acts, and these were the cause of his premature death. The people heaped curses on him. None capable of good or sound advice was favourite of his ; he gathered round him persons of the baser sort in the unstable time of their youth. For these only he cared, to their advice only he listened. Even the daughters of senatorial families were forcibly abducted by his orders. He drove Firminus * from his office as count of the city with outrage, and appointed Salustius, son of Evodius,* in his place. Firminus and his sister-in-law took sanctuary in the church. It was Lent, and Bishop Cautinus had made preparation to go in procession to

the parish of Brioude according to the institution of the holy Gall described above.[1] He issued from the city with many a sigh, through fear of some mischance upon the way, for he, too, was menaced by King Chramn.* While he was on the road, the king sent Imnachar and Scapthar, the chief of those about his person, with these instructions: 'Go and drag Firminus with Caesaria his mother-in-law out of the church.' When therefore the bishop had set out with singing of chants, as I have said above, these envoys of Chramn went into the church and did their best to soothe the fears of Firminus and Caesaria by various cajoleries. After they walked up and down the church for a very long time, talking of one thing after another, and while the fugitives were intent on what they said, they approached the doors of the sacred building, which at the moment were open. Then Imnachar seized Firminus in his arms, and Scapthar Caesaria, and forced them out of the church, where their men were placed ready to seize them. They were at once sent into banishment. But on the second day their guards were heavy with sleep, and, finding themselves free, they fled to the church of the blessed Julian, thus saving themselves from exile, though their property was confiscated. But Bishop Cautinus, suspecting that he, too, might suffer outrage as he followed this very road to Brioude, kept a saddled horse beside him; suddenly, looking round, he saw men riding behind to come up with him. 'Woe is me!' he cried; 'these are men sent by Chramn to take me.' Thereupon he mounted the horse, left the procession, and plying both spurs managed alone and half dead to reach the porch of the church of the holy Julian. In relating this story I recall the saying of Sallust * against the detractors of historians: 'It seems a hard task to write history: firstly, because you must make your words correspond to your facts; secondly, because most readers put down to malevolence and envy any strictures you may make upon offences.' But let me now pursue my task.

9 (14). After the death of Theudebald,[2] Lothar succeeded to the land of the Franks,* and was making his progress round it when he was informed by his people that the Saxons were once more[3] in a mad ferment and in open rebellion against him; further, that they haughtily refused to pay the tribute

[1] Above, ch. 5. [2] A. D. 556. [3] Cf. ch. 7 (10), above.

which they had to bring every year. The king was angered at the news, and marched against them. But when he was almost at their boundaries, the Saxons sent envoys to him with this message: 'It is not our will to presume against thee, nor would we refuse our usual tribute, which we have paid to thy brothers and thy nephews;* if thou demandest it, we will pay yet more. One thing only we entreat, that there be peace, and that there be no conflict between thine army and our people.' At this King Lothar said to those about him: 'These men speak well; let us not advance upon them, lest haply we sin against God.' But they answered: 'We know that they are liars,* and that they will in no wise fulfil their promise; let us therefore go fall upon them.' Again the Saxons sought peace, offering the half of their possessions. And Lothar said to his followers: 'I entreat you, let these men be, lest the wrath of God be aroused against us.' But they would not be satisfied. A third time the Saxons came, offering their raiment, their cattle, and all their movable property, saying: 'Take all these things, with the half of our lands; only leave our wives and our children in freedom, and let there be no war between us.' But even this would not satisfy the Franks. Then King Lothar said: 'Desist, I pray you, desist from your purpose. The right is not on our side; go not forth to a war in which ye shall meet your ruin. But if go ye will, I for my part shall not follow.' Then, furious with the king, they rushed upon him,* rending his tent and roughly abusing him; they even dragged him off by force, and would have slain him if he had delayed to go with them. King Lothar, seeing how matters stood, went with them against his will. When the battle was joined, the Franks were smitten by the enemy with great slaughter, and there fell so many upon both sides that hardly might the dead be reckoned up or numbered. Then Lothar, greatly troubled in spirit, entreated peace, declaring that he had attacked against his own desire. Peace was granted, and he returned home.

15. When the citizens of Tours learned of the king's return from this battle with the Saxons, they brought him their formal agreement* in favour of Eufronius, the priest, as bishop. After they had represented the matter, the king replied in these words: 'We had already given our decision that the

priest Cato should be consecrated at Tours ;[1] wherefore is our command treated with contempt ? ' They answered : ' We invited him, but he would not come.' While they were speaking, Cato the priest appeared suddenly in person, and besought the king to eject Cautinus from the see of Clermont, and command his own appointment there. The king laughing at this idea, he now made a new petition that he might be consecrated to the see of Tours which he had previously disdained. Then the king said to him : ' I did indeed at first order thy consecration to that bishopric. But, from what I hear, thou hast looked down upon the church of Tours, and therefore the government of it shall be far from thee.' So Cato withdrew in great confusion. The king then inquired concerning the holy Eufronius, and they told him that he was the nephew of the blessed Gregory,* of whom I have above made mention.[2] The king answered : ' That is a noble and great lineage ; the will of God and of the blessed Martin be done ; let the election be completed.' And he issued the diploma, and the holy Eufronius was appointed bishop, the eighteenth after the holy Martin.

10 (16). Chramn, as I have related,[3] wrought divers ill deeds at Clermont, holding to his grudge against Bishop Cautinus. At this time he sickened so sore that his hair fell from him through his exceeding fever. He had with him a citizen of Clermont, Ascovindus, one of great place and in the eye of all men, who sought with all his strength to turn the prince from this ill doing, but did not succeed. For there was also about him Leo of Poitiers, goading him on to every kind of evil deeds, a man right fitly named, being most savage in all manner of desire. He is said on some occasion to have accused the confessors Martin and Martial of having left nothing of any value to the royal domain. But straightway, stricken by the power of the confessors, he became deaf and dumb and died in madness. The wretched man came to the church of the holy Martin at Tours, kept vigil, and presented gifts ; but the accustomed power of the saint was not towards him, and he carried away with him the same infirmity with which he came. Chramn now left Clermont, and came to the city of Poitiers. There he dwelt with great power ; but led astray by the counsels

[1] Above, ch. *11*. [2] III. 19. [3] Ch. 8 (13), above.

of evil men, he desired to go over to his uncle Childebert, being prepared to deal treacherously with his father. Childebert, not without guileful intent, promised to receive him, though it was his duty to advise him as a Christian not to act treasonably against his own father. They then conspired through secret emissaries, and plotted together against Lothar. Yet Childebert forgot that every time he had acted against his brother, in the end he had been himself confounded.

Chramn, after entering into this treaty, returned to Limoges and reduced under his own dominion all the parts of his father's kingdom through which he had formerly made a progress. At that time the people of Clermont were confined within their walls, perishing under the heavy burden of divers maladies. King Lothar now sent his two sons, Charibert and Guntram, to Chramn. They passed through Auvergne, and hearing that he was in the territory of Limoges, came to the hill called the Black Mountain,* where they found him. They pitched their tents and encamped over against him, sending him a message, either to restore such of his father's possessions as he had usurped, or else to make ready the field for battle. He pretended submission to his father, and said: 'I cannot give up all the territory through which I have made my progress,* but I am willing to hold it in my power with my father's consent.' They then demanded the arbitrament of battle. But when both forces with all their armament were afoot and had drawn together for the conflict, a storm suddenly arose with mighty thunder and lightning, which prevented the battle. When they had returned to their camps, Chramn cunningly sent a stranger to announce his father's death to his brothers. At this time was being waged the war against the Saxons, of which I have above spoken.[1] In their anxiety they returned with the utmost speed to Burgundy. Chramn pursued them with his army, and came as far as Chalon, which he took after a siege. He then pushed on to Dijon, arriving there upon a Sabbath day. I will relate what thereupon befell.

The holy Tetricus, the bishop,[2] whom I have mentioned in an earlier book,* was at the time in the place. The clergy placed on the altar three books, namely, those of the

[1] Above, ch. 9 (14). [2] Of Langres.

Prophets, the Epistles, and the Gospels,* and prayed the Lord to reveal what should befall Chramn; they asked the divine power to declare whether he should prosper, and whether he should ever reign. At the same time it was agreed between them that each should read at Mass the passage which he found on opening the book. The book of the Prophets was opened first, and there they found this verse: 'I will take away the wall thereof, and it shall be broken up; because it should have brought forth grapes, and it hath brought forth wild grapes.' [1] Then they opened the Epistles, and found this: 'For ye yourselves know perfectly, brethren, that the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night. When they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them as the pains of a woman in childbirth, and they shall not escape.' [2] And through the Gospels the Lord said: 'He who heareth not My words shall be likened unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand. And the rain descended, and the river-floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell, and of it there was made great ruin.' [3] Chramn was received by the above-named bishop at the churches, where he was given bread to eat,* and afterwards went on to Childebert; he was not permitted, however, to enter the walls of Dijon.

King Lothar was now fighting stoutly against the Saxons. For this people, incited, as it was said, by Childebert, and incensed against the Franks the previous year, advanced from their territory into the Frankish land;* they ravaged the country as far as the city of Deutz,* doing everywhere exceeding injury.

11 (17). Chramn, who had wedded the daughter of Wilichar, now came to Paris, and bound King Childebert to himself with bonds of mutual faith and affection, avowing himself in very truth the enemy of his own father. But while Lothar was warring against the Saxons, King Childebert entered the champaign of Reims, and marching rapidly to the city itself, laid all waste by pillage and fire. For he had heard that his brother had been slain by the Saxons, and believing that

[1] Isa. v. 4, 5. The version does not agree with the Vulgate.

[2] 1 Thess. v. 2, 3. In general agreement with the Vulgate, but with verbal differences.

[3] Matt. vii. 26, 27. Verbal differences from the Vulgate, as in the last case.

all was now under his dominion, overran every part within his reach.

12 (18). The duke Austrapius,* in fear of Chramn, took refuge in the church of the holy Martin, nor did he lack the divine succour in his tribulation. In order that he might more readily be driven by famine to issue of his own will from the holy church to certain death, Chramn had ordered him to be so close beset that none should dare provide him with food, and so narrowly guarded that he could not even get a draught of water. As he lay half dead, one came to him with a vessel of water, that he might drink. He had taken it, when the judge of the place * hurried to the spot, snatched it from his hand, and poured the contents upon the ground. Which deed was swiftly followed by the vengeance of God and that of the holy bishop. For that very day the judge who had done this was attacked by fever, and died in the middle of the night; he might not survive to that hour of the following day in which he had dashed the cup from the fugitive's hand in the church of the saint. After this miracle, all brought him in abundance the things of which he had need. On his return into his kingdom, Lothar held Austrapius high in his regard. In his reign Austrapius entered the Church, and at Chantoceaux * in the diocese of Poitiers was consecrated bishop, it being understood that at the decease of Pientius, who then governed the church of Poitiers, he should step into his place. But King Charibert decided otherwise. For when Bishop Pientius had passed from the light of this world,[1] Pascentius, abbot of the church of the holy Hilary, being then in Paris, was appointed to succeed him by command of this king. Austrapius loudly protested that the place should be given him as his due, but all his speeches availed him nothing. He returned to his town;* and the Theifali,* whom he had often oppressed, rising in rebellion against him, he was wounded with a spear and died a cruel death. The church of Poitiers received back the parishes which had been given to him.

19. It was in the time of Lothar that the holy man of God, the bishop Médard,* finished the course of his good deeds, dying full of days and eminent in holiness. King Lothar buried him with the highest honour in the city of Soissons,

About 564.

and began to build a church over his tomb,* which afterwards his son Sigibert completed and furnished.* At this blessed tomb I have seen the chains and shackles of prisoners lying sundered and broken in pieces,* preserved to this day at the very resting-place of the saint for a testimony of his power. Let me now take up once more the thread of the history.

13 (20). King Childebert now fell ill, and died, after lying long bed-ridden at Paris ; he was buried in the church of the blessed Vincent * which he had built himself. King Lothar succeeded to his kingdom and his treasures, and sent into banishment Vultrogotha and her two daughters.* Chramn presented himself before his father, but once more played the traitor, whereon, seeing no other way of escape, he fled to Brittany ; there he and his wife and daughters remained in hiding with Chanao, count of the Bretons. Willichar the priest * took refuge in the basilica of Martin. Then the holy basilica, as the result of the sins of the people, and of the deeds of mockery there committed, was set on fire by Willichar and his wife, a misfortune which I cannot record without a deep sigh of grief. Already, a year before, the city of Tours had been consumed by fire, and many churches in it had been left desolate. Forthwith, by command of King Lothar, the church of the blessed Martin was roofed with tin, and restored with the same splendour as before. At the same time appeared two swarms of locusts ; they are said to have traversed Auvergne and the Limousin and reached the plain of Romagnat,* where they fought a great battle, dashing with great force against each other.

King Lothar, in wrath against Chramn, marched with his army against him into Brittany.[1] The prince on his part did not shrink from going forth against his father. The two forces were massed close in a single plain, and Chramn with the Bretons had formed his line of battle over against his father, when the fall of night prevented the conflict. During the night Chanao, count of the Bretons,* said to Chramn : 'I hold it wrong for thee to go forth against thy sire. Suffer me to fall upon him this night, and lay him low with all his army.' Chramn, prevented, in my belief, by the divine power, would not allow this to be done. In the morning the two armies

[1] In 560.

were set in movement, and the two sides rushed to the encounter. Lothar went like a new David to fight against his son as another Absalom,[1] weeping and protesting after this manner: 'Look down from heaven, O Lord, and judge my cause, for I suffer injury wrongfully at the hands of my son. Look Thou down and judge justly, and pass that judgement which of old Thou didst deliver between Absalom and his sire.' When the armies joined battle, the count of the Bretons turned his back, and fell there on the field. Chramn took to flight, for he had vessels ready on the sea; but as he sought to save his wife and daughters from the enemy, his father's army came upon him, and he was taken prisoner and put in bonds. King Lothar, at news of his capture, ordered him to be burned, together with his wife and daughters. They were shut up in a poor man's hut, where Chramn was stretched on a bench and strangled with a kerchief. The hut was then set on fire over their heads, so that he, his wife, and his daughters all perished together.

14 (21). In the fiftieth year of his reign,* King Lothar sought the threshold of the blessed Martin, bringing many gifts. Arriving at Tours, he went to the tomb of the aforesaid bishop, where he recounted all the evil acts which by negligence he might have committed, and with many a groan, prayed the blessed confessor to implore the Lord's mercy on his offences, and by his intercession wash away the sins which he had thoughtlessly committed. Returning in the fifty-first year of his reign, he was seized with a fever while hunting in the forest of Cuise, and thence went back to his domain of Compiègne. There he was grievously vexed by the fever, and cried: 'Well-aday! what think ye? What manner of king is He above, who thus doeth to death such great kings?' In the midst of this weariness of spirit, he gave up the ghost.[2] His four sons bore him with great pomp to Soissons and buried him in the church of the holy Médard. He died on the first anniversary of the day on which Chramn was slain.

15 (22). Now Chilperic, after the funeral of his father, took possession of the treasures which were amassed in the royal villa of Berny; he then sought those Franks whom he deemed best able to serve him and won them by gifts to his allegiance.

[1] 2 Kings xiii. [2] In 561.

Soon after, he entered Paris, and seized the residence of King Childebert. But it was not given him to hold it long, for his brothers made common cause to drive him forth; and thus the four, Charibert, Guntram, Chilperic, and Sigibert, made lawful division,* and the kingdom of Childebert, with Paris for his capital, fell to Charibert;* the kingdom of Chlodomer to Guntram, his capital Orleans; to Chilperic the kingdom of his father Lothar, with his royal seat at Soissons. Sigibert, for his part, received the kingdom of Theuderic, with his residence at Reims.

16 (23). After the death of King Lothar the Huns * attacked Gaul.[1] Sigibert led an army against them, and after a campaign conquered them, driving them to flight. After this, their king sent envoys and obtained terms of friendship. But while Sigibert was occupied with them, his plans were thrown into disorder. His brother Chilperic invaded Reims and took from him other cities of his inheritance, from which action, to make all worse, civil war began between them. Sigibert, returning as victor of the Huns, seized Soissons; there he found Theudebert, son of King Chilperic, whom he took prisoner and banished. He then marched against Chilperic and engaged him, and having overcome him and put him to flight he brought his cities once more under his own authority. Chilperic's son Theudebert he ordered to be kept a whole year in durance on the domain of Pontion;* but being of a merciful nature, he afterwards loaded him with gifts and sent him back in safety to his father, exacting of him an oath that he would never again undertake any enterprise against him. Which oath, of his sinfulness, the prince afterwards broke.[2]

17 (24). When Guntram, like his brothers, had obtained his part of the kingdom, he dismissed the patrician * Agricola, and gave the dignity to Celsus. This was a man tall of stature, broad of shoulder, strong of arm, haughty in converse, ready in retort, learned in the law, but grown in course of time so grasping that he would often seize church property to increase his own possessions. On one occasion he heard read in church the passage from the prophet Isaiah: 'Woe to those who join house to house and field to field till there be no place more';[3]

[1] A. D. 562. [2] Cf. ch. 33 (47), below.

[3] Isa. v. 8. The general sense is that of the Vulgate, but there is not exact agreement in the words.

whereat he is said to have exclaimed, 'It ill agreeth to say: * Woe to me and to my sons!' But he left a son who, dying childless, bequeathed the greater part of his wealth to the churches which his father had despoiled.

18 (25). Now the good king Guntram first took to his bed as concubine Veneranda, the handmaid of one of his subjects, by whom he had a son Gundobad. Afterwards he took to wife Marcatrude, daughter of Magnar,* and sent his son Gundobad to Orleans. But when Marcatrude had a son of her own, she was jealous of this boy, and went about to compass his death; they say that she sent poison for him to drink, and so destroyed him. After his death she lost her own son by the judgement of God, and incurred the hatred of the king, by whom she was put away, dying not long afterwards. After her, the king took to wife Austrechild,* also called Bobila, by whom he had two other sons, the elder called Lothar, the younger Chlodomer.

19 (26). King Charibert* took Ingoberg to wife; by her he had a daughter who, wedding in after years, was taken as a bride to Kent.* At this time Ingoberg had in her service two daughters of a certain poor man; one of them was called Marcovefa and wore the religious habit, the other bore the name of Merofled; the king was strongly attracted by them both: I have said that she was the daughter of a worker in wool. Ingoberg was jealous that the king looked with favour on them, and secretly set their father to work, hoping that when the king saw him thus, he would despise the daughters. When the man was at work, she called the king, who in the hope of being shown something new, saw only the man from a distance arranging the royal wool. At this sight he was moved to anger, and forsaking Ingoberg, took Merofled. Another girl he had, daughter of a shepherd; her name was Theudechild, and she is said to have given him a son who was carried to burial immediately upon his birth. In the time of this king, Leontius[1] assembled at Saintes the bishops of his province, and expelled Emerius from his see, declaring that he had attained his rank against the canons. This prelate had received a decree from King Lothar permitting him to be consecrated without the consent of the metropolitan, who was

[1] Bishop of Bordeaux, and metropolitan.

absent at the time. After his expulsion they formally chose Heraclius,* then a priest of Bordeaux, and sent the document to the king by the hands of the aforesaid priest, with all their signatures upon it. He came to Tours, and explained to the blessed Eufronius[1] what had been done, praying him to add his signature. But this the man of God plainly refused to do. So when the priest had entered the gates of Paris, and was come into the king's presence, he spoke as follows: 'Hail, glorious king. The apostolic see * sendeth thy majesty most ardent prayer for thy welfare.' To whom the king: 'Comest thou then from Rome, that thou bringest us a greeting from the pope of that city?' 'Nay,' said the priest, 'it is thy father in God Leontius, with the bishops of his province, who sendeth thee greeting, giving thee to know that Cymulus' (the name commonly given to Emerius in his infancy) 'is expelled from the bishopric for having usurped the see of Saintes in disregard of canonical sanction. For which cause they have sent thee their resolution that he should be replaced by another, to the end that both transgressors of the canons may without fail be condemned, and the power of thy dominion may spread to the remotest ages.' At these words the king, falling into a fury, ordered him to be dragged from his sight, placed on a wagon filled with thorns, and driven into exile, saying: 'Deemest thou that there remaineth not one of the sons of Lothar to maintain his father's acts, because these men without waiting for our decision have rejected the bishop whom he chose?' And forthwith he dispatched men of religion * to restore the bishop to his place, and at the same time certain of his chamberlains to exact a thousand pieces of gold from Bishop Leontius and punish the other bishops as far as their circumstances allowed. After this manner he avenged the outrage done to King Lothar.

After this he wedded Marcovefa, sister of Merofled, for which thing the holy bishop Germanus excommunicated them both.* And because the king would not put her away, she was stricken by God's judgement and died. Not long after her King Charibert also died,[2] whereupon Theudechild, one of his queens,[3] sent envoys to King Guntram, offering herself to him in marriage. But the king gave them this reply: 'Let her not

[1] Bishop of Tours. [2] A. D. 567. [3] Cf. above.

fear to come to me with her treasures. For I will receive her, and will make her great among the peoples, so that she shall enjoy more honour with me than with my brother who is now dead.' At these words she rejoiced, and gathering together all her goods, set forth to join him. But when the king saw that, he said: 'It is better that these treasures should be held in my control, than that they should follow this woman, who was unworthy of my brother's bed.' Thereupon he took a great part, and leaving her but little, sent her to a monastery in Arles. There she ill brooked the rule of fasts and vigils, and by secret messages summoned to her aid a certain Goth, to whom she promised that if he would take her into Spain and wed her there, she would leave the monastery with her treasures and follow him with a glad mind. The man without hesitation promised to do as she desired. Thereat she gathered her effects together, and fastened the bundles; all was ready for her escape from the convent. But her design was prevented by the vigilance of the abbess, who, discovering her deceit, ordered her to be severely beaten and kept in durance. In this state she lived to her dying day, worn by sufferings above the common measure.

20 (27). Now King Sigibert, seeing his brothers take to themselves unworthy wives and even wed serving-maids, sent an embassy to Spain with many gifts to demand in marriage Brunhild, daughter of King Athanagild.* For she was a girl of graceful form, fair to look upon, honourable and comely, prudent in judgement, and amiable of address. Her father did not refuse her, but sent her with great treasures to the king, who, assembling the chief men of his kingdom, and making ready a feast, received her as his wife with boundless rejoicing and delight. And because she was subject to the Arian law, she was converted by the preaching of bishops and the admonitions of the king himself, so that she confessed the blessed Trinity in Unity, and received the holy chrism,* remaining a Catholic in the name of Christ until this day.*

21 (28). When King Chilperic saw this, although he already had several wives,* he sent to demand her sister Galswinth,* promising by the mouth of his envoys that he would forsake the others if only he were deemed worthy to receive a spouse befitting his rank and of blood royal. Her father believed his

promises, and sent this daughter like the other with a rich dower to the king: Galswinth was the elder sister. When she was come to King Chilperic, he received her with great honour, and was joined to her in marriage, loving her dearly, for she had brought with her great treasures. But because of his passion for Fredegund, his former wife, a great quarrel arose between them. She had already been converted to the Catholic faith, and baptized.* She soon made constant complaint to the king of the wrongs which she had to endure, declaring that she had no part in his royalty; she craved his permission to return in freedom to her own country, leaving behind her the treasures which she had brought with her. He cleverly dissembled, and appeased her with smooth words. At last he ordered her to be strangled by a slave, so that she was found dead in her bed.* After her death God showed forth a great miracle. A lamp was suspended by a cord above her tomb, and without being touched of any, this lamp fell to the paved floor. But the hardness departed from the pavement before it. It was as if the lamp sank into some soft substance; it was buried up to the middle without being broken at all. Which thing appeared a great miracle to all who saw it.* The king made mourning for her death; but after a few days took Fredegund again to wife. Thereupon his brothers cast him out from the kingdom, deeming that the aforesaid queen was not slain without his prompting. At that time Chilperic had three sons by Audovera, his first queen: Theudebert, of whom I have above spoken,[1] Merovech, and Chlodovech. Let me now return to my task.

22 (29). The Huns[2] once more attempted to invade Gaul, and Sigibert led his army against them, having with him a great host of valiant men. But when they were about to engage, the Huns, who were versed in magic arts,* caused fantastic shapes to appear before the Franks, and thus had great advantage over them. The army of Sigibert fled; he himself was surrounded, and would have been kept a prisoner had he not, fine and astute as he was, overcome by his art in giving those whom he failed to conquer by his power in battle. For he gave their king rich presents, and entered into a treaty with him, so that while he lived no war took place

[1] Ch. 16 (23), above.

[2] See note to ch. 16 (23), above.

between them ; which thing is justly counted to his credit, and not held as any disgrace. On his part the king of the Huns gave many gifts to Sigibert. He was called Gagan,* a name common to all the kings of this people.

23 (30). King Sigibert, wishing to take the city of Arles,* commanded the Arvernians to march against it ; Firminus,[1] who was at this time count of Clermont, set forth at their head. Meanwhile Audovar approached with an army from the other side ; and both entered the city and exacted oaths of fealty on behalf of King Sigibert. As soon as this news reached King Guntram, he dispatched the patrician Celsus [2] with an army, who on his way took the city of Avignon. When he arrived before Arles, he surrounded the place and began hostilities against the forces of Sigibert within the walls. Bishop Sabaudus * then addressed these forces as follows : ' Sally forth, and join battle, for if ye remain penned within the walls, ye will be able to defend neither us nor the territory belonging to the city. If by God's grace ye overcome the enemy, we will remain loyal according to our promise ; if, on the contrary, they prevail, ye shall find the gates open, and have free entry that ye perish not.' Deluded by his guile, they issued forth and prepared to offer battle. They were defeated by the army of Celsus, and took to flight ; but when they came to the city, they found the gates barred against them. Their army was assailed by javelins from the rear and by showers of stones cast down by the citizens ; they therefore made for the river Rhône, and supporting themselves on their shields, endeavoured to reach the flat country on the farther bank. The strength of the current bore many away to destruction, and the Rhône now did to the Arvernians what of yore the Simois is said to have done to the men of Troy : ' It rolled beneath its waves the shields and helms of men and their strong bodies. . . . A few alone appeared swimming in the vast and whirling waters.' [3] These, as I say, might hardly reach the flat ground on the other bank, though they swam with the support of their shields. Stripped of all that they had, and deprived of their horses, they regained their country not without great

[1] Cf. above, ch. 8 (13). [2] Cf. above, ch. 17 (24).

[3] *Aeneid* i. 104–5, 118. In place of the correct reading, *rari nantes*, Gregory writes *rari natantes*.

ignominy ; but Firminus and Audovar were permitted to withdraw unharmed. Many Arvernians of note were here carried away by the force of the stream, and many a one was laid low by the sword. King Guntram, having in this wise recovered the city, with his usual kindliness restored Avignon to his brother's authority.

24 (31). In Gaul a great prodigy occurred at the fortified place of Tauredunum,* which was situated on high ground above the river Rhône. For more than sixty days this mountain gave forth a strange bellowing sound, and at length, rent and sundered from an adjoining mountain, it collapsed into the river, bearing men, churches, property, and houses down with it in its ruin ; the river was blocked, and the water forced to flow backwards. This part of the river was shut in by hills upon both sides, leaving only a narrow gorge through which the rapid stream escaped. So that now the part above was flooded, and everything on the banks submerged and destroyed. The accumulated mass of water then burst for itself a passage down. Again it took the inhabitants unawares as it had done higher up, brought destruction on them, ruined their houses, killed their herds, and carried away and overwhelmed in its sudden and violent flood all that stood upon the banks the whole way down to the city of Geneva. It is commonly said that the volume of water was great enough to overflow the walls of this city ; which is doubtless possible, since in this region, as I have said, the Rhône flows through mountainous defiles, and when its course was barred, there was no way of diverting it upon either side ; when once it had burst over the fallen mountain, it laid waste everything.

After this had happened thirty monks visited the place whence the fortified place had fallen, and digging the ground, discovered bronze and iron. While they were thus occupied, they heard the bellowing of the mountain as it had sounded before. But their savage greed held them where they were till the part which had not yet collapsed fell on them and slew and covered them, so that they were never found again. In like manner, before the disaster in Auvergne * mighty prodigies affrighted all that region. For often three or four great splendours appeared around the sun, which the country folk described as themselves suns, saying : ' Behold, three or four

suns in the sky!' And once, on the kalends of October,[1] the sun appeared so darkened, that not a quarter part kept its light, but it was murky and discoloured, as sackcloth. Moreover, a star, by some styled comet,* which had a projection like a sword, appeared over that region throughout a whole year, and the heavens seemed to burn. Many other portents were made manifest. In the church of Clermont, while matins were being celebrated at dawn on the occasion of some feast, the bird called the crested lark, which had flown in, put out with its wings all the lamps which were lit, so fast that you might have fancied them all collected in one man's hand and suddenly plunged into water; it then passed into the sacristy beneath the door-hanging, and there, too, would have put out the lamp, but it was prevented by the doorkeepers and killed. In the church of the blessed Andrew, another bird did likewise to all the lamps that were alight. At the coming of the disaster itself, there was made such slaughter of the people through all that region, that the legions of men who fell there might not even be numbered.[2] When coffins and planks failed, ten dead or more were buried in a common pit. In the single church of Saint Peter there were counted on a certain Sunday three hundred corpses. For death came suddenly. There appeared in the groin or armpit a wound like that from a snake-bite, and those who had it were swiftly destroyed by the poison, that on the second or third day they breathed their last: the strength of the poison robbed men of their senses. It was at this time that the priest Cato died.[3] Many had fled from this pestilence; but he never left that place, burying the people, and courageously saying his masses. This priest was a man of great humanity and devoted to the poor; and if his character inclined somewhat to pride, this charity tempered it. Bishop Cautinus,[4] after going from place to place in his fear of the pest, returned to the city and, taking the infection, died upon Good Friday, the very hour that Tetradius his cousin perished. Lyons, Bourges, Chalon, and Dijon lost much people through this sickness.

32. There was at this time in the monastery of Randan * in the territory of Clermont a priest named Julian, of surpassing

[1] 1st October.
[2] A. D. 571. Cf. ch. 5, above.
[3] Cf. above, chs. 5–7, 11, 15.
[4] Cf. chs. 7, 12, 10 (16); X. 8.

power in miracle. He was a man of great abstinence, who neither drank wine nor ate meat,* and always wore a hair shirt under his tunic. He was ever ready in vigil, ever instant in prayer; to him it was a simple thing to heal the possessed, give sight to the blind, and drive forth all other infirmities by calling on the name of the Lord and making the sign of the holy Cross. From long standing, his feet were affected by a grievous humour, and when they asked him why he always stood longer than his bodily strength allowed, he would make the jesting answer: 'They work for me as long as I live, and their support by God's grace doth not fail.' Once I saw him in the church of the blessed Julian, the martyr, heal with a single word a man possessed; often he would relieve quartan and other fevers by a prayer. In this time of plague, he was taken from this world to his rest, full of days and works of miracle.

33. At this time also passed away the abbot of the same monastery, who was succeeded by Sunniulf, a man of perfect singleness and charity. Many a time would he himself wash the feet of guests, and dry them with his own hands His one failing was that he sought to rule the flock committed to his charge not by inspiring fear, but by entreaty. He himself used to relate that he once had a vision in which he was led to a river of flame into which peoples, running together from one part of the bank, plunged like bees seeking their hives. Some were immersed to the waist, others to the armpits, some to the chin; and all cried with lamentations that they were grievously burned. Over the river was built a bridge so narrow that it was scarce broad enough for a single man to pass, and on the farther bank appeared a great house all whitened without. Then he asked those who were with him the signification of these things. But they replied: 'From this bridge shall fall headlong whosoever shall be found remiss in the strict governance of the flock entrusted to him; but whosoever shall have proved strenuous, passeth without danger, and is brought with joy into the house which thou seest yonder.' At these words he was roused from his sleep and thereafter showed himself severer to his monks.

34. I will now set forth that which came to pass in a certain

monastery[1] at this time, though I refrain from giving the name of the monk, because he still lives, and I would not have him yield to vainglory, should this history come before his eyes, and so be abased.

A certain youth came to the monastery and commended himself to the abbot as one who would fain live in the service of God. The abbot made many objections, declaring that the service of that house was hard, and that he would by no means be able to fulfil the tasks which would fall to his lot. He, however, pledged himself in the Lord's name to fulfil them all, and so was received by the abbot. It happened a few days later, after he had shown himself humble and God-fearing in all things, that the monks took out their corn from the barn, about three *cori*,* and set it out in the sun to dry, enjoining on him to watch it. The others were refreshing themselves, and he remained in charge of the corn, when suddenly the sky was overclouded, and behold! a great storm of rain rushing with a roaring wind towards the heap of corn. At sight of it the monk was at his wit's end what to set about, what to do. Considering, however, that even if he summoned the rest, they would never be able to get so great a quantity back into the barn again, he disregarded all else and turned to prayer, beseeching the Lord that no drop of rain might fall upon that corn. As he made this prayer, prostrate upon the ground, the cloud divided, and heavy rain fell round about the corn, but, if it may so be said, not a grain of it was wetted. The other monks, together with the abbot, perceiving the danger, came running to bring in the grain, whereupon they saw this miracle, and looking for the guardian, found him not far away, stretched on the ground in prayer. When the abbot saw this, he prostrated himself behind him. After the rain had passed over and his prayer was finished, he bade the monk rise. Thereupon he ordered him to be seized and beaten, saying: 'It behoveth thee, my son, with humility to increase in the fear and service of God, not to vaunt thee of prodigies and miracles'; he then commanded him to be confined to his cell and made to fast, as one that had offended, to avert from him the fault of vainglory, that it might be no cause of impediment

[1] The list of chapters at the beginning of this book gives Bordeaux as the place in which the monastery was.

to him thereafter. To-day that monk, as I have heard from some of the faithful, is devoted to such abstinence that in Lent he refrains even from bread, and only drinks a cup of barley-water every third day. Let us pray God to preserve him, if it be His will, until the fulfilment of his days.

35. Now when, as I have related,[1] Bishop Cautinus had died at Clermont, there were many candidates for the bishopric, each offering much and promising more. Eufrasius the priest, son of the deceased senatorial Evodius,* obtained from the Jews store of costly things * which he sent to the king by the hands of his kinsman Beregisil, hoping to secure by bribery what he could not obtain by his deserts. He was a man of agreeable manners, but irregular in his conduct; he would often make the barbarians drunk,* but seldom refreshed the needy. In my own belief the obstacle in the way of his success was this, that he sought to attain this dignity not through God but through men. But the word might not be changed which the Lord spake by the mouth of the holy Quintianus: *[2] 'From the line of Hortensius there ariseth none who shall govern the Church of God.' * When the clergy were assembled in the church of Clermont, the archdeacon Avitus made them no promises; nevertheless he received their nomination * and proceeded to the king. Firminus, who had received the office of count in Clermont,[3] determined to obstruct his design, but he did not go to court in person. Friends of his, entrusted with this mission, petitioned the king to allow at least one Lord's Day to pass before the consecration of Avitus; if this delay were proclaimed, they would make him a gift of a thousand pieces of gold. But the king declined all these proposals. It therefore came to pass that the citizens of Clermont being in one place assembled, the blessed Avitus, then, as I have said, archdeacon, was elected by clergy and people to the episcopal throne. And the king so loved and honoured him that he in some measure disregarded the strict observance of canonical rule,* and commanded his consecration then and there, saying: 'May I be worthy to receive the gift of blessed bread * at his hands.' It was by royal favour that Avitus was consecrated at Metz.* Now after Avitus had received the bishopric, he revealed the greatness of his character in all

[1] Cf. above, ch. (24) 31. [2] Cf. III. 2. [3] Cf. above, chs. 8 (13) and 23 (30).

things; to the people he gave justice, to the poor succour, to the widow consolation, to the orphan the utmost help in his power. And to this day when a stranger comes to him, he receives so warm a welcome that he finds in him at once a father and a fatherland. May he prosper in the possession of his great virtues, keeping with his whole heart those things which are well pleasing in the sight of God; let him uproot wantonness in all hearts, and implant in them the chastity ordained of God.

36. Sacerdos, bishop of Lyons, died at Paris[1] after the Council which degraded Saffarac; * and the holy Nicetius, whom he had himself chosen,* as I have related in the book of his life,[2] received the bishopric. He was a man excellent and holy in all his ways, and chaste in all his life. The charity which the apostle bade men use towards all to the utmost of their power[3] he exercised in all things as far as in him lay; men saw that the Lord Himself, who is the true Love, was manifest in his heart. For even if he were moved to anger against any man for his negligence, the moment he amended his way he received him back to favour as if he had never taken offence. He chastised the transgressor but forgave the penitent; he was generous in almsgiving and strenuous in toil; he diligently gave his mind to the erection of churches, the building of houses, the sowing of fields, and the planting of vineyards, but these things did not distract him from prayer. After twenty-two years in the bishopric he passed to the Lord;[4] to-day great miracles are wrought at his tomb for those who implore his aid. For by means of oil from the lamp which is daily lit at his tomb he has restored light to the eyes of the blind; he drives out evil spirits from the bodies of the possessed; he restores health to paralysed limbs, and in these present times is held a great protector by all the infirm.

Bishop Priscus, his successor, and Susanna his wife began to persecute and put to death many who had been familiar friends of the man of God, not because they had yielded to any fault, or were proved guilty of any crime, or detected in theft, but simply because Priscus himself was inflamed by

[1] A. D. 551 or 552.
[2] V. P. viii. 3.
[3] Cf. Rom. xii. 18. The version here given does not agree with the Vulgate.
[4] A. D. 573.

jealous malice at their loyalty to Nicetius. He and his wife poured forth much abuse against the holy man of God; and though it had been a rule long observed by previous bishops that no woman should enter the church house,* Susanna and her maidens freely entered the cell in which sainted men had slept. But by all these things the divine Majesty was at length aroused, and took vengeance on the house of Bishop Priscus. For his wife, suddenly possessed of a demon, was driven in madness through the whole city, with her hair about her shoulders, while she confessed the saint of God, whom in her sane days she had denied, to be the friend of God, and called on him to spare her. The bishop himself was attacked by a quartan fever and seized with tremors. Even when the fever had left him, he still remained dazed and trembling. His son and his whole household were blanched and dull of aspect, so that none might doubt that they were stricken by the miraculous power of the saint. For the bishop Priscus and his house had ever railed with impious voice against the holy man of God, proclaiming any one their friend who poured forth abuse against him. At the beginning of his bishopric, he ordered the height of the church house to be increased. There was a deacon whom the saint of God, while he yet lived, had often deprived of communion for the sin of adultery, and even ordered to be flogged many times without ever being able to reform him. This man mounted to the roof of the house and began to uncover it, saying: 'I render Thee thanks, Christ Jesus, that after the death of the most wicked Nicetius, it hath been given me to tread this roof under my feet.' Hardly were the words out of his mouth when the beam on which he was standing yielded beneath his tread, and he fell to the ground crushed to death. The bishop and his wife continuing to act perversely in many things, the saint appeared to a certain man in a dream, saying: 'Go and tell Priscus to amend his evil deeds and to do that which is good. And to the priest Martin thou shalt say: "Because thou hast consented to these works, thou shalt be chastised; and if thou wilt not amend thy frowardness, thou shalt die."' When this man awoke, he said to a certain deacon: 'Go, I pray thee, forasmuch as thou art a friend in the bishop's house, and tell these things either to the bishop, or to Martin the priest.' The deacon

promised that he would speak, but thought better of it, and would not give the message. But in the night, when he had yielded to slumber, the holy man [1] appeared to him and said: 'Wherefore hast thou not spoken that which the abbot * told thee?' and thereat he struck him on the throat with his clenched fists. As soon as day dawned, the deacon's throat was painfully swollen, and he went to the men and told them all that he had heard. But they made light of what he said, and declared it all the phantasy of dreams. The priest Martin then fell sick of a fever, and after a spell recovered; but as he continued to flatter the bishop, consenting still to his ill deeds, and to the abuse which he vented against the saint, he relapsed into his fever and gave up the ghost.

37. At the same time as the holy Nicetius died the holy Friard, full of days, a man eminent in holiness, sublime in action, and noble in his life, some of whose miracles I have related in the book which I have written concerning his life.[2] Bishop Felix * coming to him at the hour of his passing, his whole cell was shaken; whence I nothing doubt that an angelic influence was present there, causing the place thus to quake as he passed away. The bishop washed his body, and wrapping it in worthy raiment, consigned it to the tomb.

25 (38). I return now to my history. On the death of King Athanagild in Spain, Leuvigild his brother succeeded to the throne.* [3] Upon the death of Leuva, Leuvigild took possession of the whole kingdom.[4] His wife dying, he took in marriage Gunthswinth,[5] mother of Queen Brunhild, having already two sons by his first wife, one [6] of whom was betrothed to the daughter of Sigibert,[7] the other [8] to the daughter of Hilperic.[9] He divided the kingdom equally between them,* putting to death all those whom it was the custom of the kings to slay,* not leaving of them one single male.[10]

26 (39). Palladius, son of the deceased count Britanus and of Caesaria, obtained from King Sigibert the office of count in the city of Javols; * but the dissension arising between him and Bishop Parthenius greatly angered the people. For he would often shower abuse upon the bishop, making divers

[1] That is, Nicetius. [2] V. P. x. [3] A. D. 567–8.
[4] A. D. 572. [5] Or Goiswinth. Cf. V. 28 (38), IX. 1. [6] Hermangild.
[7] Ingund. [8] Reccared. [9] Rigunth. [10] Cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 22.

reproaches and accusations against him, despoiling the property of the Church and robbing her servants. Whence it befell that, the quarrel between them growing, they betook themselves before the aforesaid king, bringing various charges against each other. Palladius denounced the bishop as a womanish man and a weakling. 'Where now are thy lovers,' he cried, 'with whom thou livest in foul debauchery?' But the divine vengeance soon brought to naught these attacks against the bishop. For in the following year Palladius was removed from his position of count, and returned to Auvergne, while Romanus sought to obtain his countship. It happened that one day the two met in Clermont, and during a dispute on the subject of the countship Palladius learned that King Sigibert sought to compass his death. This was proved a false report, started by Romanus; but Palladius was reduced by panic terror to such straits of desperation that he threatened to slay himself with his own hand. His mother and his brother-in-law Firminus kept a careful watch on him to prevent him from doing the deed conceived in the bitterness of his soul, but he found a moment to escape his mother's watchfulness and went into his sleeping-chamber. There he took advantage of being alone, unsheathed his sword, and holding the hilt firm with his feet, directed the point towards his breast. He then leaned upon it, so that the blade entering at one breast came out by the shoulder-blade. Rising once more and piercing the other breast in the same way, he fell dead. Which misdeed we marvel at, as only achieved through the Devil's aid; for the first wound was enough to kill him, and would have so done had not the Devil given him strength to carry to the end his impious design. His mother rushed in, half dead with grief, and fell in a swoon upon the body of the son, thus reft from her, while all the household lifted up the voice of lamentation. They bore him for burial to the monastery of Cournon; * but no mass was solemnized for him, and he was not laid among the Christian dead. Certain it is that this fate befell him because he had wronged the bishop.

27 (40). The emperor Justinian dying at Constantinople, Justin obtained the empire.[1] He was a man wholly abandoned to avarice, a despiser of the poor, and despoiler of his senators; *

[1] A. D. 565.

such was his cupidity that he caused iron coffers to be made, in which he piled gold pieces by the talent. He was said to have fallen into the Pelagian heresy. But no long time afterwards he lost his wits,* and associated with himself as Caesar, for the better defence of his provinces, Tiberius, a just man and charitable, discerning equity, successful in war, and rich in that which surpasses all other goods, the truest Christian faith. King Sigibert now sent envoys to the emperor Justin, seeking peace ; * they were Warinar the Frank, and Firminus of Auvergne. Voyaging by sea, they entered the city of Constantinople, had audience of the emperor, and obtained the object of their mission, returning to Gaul in the following year.

After this Antioch in Egypt * and Apamea in Syria, two exceeding great cities, were taken by the Persians and their inhabitants led into captivity.[1] It was then that the church of the holy Julian, the martyr of Antioch, was consumed in a great fire. The Persarmenians came to the emperor Justin with a great weight of unwoven silk, seeking his friendship, and declaring their hostility to the emperor of the Persians. For the Persian envoys had come to them with this message : ' The emperor's solicitude * would know whether ye mean to preserve inviolate the treaty into which ye entered with him.' But when they answered that they would keep all their promises unbroken, the envoys continued : ' The proof of your intent to keep his friendship will be made plain if ye also adore the fire which he adoreth.' The people replied that this they would never do, and the bishop, who was present, spoke thus : ' What divine quality is there in fire, that it should be worshipped ? God created it for the use of men ; it is lighted by tinder and quenched by water ; if it is kept up, it burns ; if it is neglected, it dies out.' As the bishop continued to utter this and like questions, the envoys, enraged, loaded him with abuse and struck him with their staves. Then the people, at the sight of their bishop covered with blood, rushed upon the envoys, laid hands on them, and killed them ; afterwards, as I have said, they sought the friendship of the emperor Justin.

28 (41). Alboin,* king of the Lombards, who had espoused

[1] A. D. 572 or 573.

Chlothsind,[1] daughter of King Lothar, abandoned his own country, and set out for Italy with the whole Lombard people.[2] The men of the departing host marched with their wives and children, intending to establish themselves in Italy. When they had passed into that country, for seven years they traversed it in all directions, despoiling churches, slaying bishops, and bringing it under their domination. On the death of his consort Chlothsind, Alboin married a second time, taking to wife one whose father he had killed no long time before.[3] For which reason this woman ever held her lord in loathing, and waited her occasion to avenge her father's wrongs. Having cast her eyes upon one of her servants, she poisoned her lord, and as soon as he was dead, eloped with the servant. They were taken, and put to death together.[4] The Lombards then set up another king to reign over them.*

29 (42). Eunius, surnamed Mummolus,* received the title of patrician * from King Guntram. I have deemed it well to go somewhat into detail with regard to the beginning of his career. He was an inhabitant of Auxerre, and son of Peonius, count of the city. Now Peonius, anxious to renew his service,* sent gifts to the king by the hands of his son, who presented his father's offerings, but intrigued for that father's office on his own behalf, thus supplanting the progenitor whom it was his duty to support. Rising step by step from this beginning, he mounted to the highest office. When the Lombards broke into Gaul,[5] the patrician Amatus, who had recently succeeded Celsus,[6] marched against them, but after an encounter beat a retreat, in which he lost his life. The Lombards are said to have made such slaughter of the Burgundians on this occasion, that there was no counting the number of the slain; laden with booty, they withdrew once more to Italy. After their departure, Eunius, or Mummolus, was summoned by the king, and received the high dignity of the patriciate. On a second Lombard incursion into Gaul, they penetrated as far as the plain of Plan de Fazi * near the city of Embrun; Mummolus marched out of camp and advanced with the Burgundians to that place. He surrounded the Lombards

[1] Cf. ch. 3, above. [2] A. D. 568.
[3] Rosamund, daughter of Cunimund, king of the Gepids.
[4] A. D. 572–3. [5] In 569. [6] Above, chs. 17 (24) and 23 (30).

with his force, and threw up abattis ; he then fell upon them amidst the trackless woods, killing many, and taking sundry prisoners whom he sent to the king. Guntram distributed them between various places and ordered them to be kept under guard ; only a few escaped to announce the disaster in their own country. In this battle took part Salonius and Sagittarius,* brothers, and both bishops, who armed themselves not with the heavenly cross, but with the helm and mail shirt of the world, and are said to have slain many of the foe with their own hands, an even worse offence. This was the first victory of Mummolus in a pitched battle. After this the Saxons, who had entered Italy with the Lombards, once more burst into Gaul [1] and encamped at the domain of Stablo * situated in the territory of Riez. Thence they scattered through the estates of the neighbouring cities, seizing plunder, carrying off captives, and ravaging everything in their path. As soon as this was reported to Mummolus, he marched with an army and fell upon them, slaying many thousands,* and not staying his hand from the slaughter until evening fell and night made an end. For he took by surprise men unprepared, and without a thought of that which befell. In the morning the Saxons set their army in array and prepared for battle ; but envoys were sent by both sides and peace was arranged. The Saxons made gifts to Mummolus and departed, abandoning all the plunder and the prisoners which they had taken in the district, and swearing to return to Gaul to lend the Franks the support of their arms, and admit themselves subject to their kings. They therefore retraced their steps into Italy, assembled their wives and children, and gathered together all their movable possessions with intent to return to Gaul, where they should be received by King Sigibert and established in the region from which they had originally gone forth. They divided themselves, as it is reported, into two bodies, one proceeding by the town of Nice, the other by Embrun, keeping to the way followed in the previous year, and both effecting a junction in the territory of Avignon. It was the time of harvest, and the people of this place had most of their corn still in the open fields, nor had they brought any of it in under cover. The Saxons coming up divided the crops

[1] A. D. 472.

amongst themselves ; they collected and ground the grain, and ate it without leaving any for those whose toil produced it. But when, after consuming the whole crop, they came to the banks of the Rhône with the object of crossing the stream and entering the kingdom of Sigibert, they were confronted by Mummolus, who said : ' Ye shall not pass this stream. For behold, ye have laid waste the territory of my lord ; ye have gathered in the crops, destroyed the herds, given the houses to the flames, and cut down the olives and the vines ; ye shall not come up into this country save first ye give satisfaction to those whom ye have left in poverty. If ye will not so do, ye shall not escape my hands, for ye shall feel the weight of my sword, ye and your wives and your young children, and I will avenge on you the wrong which ye have done to my lord, King Guntram.' Thereat they were much afraid, and gave many thousand pieces of gold for their immunity ; then they were suffered to pass, and came into Auvergne, and it was springtime. They produced, instead of gold, stamped bars of bronze ;* the people who looked at them nothing doubted that they were proved and tested gold, such a fine colour had been given to the metal by some clever process. Many persons were thus tricked ; they gave their wealth and received bronze, coming thus to poverty. But the Saxons went on to King Sigibert and were established in the place from which they had originally set forth.

43. In the kingdom of King Sigibert Jovinus, governor of Provence,* was deprived of his dignity, and Albinus appointed in his place. This was the cause of great enmity between them. Now some ships from overseas having put into the harbour of Marseilles, the servants of the archdeacon Vigilius, unknown to their master, stole seventy vessels of oil and liquor, of the kind known as *orcae*.* When the merchant discovered the theft of his goods, he began to make diligent search for the place where the stolen property was concealed, and in the course of it was told by some one that the servants of the archdeacon were the guilty persons. The matter came to the archdeacon's ears, who made inquiry and found the property, but refused openly to admit it, and excused his servants, saying : ' The man never issued from my house who would dare be guilty of such an action.' The archdeacon,

I say, making these excuses, the merchant went to Albinus, set forth his case, and accused the archdeacon of complicity in the fraud. On Christmas Day, when the bishop entered the church, the archdeacon, vested in an alb, invited him, in accordance with the use, to proceed to the altar and at the proper time celebrate the solemnity of the holy day. Then suddenly Albinus sprang up from his seat, seized the archdeacon, and dragged him along, striking him with his fists and kicking him; he then had him confined in a prison cell. Neither the bishop, nor the citizens, not even the most considerable, nor the voice of the whole people were able to obtain the concession that the archdeacon should be allowed to give surety and celebrate the feast with the rest, and that the charge should be deferred to another day. Albinus had no reverence for the holy rites, daring thus to arrest a minister of the Lord's altar even on such a day. Enough said; he condemned the archdeacon to a fine of four thousand pieces of gold.* But the matter coming before King Sigibert, Jovinus took part against him, and he was himself compelled to pay four times as much by way of composition.

30 (44). After this, three Lombard dukes,* Amo, Zaban, and Rodan, invaded Gaul.[1] Amo took the way by Embrun, and pushed as far as the domain called Macho * in the territory of Avignon, which Mummolus had received as a gift from the king; here he pitched his tents. Zaban, coming down by Die, reached Valence, where he encamped. Rodan advanced to Grenoble, where he set up his pavilions. Amo subdued the province of Arles with the towns round it, and marching as far as the stony plain near Marseilles,[2] stripped the country both of its herds and of its men. He made preparations to besiege Aix, but withdrew on receipt of twenty-two pounds of silver. Rodan and Zaban dealt in like manner with the towns to which they came. As soon as Mummolus heard this news, he set his army on the march and came upon Rodan, who was attacking Grenoble. But as the army had great difficulty in crossing the Isère, through God's guidance an animal which entered the river revealed a ford,* and in this way they easily reached the farther bank. At sight of them, the Lombards forthwith drew their swords and rushed to the attack. In the

[1] A. D. 574. [2] La Crau.

battle thus joined, they were so grievously smitten that Rodan, wounded by a lance, took refuge high in the mountains. Breaking his way through trackless forests with the five hundred men who remained to him, he joined Zaban, then besieging Valence, and told him all that had befallen. They abandoned all their plunder * and returned to Embrun, where Mummolus encountered them with an innumerable host. When they joined battle, the Lombard forces were cut to pieces, and their dukes returned to Italy with a remnant of their men. They had gone as far as Susa,* where the inhabitants received them ill, especially as Sisinnius, the emperor's master of the soldiery, resided there.* Then one feigning himself a servant of Mummolus presented a letter to Sisinnius in the presence of Zaban, giving him greeting in Mummolus's name, and adding : ' Lo ! he himself is nigh at hand.' At these words Zaban left the city with the utmost speed and went farther At this news Amo also set out homewards, collecting all the booty seized on his march. But the snows so impeded him that he had to abandon his spoil, and he hardly escaped with a few companions. For they were all terrified by the prowess of Mummolus.

31 (45). Now Mummolus conducted many campaigns in which he proved victorious When, after the death of Charibert,[1] Chilperic had invaded Tours and Poitiers, which fell by the agreement to the share of Sigibert,* this king in conjunction with his brother Guntram chose Mummolus to restore these cities to their authority. This commander came to Tours, drove out Chlodovech, Chilperic's son, took from the people an oath of allegiance to King Sigibert, and proceeded to Poitiers. Basilius and Sighar,* two of the citizens, gathered the people together and would have resisted ; but Mummolus hemmed them in upon every side, overpowered, crushed, and slew them. In this wise did he come to Poitiers and exact oaths of fealty to Sigibert. Let this for the present suffice as to Mummolus.

32 (46). As I have to speak of the death of Andarchius, it is well first to set forth his descent and his native country. He is said to have been a slave of the senatorial Felix, and appointed as personal attendant. Occupied with his master

[1] A. D. 567.

in the study of letters, he acquired an excellent education. He was fully versed in the works of Virgil, the books of the Theodosian code, and in arithmetical studies.* Inflated with all this knowledge, he began to look down upon his master's family, and recommended himself to the patronage of Duke Lupus,* on the occasion of his visit to Marseilles on a mission from King Sigibert. The duke on his return bade Andarchius accompany him, and did everything to commend him to King Sigibert, to whose household he was transferred. The king sent him on missions to various places and afforded him opportunities of service. As a result of this he was regarded as having attained official rank ; * he came to Clermont, where he soon got into acquaintance with Ursus, a citizen of the place. Meanwhile, sharp fellow that he was and bent upon marrying Ursus's daughter, he placed his mail shirt * in a case made for holding papers, and said to the wife of Ursus : ' I commend to thy care a quantity of gold pieces belonging to me, placed in this case, more than sixteen thousand ; these I entrust to thee, and all may be thine if thou wilt give me thy daughter in marriage.' But : ' To what dost thou not drive the hearts of mortals, accursed thirst of gold ? ' [1] The woman honestly believed what he said, and in the absence of her husband, promised to give him her daughter. After going back to the king, the fellow returned with a royal diploma,[2] which he displayed before the judge of the place,* ordering him to give him the girl in marriage,* ' for ', he said, ' I have already made deposit of money for the betrothal.' The father denied this, saying : ' I neither know anything of thy origin, nor do I hold any property of thine.' A quarrel began, and as it increased in vehemence, Andarchius demanded that Ursus should appear with him before the king. But when he had come to the royal villa of Berny, he fetched another man named Ursus, whom he brought privily to the altar, and made to swear in the following words : ' By this hallowed place, and by the relics of the blessed martyrs, I swear that if I give thee not my daughter in marriage, I will forthwith repay thee sixteen thousand pieces of gold.' Now witnesses were standing in the sacristy, listening unobserved to what he said, but

[1] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 56, 57. The actual words begin, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis.*

[2] *Praeceptio.*

unable to see who it was that spoke. Then Andarchius with smooth words soothed Ursus, and induced him to return home without coming before the king. After his departure he laid before the king a copy of the oath, declaring : ' Such and such promises hath Ursus written for me ; therefore do I demand of thy glory a diploma, bidding him give me his daughter in marriage. Otherwise grant me possession of his property until I receive the sixteen thousand pieces of gold, when I will withdraw from the affair.' Having obtained the diploma, he returned to Clermont and displayed the king's order to the judge. Ursus betook himself to Le Velay ; * but as his property was made over to Andarchius, Andarchius went after him thither. Entering a house belonging to Ursus, he ordered a supper to be prepared for him, and water to be heated for washing. The house-slaves were unwilling to obey so ill-bred a master,* whereupon he beat some of them with sticks, others with rods ; the heads of sundry he struck till the blood flowed. The household was scared, and his supper was prepared ; he had hot water to wash in, after which he drank wine till he was drunk, and laid himself upon the bed. He had with him only seven servants. They, too, were overcome with weariness and wine and slept heavily. Then the household servants assembled and shut the doors of the house, which were fashioned of wooden planks. They took possession of the keys, broke open the ricks, and piled up the corn, which was still in sheaves, all round the house and over it until it was covered and could hardly be seen ; they then set alight to it in various places. The unhappy men within, awakened by charred fragments of the house falling in upon them, cried aloud for help, but there was none to give ear ; at last the flames consumed the whole house and them with it. Ursus, afraid of the consequences of this deed, took refuge in the church of the holy Julian ; but after making presents to the king, he received his entire property back.

33 (47). Chlodovech, son of Chilperic, expelled from Touraine, proceeded to Bordeaux.[1] While he was residing in this city, molested by no man, a certain Sigulf, a partisan of Sigibert, suddenly fell upon him. And when the prince fled, he pursued him with horns and trumpets, like a hunted deer, so that he

[1] A. D. 573.

scarce found any path clear to return to his father, though he managed to rejoin him by way of Angers.

A dispute now arising between King Guntram and King Sigibert, King Guntram assembled all the bishops of his kingdom at Paris, that they might pronounce which of the two was in the right. But it was ordained that civil strife should grow apace, and in their sinfulness the kings forbore to hearken.

Chilperic was moved to wrath, and sent his elder son Theudebert, who once, as Sigibert's prisoner,[1] had taken an oath of fealty to that prince, to invade Sigibert's cities, Tours, Poitiers, and the other places lying south of the Loire. Theudebert came to Poitiers and fought against Duke Gundobald, whose army flying from the field, there followed great slaughter of the people of the city. He also burned most of the district round Tours, and if the inhabitants had not made timely submission, he would have forthwith devastated the whole territory. Advancing with his army, he overran the Limousin, the territory of Cahors, and their other regions, ravaging and laying waste them all. He burned the churches, took away the sacred vessels, slew the clergy, destroyed the monasteries of monks, used the nunneries with contempt, and laid all things waste. In those days was greater lamenting in the churches than in the time of Diocletian's persecution.

48. And to this day we are astonished and marvel why such disasters fell upon them. But we should recall that which their forefathers did, and that which they themselves are doing now. After the preaching of the bishops, their fathers forsook their temples for churches ; the sons daily bear off plunder from the churches. The fathers venerated with their whole hearts the bishops of the Lord and hearkened to their words ; the sons not only refuse to hear, but even persecute them. The fathers enriched the monasteries and churches ; the sons demolish and destroy them.

What shall I say of the monastery of Latte,* which contains relics of the blessed Martin ? A hostile band approached, and was preparing to cross the river hard by, with the object of despoiling the monastery. The monks cried to them : ' Pass not over hither, O barbarians,* pass not over ! for this house is the house of the blessed Martin.' At this many among them

[1] Cf. ch. 16 (23), above.

were moved by the fear of God, and went back. But twenty men, who neither feared God nor honoured the blessed confessor, got into a vessel and crossed over; whereupon, at the instigation of the Evil One, they smote the monks, ruined the monastery, and pillaged its possessions, making bundles of them, which they put on board their vessel. When they pushed out into the river, the keel began to move from one side to the other and they were carried now to this quarter, now to that. They had no help from the oars, which were lost, and they were trying to regain the shore by thrusting the shafts of their spears as poles into the bed of the river, when suddenly the ship yawed apart under them, and the breast of every one of them was pierced by the point which he held towards him; all were transfixed and slain by their own lances. One only, who had rebuked them and tried to prevent their crime, remained unharmed. If any man hold that this befell by chance, let him consider that the number of the guilty was large, and that the one man who escaped was he who was innocent. After their death the monks recovered the bodies and their own effects from the bed of the river, burying the first and restoring the second to the monastery.

34 (49). While these things befell, King Sigibert set in movement the peoples from beyond the Rhine * and began civil war by marching against his brother Chilperic.[1] As soon as the king heard of it, he sent envoys to his brother Guntram, and the two entered into a treaty that neither should suffer his brother to perish. Sigibert came on at the head of those peoples; Chilperic, on the other hand, awaited him with his army. But Sigibert could find no ford by which to cross the Seine and fall upon his brother. He therefore sent a message to Guntram to this effect: 'If thou sufferest me not to cross this river by passing through thy lands, I will come up against thee with my whole army.' In fear of this attack, Guntram made a treaty with him, and suffered him to cross. Chilperic perceiving that Guntram had abandoned him and gone over to Sigibert, moved his camp and withdrew to Alluyes, a village not far from Chartres. Sigibert followed, and called on him to fix the place of battle. But the other feared that if their two armies joined battle, their dominion would go down in

[1] A. D. 574.

ruin ; * he therefore sought terms of peace, and restored those cities of Sigibert's which Theudebert had wrongfully invaded. He asked only that in no case should their inhabitants be held guilty, since Theudebert had unjustly forced them to his side by fire and sword.

During this time most of the villages about Paris were consumed by fire ; the houses and all other property were pillaged by the enemy, and even the inhabitants were led away captive. King Sigibert besought his followers to abstain from such actions, but he was unable to control the savagery of the men from beyond the Rhine. He therefore bore it all with such patience as he could until he should be able to return to his own country. Some of these heathens murmured against him for not letting them fight. But as he never lacked courage, he mounted his horse and rode towards them, pacifying them with fair words ; later, he had many of them stoned. It may not be doubted that the power of the blessed Martin was manifested, in that the kings made peace without recourse to arms ; on the very day on which peace was made, three paralytics stood erect in the church of the saint. Which miracle, with God's aid, I have recounted in later books.[1]

35 (50). My mind is filled with grief as I relate the story of these civil wars. After the lapse of a year, Chilperic once more sent envoys to his brother Guntram, with this message : ' Let my brother come to me, and let us see each other ; let us be reconciled and march against Sigibert, our common enemy.' His wish was granted ; and after they had met and exchanged gifts of honour, Chilperic levied an army and advanced as far as Reims, burning and devastating everything in his path. At news of this Sigibert once more summoned the tribes of whom I have above spoken,[2] and coming to Paris, prepared to march against his brother. He also sent envoys to the people of Châteaudun * and Tours, ordering them to march against Theudebert. When they neglected to come, he sent the dukes Godigisel and Guntram * in command ; they raised an army and marched against him. Though forsaken by the bulk of his men, the prince stood his ground with the few that remained, and did not shrink from going out to battle. In the encounter Theudebert was vanquished and struck down on the field ;

[1] Cf. V. S. M. ii. 5–7.

[2] i. e. the pagan Germans.

his lifeless body, pitiful to relate, was despoiled by the enemy. But afterwards he was taken up by a certain Aunulf, washed and arrayed as beseemed his rank, and buried at Augoulême. Chilperic, learning that Guntram and Sigibert were now once more reconciled, withdrew within the walls of Tournai with his consort and his sons, and fortified himself there.

36 (51). In this year a blazing fire was seen to traverse the heaven like that already beheld before the death of Lothar.

Sigibert, after taking the cities situated south of Paris, pushed on as far as Rouen, intending to abandon these places to their enemies; * but his own men prevented him from doing this. On his return, he entered Paris, where he was rejoined by Brunhild and his sons. Those Franks who were formerly subject to Childebert the elder * now sent an embassy to Sigibert, proposing that they should transfer their allegiance from Chilperic, and that he should come among them to be made king. At this news he sent a force to besiege his brother in the aforesaid city,[1] and proposed himself to follow it with all speed. Thereupon the holy bishop Germanus said to him: 'If thou departest with the intent not to slay thy brother, thou shalt return living and victorious; but if thou hast in thy heart aught else, thou shalt surely die. For so hath the Lord spoken by the mouth of Solomon: "If thou preparest a ditch for thy brother, thou shalt fall therein thyself."'[2] But the king, because of his sinfulness, would not hearken. And when he came to the royal villa named Vitry,* the whole army was assembled, and placing him upon a shield,[3] they elected him their king. Then two servitors whom Fredegund had bewitched came armed with the strong knives commonly called *scramasaxes* * smeared with poison, and making as though they would speak with him on some matter, struck him from both sides. He uttered a cry, and fell, not long after giving up the ghost.[4] There, too, fell his chamberlain Charegisel, and there was sorely wounded Sigila, who came long before from the country of the Goths. At a later time he fell into the hands of King Chilperic, when all his joints were burned with red-hot irons, and he ended his life torn limb from limb in cruel torture. Charegisel was no less frivolous

[1] Tournai. [2] Prov. xxvi. 27. The text is not exactly quoted.
[3] Cf. II. 29 (40) and VII. 10. [4] A. D. 575.

in his conduct than serious in his avarice; * he rose from a most lowly origin, and became powerful with the king by his flatteries. He was greedy for the wealth of others and tampered with wills; but his own end was such, that death left the thwarter of other men's intentions no time to fulfil his own.

Chilperic was in perilous case, and knew not whether he might escape, or whether he should perish where he was, when messengers reached him with the news of his brother's death.* He now left Tournay with his queen and sons, arrayed his dead brother, and buried him in the village of Lambres.* At a later time the body of Sigibert was removed to the church of the holy Médard at Soissons, which he had himself erected,* and there buried by the side of his father Lothar. He died in the fourteenth year of his reign * and the fortieth of his age. From the passing of Theudebert the elder to the death of Sigibert are counted twenty-nine years; * between the death of Sigibert and that of his nephew Theudebert intervened eighteen days. Sigibert being dead, Childebert his son reigned in his stead.

From the Creation to the Flood were two thousand two hundred and forty-two years. From the Flood to Abraham, nine hundred and forty-two years. From Abraham to the departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt, four hundred and sixty-two years. From the departure of the Children of Israel from Egypt to the building of Solomon's Temple, four hundred and eighty years. From the building of the Temple to its desolation and the exile into Babylon, three hundred and ninety years. From the exile to the Passion of our Lord, six hundred and sixty-eight years. From the Passion of our Lord to the passing of Saint Martin, four hundred and twelve years. From the passing of Martin to the death of King Clovis, one hundred and twelve years. From the death of King Clovis to the death of Theudebert, thirty-seven years. From the passing of Theudebert to the death of Sigibert, twenty-nine years. The sum of which is five thousand seven hundred and seventy-four years.

HERE ENDS THE FOURTH BOOK[1]

[1] Two other chapters are added in the MS., but they really belong to Book VII (7 and 8), where they are repeated. They are therefore translated in that place rather than here.

BOOK V

[BOOK THE FIFTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIFTH BOOK

I. Of the reign of Childebert the younger, and of his mother.
II. How Merovech wedded Brunhild.
III. The war against Chilperic, and Rauching's malice.
IV. How Roccolen came to Tours.
5. Of the bishops of Langres.
6. Of Leunast, archdeacon of Bourges.
7. Of Senoch, the recluse.
V. (8) Of the holy Germanus, bishop of Paris.
9. Of Caluppa, the recluse.
10. Of Patroclus, the recluse.
VI. (11) Of the Jews converted by Bishop Avitus.
12. Of the abbot Brachio.
VII. (13) How Mummolus ravaged Limoges.
VIII. (14) How Merovech was tonsured, and took sanctuary in the church of the holy Martin.
IX. (15) The war between the Saxons and the Sueves.
X. (16) Of the death of Macliav.
XI. (17) Of the uncertainty about Easter; of the church at Chinon; how King Guntram slew the sons of Magnachar but lost his own sons, and how he made alliance with Childebert.
XII. (18) Of Bishop Praetextatus, and of Merovech's death.
XIII. (19) Of the charities of Tiberius.
20. Of Bishops Salonius and Sagittarius.
XIV. (21) Of the Breton Winnoch.
XV. (22) Of the death of Samson, Chilperic's son.
XVI. (23) Of signs and wonders, and how Chilperic usurped and invaded Poitiers.
XVII. (24) How Guntram Boso took his daughters from the church of the holy Hilary.
XVIII. (25) Of the death of Dacolen and Duke Dragolen.
XIX. (26) How the army marched into Brittany.
XX. (27) Of the expulsion of Salonius and Sagittarius.
XXI. (28) Of the taxes imposed by Chilperic.

XXII. (29) Of the ravaging of Brittany.
XXIII. (30) Of the reign of Tiberius.
XXIV. (31) Of the stratagem of the Bretons.
32. How the church of the holy Dionysius was outraged on account of a woman.
XXV. (33) Of signs and wonders.
XXVI. (34) Of the dysentery, and of Chilperic's sons dead.
XXVII. (35) Of Queen Austrechild.
36. Of Bishop Heraclius and Count Nanthinus.
37. Of Martin, bishop of Galicia.
XXVIII. (38) Of the persecution of Christians in Spain.
XXIX. (39) Of the death of Chlodovech.
40. Of Bishops Elafius and Eunius.
XXX. (41) Of the Galician ambassadors, and concerning portents.
42. Of Maurilio, bishop of Cahors.
XXXI. (43) Of my dispute with a heretic.
XXXII. (44) Of Chilperic's writings.
45. Of the death of Bishop Agricola.
46. Of the death of Bishop Dalmatius.
47. Of the countship of Eunomius.
48. Of the wickedness of Leudast.
49. Of his treachery towards us, and how he was humbled.
XXXIII. (50) What things Bishop Salvius foretold concerning Chilperic.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIFTH BOOK

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 575 to 580.]

HERE BEGINS THE FIFTH BOOK FORTUNATELY. AMEN

(*Prologue*)

MY heart is mournful as I recount the divers civil wars which so grievously wear down the race and the dominion of the Franks. Herein, worst sign of all, we seem even now to perceive the time begin which the Lord foretold as the beginning of sorrows: 'The father shall rise up against the son, and the son against the father; brother shall rise up against brother, and kinsman against kinsman.'[1] Yet the examples of former kings should have affrighted them, who, through their divisions, were slain by their enemies. How oft fell the city of cities and great head of all the world[2] through her civil wars; but when these ended, she arose once more as out of the ground! Would that you, O kings, were practised in such wars as those in which your fathers toiled in the sweat of their brows, that so the peoples, in awe of your unity, might be subjected by your might! Remember all that Clovis did, the beginner of your victories, who slew enemy kings, shattered the dangerous outland nations, and subdued the races of Gaul, over whom he handed down to you a dominion whole and unimpaired. And when he accomplished this, he had neither silver nor gold, such as ye now have in your treasuries. What deeds are yours, what desires? Wherein have you not abundance? For in your houses too much abound things of delight,* your store-houses are overfilled with corn, wine, and oil; in your treasuries gold and silver are heaped in piles. But one thing lacks: because you keep not peace you have not the grace of God. Wherefore does each one of you despoil his brethren of their own? Wherefore does the brother lust after the brother's goods? Listen, I beseech you, to the warning of the apostle: 'But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.'[3] Search diligently that which was written by the ancients, and you shall see what issue comes of civil wars.

[1] Cf. Matt. x. 21, the passage not exactly quoted. Cf. also xxiv. 8.
[2] Rome.
[3] Gal. v. 15.

Seek that which Orosius writes of the Carthaginians,* when he records the ruin of their city and all their land after flourishing seven hundred years; he adds these words: 'What preserved their State so long? Concord. What destroyed it after all that time? Discord.'[1] Beware of discord, beware of civil wars that crush both yourselves and your people. To what else can you look but this, that when your armies are fallen, you be left without succour and straightway fall in ruin, overborne by hostile nations. If thou, O king, hast delight in civil war, practise that war which, according to the apostle, is waged in the heart of every man, that the Spirit may strive against the flesh,[2] that vices may yield before virtues, and thou thyself, as one set free, mayst serve thy head, which is Christ, even thou who once in thy chains didst serve the root of all evil.

1. At the time when King Sigibert was slain at Vitry, Queen Brunhild was dwelling with her children at Paris. When the news was brought to her, and in the tumult of her grief and anguish she knew not what she did, Duke Gundovald * took Childebert, her little son, and bore him away in secret, snatching him from imminent death.* Then he assembled the peoples over which his father had reigned, and proclaimed him king, his years being as yet hardly five: it was Christmas Day when Childebert began to reign. Now in the first year of his reign[3] King Chilperic came to Paris, seized Brunhild and banished her to Rouen, took possession of the treasures which she had brought to Paris, and ordered her daughters * to be detained at Meaux. At this time Roccolen came to Tours with the men of Maine, took plunder, and committed many crimes. I shall shortly relate after what manner he was smitten and slain by the power of the holy Martin for all the evil which he wrought.[4]

2. King Chilperic sent his son Merovech with an army to Poitiers. But the prince, disobeying his orders, came to Tours and there passed the holy days of Easter, while his army sorely devastated all that country. Then, under the pretext of visiting his mother,[5] he betook himself to Rouen, where he joined Queen Brunhild and took her to wife. As soon as

[1] *Hist.* v. 8. [2] Cf. Gal. v. 17. [3] A. D. 576.
[4] Below, ch. 4. [5] Audovera. Cf. IV. 21 (28).

Chilperic heard that in defiance of usage and of canonical law his son had married his uncle's widow, he grew exceeding bitter against him, and in a shorter time than I can say it, set forth for the aforesaid town. But upon the news that he meant to decree their separation the pair took sanctuary in the church of the holy Martin, which is built of wooden planks,* upon the city walls. The king arrived and strove by many a device to get them out; but when they would not believe him, suspecting his treacherous intent, he took an oath declaring that if that which was done was according to the will of God, he would not try to part them.* When they heard his solemn oath, they came forth from the church, whereupon he embraced them and received them right worthily. But a few days afterwards he went back to Soissons, taking Merovech with him.

3. While they were in this place,[1] certain men of Champagne assembled and marched on the city of Soissons; they drove out of the place Queen Fredegund and Chlodovech, son of Chilperic,[2] and sought to get the city into their power. As soon as the news reached Chilperic, he marched thither with his army, sending envoys in advance to warn them to do nothing to his injury, for it would end in destruction on both sides.* But they disregarded the warning and made ready to fight. The battle was engaged, and Chilperic prevailed, scattering the enemy and laying low many a man lusty and good at need; the rest being put to flight, he entered the city of Soissons.

After these events, he began to suspect his son Merovech by reason of his union with Brunhild; these battles, he declared, were wickedly instigated by him. Wherefore he deprived him of his arms, and ordered that guards should watch him, but not as a close prisoner.* He had not made up his mind what to decide about him in the future. But the real head and cause of that war was Godin. This man had abandoned Sigibert's allegiance for that of Chilperic, who had enriched him with many gifts; when defeat befell that king in the field, he was the first to flee. Chilperic had granted him domain lands* in the territory of Soissons; these were now taken back and bestowed on the church of the holy Médard. Godin soon afterwards met with a sudden death. His widow married

[1] i. e. at Rouen. [2] By Audovera.

Rauching, a man compact of all manner of vanities, puffed up with pride and insolent conceit, conducting himself towards those beneath him as one admitting no trace of humanity, raging against his people beyond all bounds of folly and malice, doing them unspeakable outrage. When a serf, according to usage, held a lighted candle before him as he sat at meat, he had his legs bared and fixed the candle tight between his shins until it burned out ; * the same was done when a second taper was lit, until the shins of the serf were all badly burned. If the man uttered a sound, or moved from his place, forthwith a naked sword threatened him ; whereat Rauching exulted with great glee over the man's tears. There was one who had a story that at this time two of his serfs, a man and a girl, fell in love, as will often befall. After their affection had lasted for two years or more, they fled together, and took refuge in the church. As soon as Rauching heard it, he went to the priest of the place and demanded the surrender of his two serfs, whom he professed to have forgiven. Thereupon the priest said to him : ' Thou knowest what reverence is due to the house of God ; it is not granted thee to take them back if thou promise not that they may remain in wedlock, and likewise that they be free from punishment.' At this he stood silent a long while, pondering and doubtful what to do ; but at length he turned to the priest and placing his hands upon the altar uttered this oath : ' They shall never be put asunder by me ; rather will I see that they remain united even as now. For though I was vexed that they acted without my consent, one thing I heartily approve, that the man doth not wed the maid of another lord, or the maid a man from another household.' The priest in the simplicity of his heart believed the promise of this crafty man, and gave up the two serfs, as those whose pardon was assured. Rauching took charge of them, thanking the priest, and withdrew to his house. There he straightway bade fell a tree, and caused a section of the trunk to be split at the ends with wedges and hollowed out ; a pit was then dug in the earth to the depth of three or four feet, and this hollowed trunk placed in it by his orders. The girl was laid out in it as if she were a corpse, and the man cast in upon her ; then the cover was put on and the earth filled in. So he buried them alive, uttering these words : ' I

have not gone counter to my oath that these two should never be put asunder.' News whereof being brought to the priest, he ran thither with speed, and bitterly rebuking the man, hardly won from him leave to have the earth removed. The male serf was taken out alive, but the girl was found suffocated. Such were his deeds and his perversity, for which cause he died in the manner which his life deserved, as I purpose to set forth below.[1]

Siggo the referendary,* who had kept the seal of King Sigibert and had been summoned by King Chilperic to hold the same office as he had enjoyed in the time of his brother, now forsook Chilperic, and went over to Childebert, son of Sigibert; his property in Soissons * was granted to Ansovald. Many more of those who had left King Sigibert's kingdom to enter Chilperic's service now withdrew from that king. Soon afterwards the wife of Siggo died; but he took to himself another.

4. In these days Roccolen,[2] dispatched by Chilperic, came to Tours, boasting of all that he would do; he pitched his camp beyond the Loire, and sent me messengers, bidding me remove from the holy church Guntram, then accused of the death of Theudebert.* If I did not according to his will, he would lay in ashes the city and all its suburbs. On hearing the message, I sent to tell him that what he demanded had never been done from the most ancient times till now, and that he could not be suffered to violate the holy church. But if such a thing should happen he should have no good of it, and likewise the king who had sent such commands. Let him rather fear the holiness of Martin the bishop, whose power but the day before had made crippled limbs straight.* But he, wholly unaffrighted, took to pieces the church-house beyond the Loire, in which he had his quarters; it was put together by means of nails,* which the men of Maine in his following placed in leather bags and carried off, destroying the crops and devastating everything as they went. But while Roccolen was at this work, he was smitten by God and yellowed with the jaundice. None the less he repeated his harsh demand and said: 'If ye cast not forth Duke Guntram from the church, I will so trample every green thing about the city, that the site of it shall be

[1] The passage is corrupt. The death of Rauching is described in IX. 9.
[2] Cf. ch. 1, above.

meet for nothing but the plough.' In the meantime came round the holy day of the Epiphany, and he was tormented with even greater pain. He then hearkened to the advice of those about him, crossed the river, and came to the city. And when the procession issued, with chanting, from the great church on its way to the holy basilica,* he rode upon his horse behind the cross, preceded by his banners.* But as soon as he entered the church of the saint, his fury and his threatenings abated; and after returning from the cathedral * he could take no food for the rest of the day. Afterwards, when he was worn to nothing, he set out for Poitiers. It was now the holy period of Lent, yet he ate frequently of young rabbit. For the Kalends of March he had prepared measures to oppress and mulct the citizens of Poitiers; * but on the day before he gave up the ghost. Thus were his pride and insolence stayed.

5. At this time Felix, bishop of Nantes,* wrote me letters full of abuse, alleging that my brother [1] lost his life for having slain his bishop, whose office he coveted himself. The reason for writing in this sort was that he coveted a domain belonging to the Church; * because I would not agree that he should have it, he was filled with rage and poured forth a thousand invectives against me. In the end I made answer to him in these words: 'Remember the saying of the prophet: "Woe unto them that join house to house and lay field to field! Shall they be alone to inhabit the earth?"[2] O that Marseilles had received thee for her bishop! For the ships would never have brought thee oil or other wares, but only paper,* that thou mightst have more scope to write calumnies against good men. Now scarcity of paper cutteth short thy wordiness.' For his greed and arrogance knew no bounds. But lest I seem as one like to him, I leave all this on one side, and will explain after what manner my brother passed from the light of day, and how swift was the Lord's vengeance upon his murderer.

The blessed Tetricus, bishop of Langres, growing old, dismissed the deacon Lampadius, who had served him in a position of trust; * my brother, in his desire to succour the poor, whom this man had shamefully robbed, had been party to his degradation and thereby incurred his hatred. In the meantime

[1] The deacon Peter, mentioned below.

[2] Isa. v. 7.

the blessed Tetricus had an apoplectic stroke. The remedies of the doctors were of no avail, and the clergy in great trouble, and as it were deprived of their shepherd, asked for Monderic. He was granted to them by the king,* and after receiving the tonsure, was consecrated bishop, on condition that as long as the blessed Tetricus lived he should direct as archpriest the town of Tonnerre,* residing there, and succeeding Tetricus upon his decease. While he was living in this town, he incurred the king's anger. He was accused of having brought provisions and gifts to King Sigibert when on his expedition against his brother Guntram.[1] He was therefore dragged from the town and detained in banishment in a narrow roofless tower on the banks of the Rhône. There he remained for about two years in great hardship,* when, by intercession of the blessed bishop Nicetius,* he returned to Lyons, and sojourned there with him two months. But when the king refused to restore him to the place from which he had been expelled he escaped by night to King Sigibert, who appointed him bishop in the township of Alais,* with about fifteen parishes under his charge which had formerly been held by the Goths, and were now under the jurisdiction of Dalmatius, bishop of Rodez. After his departure, the people of Langres for a second time asked for a bishop, naming now Silvester, a connexion alike of Tetricus and of myself; it was at the instigation of my brother that they asked for him. The blessed Tetricus now passing away, Silvester received the tonsure, and was ordained priest, receiving full control of the property of the church; he then prepared to set out for Lyons, there to be consecrated bishop. But in the meanwhile he was attacked by epilepsy, a disease to which he had long been subject; he was beside himself, and groaning continually for two whole days; on the third day he gave up the ghost. After this, as I have above related, Lampadius, who had been deprived of his dignity and his possessions, joined Silvester's son in his hatred of the deacon Peter, trumping up and asseverating the charge that his father died through Peter's evil arts. The son, who was young and impulsive, was excited against my brother, and publicly accused him of killing his father. On hearing this, my brother went to Lyons, where a court of

[1] See IV. 47.

justice was held in the presence of the holy bishop Nicetius, uncle of my mother ; there, before Bishop Siagrius [1] and many other bishops, and the principal laymen, he purged himself by oath, swearing that he had never been implicated in the death of Silvester. But two years afterwards [2] the son of Silvester, instigated yet again by Lampadius, met the deacon Peter on the road, and mortally wounded him with a lance. The body was thereupon taken from the place where it lay and carried to Dijon,* where it was buried near the holy Gregory our ancestor. The murderer took to flight, and went over to King Chilperic, abandoning his property to King Guntram's treasury. In consequence of the crime which he had committed, he became a wanderer in various places, finding no fixed abode ; and at length, the innocent blood, as I hold, crying to the Divine Power against him,[3] upon a journey in a certain place he drew his sword against an innocent man. The relatives of this man, in grief for the death of their kinsman, made a riot, and cutting the murderer to pieces with their drawn swords, scattered his limbs abroad. Such was the end that by the just judgement of God befell this miserable man ; he who had put to death his innocent neighbour might not long survive his guilt, for this happened to him in the third year after his crime.

Now after the death of Silvester the people of Langres once more asked for a bishop, and Pappolus was given them, who had formerly been archdeacon of Autun. By common report he did much evil which I here pass over, that I may not seem a detractor of my brethren ; yet I will not leave unrelated the manner of his death. In the eighth year of his bishopric,[4] as he was upon a tour of the parishes and domains belonging to the Church, the blessed Tetricus appeared to him as he slept, and thus spoke to him with a threatening countenance : ' What dost thou here, O Pappolus ? Wherefore pollutest thou my see ? Why plunderest thou the Church ? Why scatterest thou the flock which was entrusted to my care ? Withdraw, yield up the see, depart far from this country.' As he uttered these words, he smote him sharply on the breast with a rod which he held in his hand. Thereupon he awoke, but while he pondered what this might mean, he felt as if he were being

[1] Bishop of Autun.
[2] A. D. 574.
[3] Cf. Gen. iv. 12.
[4] In 579.

pierced in that spot, and was tortured with exceeding great pain. He could not bear the sight of food or drink, and already awaited the death which he felt close upon him. What need to say more? On the third day he vomited blood, and gave up the ghost. His body was taken thence to Langres, and there buried.

The abbot Mummolus, surnamed the Good, was made bishop in his place. This Mummolus is highly praised by many, who pronounce him chaste, sober, moderate, ever ready in all goodness, a follower of justice, a lover of charity with all his heart. When he took over the bishopric, he discovered that Lampadius had defrauded the Church of many things, and out of the spoils taken from the poor, accumulated lands, vineyards, and slaves. Whereupon he ordered him to be stripped of all, and driven from his presence. Who now, living in the utmost poverty, seeks to maintain himself by the labour of his hands. But enough of these matters.

6. In the above-mentioned year, which is the year when Sigibert died[1] and Childebert his son began to reign, many miracles were made manifest at the tomb of the blessed Martin, recorded by me in the books which I have endeavoured to compose * upon these matters. And though mine is a homely speech, yet I could not leave unrelated things which either I myself witnessed, or heard from the lips of the faithful. I will only recount that which befell the thoughtless, who after experience of the celestial power had recourse to earthly remedies; * for that power is displayed no less in the punishment meted to the foolish than in the grace given to those who are made whole.

Leunast, archdeacon of Bourges, lost his sight through cataract. He went first from one doctor to another, but not in the smallest degree did he recover his vision. Then he came to the church of the blessed Martin, where abiding for the space of two or three months, and fasting continually, he prayed that he might once more possess the light of his eyes. And when the feast of Martin came round, his eyes were made clear, and he began to see. But on his return home he consulted a Jew,* who applied cupping-glasses to his shoulders, the action of which was to strengthen his sight. But as soon as the blood

[1] A. D. 576.

was drawn off, he relapsed into his former blindness. Thereupon he came back to the holy shrine; but though he again made a long sojourn, he could not now recover his vision. In my belief it was denied him by reason of his sin, according to the oracle of the Lord. 'For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that which he hath.'[1] And this also: 'Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.'[2] For this man would have remained whole if he had not brought in a Jew after he had felt the miraculous power of God. It is such men as these that the apostle admonishes and condemns, saying: 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God. Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord.'[3] Therefore let this example teach every Christian that when he has received the medicine from on high, he should not seek after worldly arts.

7. I desire also to record the names and good deserts of those men who in this year were called by the Lord. For they, I deem, are great and acceptable to God who for their merit are taken from this our earth and placed in His paradise. The blessed Senoch * the priest, who dwelt near Tours, thus passed away out of the world. Of the Theifali by birth,* he entered the Church in the diocese of Tours, and withdrew to a cell which he himself had constructed among the walls of ancient buildings. There he gathered to him monks, and restored an oratory which had long been ruined. He performed many miracles for the sick, which I have recounted in the book of his Life.[4]

5 (8). In that year also the blessed Germanus, bishop of Paris, passed away;[5] the many miracles which he had wrought in

[1] Matt. xiii. 12.
[2] John v. 14. Neither this text nor the preceding is in verbal agreement with the Vulgate.
[3] 2 Cor. vi. 14–17; there are a few variations from the Vulgate text.
[4] V. P. ch. xv.
[5] A. D. 576.

the flesh were confirmed by another at his obsequies. Certain prisoners in the street calling upon his name, the body grew exceeding heavy ; but as soon as they were set free it was once more raised without difficulty. Thereupon the released men also followed the funeral train to the church in which he was buried.* At his tomb the faithful experience many miracles by the aid of God, and every man whose petition is just obtains his desire swiftly. If any would more nearly acquaint himself with the miracles which the saint wrought in the flesh, let him read the book of his Life composed by the priest Fortunatus,* and he shall find them all.

9. In the same year the recluse Caluppa died. He had been of the religious from his youth up, and when he betook himself to the monastery of Méallet * in the territory of Auvergne, showed himself ever of great humility towards his brethren, as I have written in the book of his Life.[1]

10. In the territory of Bourges there was also a recluse named Patroclus, holding the dignity of the priesthood, a man of wondrous holiness and piety, and of great abstinence, who was often vexed with divers ailments by reason of his fastings. He did not drink either wine or cider, or anything that can make drunken, only water a little sweetened with honey. Neither did he touch any food in which there was flesh, but his diet was bread steeped in water and sprinkled with salt. His eyes were never darkened with sleep, for he was continually in prayer, which if he intermitted for a while, he would either read or write. Often he would heal by prayer persons suffering from fever, pustules, or other affections. And he wrought other miracles too many to recount in their order. He wore always next his skin a shirt of goat's hair. He was eighty years of age when he left this world, and passed away to Christ. Of his life also I have briefly written.[2]

6 (11). And since our God ever of His grace gives glory to His bishops, I will relate what befell in this year at Clermont with regard to the Jews. The blessed bishop Avitus had often exhorted them to let fall the veil of the Mosaic law, to learn the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures which they read, and with pure hearts discover in Holy Writ Christ, the Son of the living God, promised by the authority of prophets and kings ;* yet

[1] V. P. ch. xi. [2] *Ibid.* ix.

there remained in their breasts, I will not say the veil which covered the face of Moses, but a wall.[1] The bishop offered prayer that they might be converted to the Lord,* and that the veil of the Letter might be rent from before them ; and at length one of them asked to be baptized at the holy Easter feast, and, born again in God by the baptismal Sacrament, went in procession with the other catechumens, himself robed in white.* But as the people were passing through the gate of the city, a Jew, at the instigation of the Evil One, poured rancid oil on the head of the Jewish convert. Though all the people, in abhorrence of the act, were eager to stone him, the bishop forbade them to do it. But on the blessed day on which the Lord ascended in glory to the heavens after the redemption of man, while the bishop was going in procession with chanting of psalms from the cathedral church to the basilica,[2] the whole multitude following him rushed upon the Jewish synagogue, destroyed it from the very foundations, and levelled it flat with the ground. On another day the bishop sent them this message : ' I do not drive you by force to confess the Son of God ; but I preach Him to you and impart to your hearts the salt of knowledge. For I am set as shepherd over the sheep of the Lord ; and of you spake the true Shepherd who suffered for us, when He said that He had other sheep not of His fold, which He must bring, that there might be one flock and one shepherd.[3] If therefore ye will believe as I, become ye one flock, with me for your guardian ; but if not, go forth from this place.' For a long while they wavered and were full of doubt ; but on the third day, in my belief impelled thereto by the intercession of the bishop, they assembled together and sent him this answer : ' We believe that Jesus is the Son of the living God, promised us by the voices of the prophets.' The bishop rejoiced at the news, and after celebrating nocturns on the holy eve of Pentecost * went forth to the baptistery beyond the city walls ; there the whole multitude of the Jews, prostrate before him, demanded baptism. With tears of joy, he washed them all with the water, anointed them with chrism, and united them in the bosom of our mother Church. Tapers flamed, lamps gleamed, all the city was bright with

[1] Cf. Exod. xxxiii. 19, 20, 22.
[2] Perhaps that of St. Illidius (Allyre).
[3] Cf. John x. 16.

the white-robed flock; nor had it less joy than of old Jerusalem witnessed when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles. They who were thus baptized numbered more than five hundred; but the rest, who refused to receive baptism, departed from the city and returned to Marseilles.*

12. After this also died Brachio, abbot of the monastery of Ménat. He was a Thuringian by birth, and formerly a huntsman in the service of Duke Sigivald, as I have related in another place.[1]

7 (13). Let me now return to my subject. King Chilperic sent his son Chlodovech to Tours. The prince, assembling an army, passed over into Touraine and Anjou, advancing as far as Saintes, which city he took. But Mummolus, patrician of King Guntram,* passed with a great army into the territory of Limoges, and began hostilities against Desiderius, Chilperic's duke.* In this engagement there fell of his army five thousand men, and Desiderius himself hardly escaped by flight. The patrician Mummolus then returned through Auvergne, which was in many parts devastated by his troops. In this way he made his way across into Burgundy.

8 (14). After this Merovech,[2] who was kept under a guard by his father,* was tonsured, forced to change his garb for that used by clerics, ordained priest, and sent to a monastery of Le Mans called *Aninsula*,* to be instructed according to priestly rule. Boso, who, as I have related,[3] was then living in the church of the holy Martin, heard of this, and sent the sub-deacon Riculf secretly to advise the prince to take refuge in this church. Merovech set out to do so, and met his servant Gailen coming from another direction. As his escort was weak, Gailen succeeded in getting him away on the road, and the prince, covering his head and putting on layman's clothes, reached the church of the blessed Martin. I was celebrating Mass when he entered, finding the door open. After Mass he asked me to give him some bread of oblation.* Ragnemod, bishop of Paris, successor of the holy Germanus, was with me at the time. When we refused,* Merovech cried out against me, saying that I had no right to suspend him from communion without first obtaining the consent of our brother

[1] V. P. ch. xii.
[2] Above, ch. 3.
[3] Above, ch. 4. Guntram Boso is referred to.

bishops. Upon this assertion we discussed the bearing of the canons upon the case; then, with the consent of the one brother who was present besides myself, he received the bread. I was moved by the fear that in maintaining the suspension of one person I might become the slayer of many, for he threatened to kill some of our people if he was not held worthy of communion equally with them; yet this matter proved a cause of much disaster for the country of Tours. At this time Nicetius, husband of my niece,* went on a private affair to King Chilperic, and was accompanied by our deacon, who was to tell the king of the flight of Merovech. As soon as Queen Fredegund saw them, she cried: 'These men are spies; they have come to find out the king's intent and report what they learn to Merovech.' And forthwith she ordered them to be stripped of their possessions and sent into banishment, from which they were only released at the end of seven months.

Chilperic sent messengers to me with this command: 'Cast thou out that apostate from the church of Martin; if thou do it not, I will set all thy country in flames.' And when I wrote in answer that it was impossible in Christian times to do a thing which had not been done even in the days of the heretics, he levied an army and sent it against Tours.

In the second year of King Childebert,[1] Merovech, seeing his father set upon his purpose, began to think of going to Queen Brunhild, and of taking Duke Guntram with him. 'Far be it from me', said he, 'that the church of our lord Martin should suffer violence on my account, or his country be enslaved through my fault.' And entering the church during vigils, he brought all the possessions that he had with him * to the tomb of the blessed Martin, praying the saint to succour him and grant him his favour, that he might win the kingdom. Leudast, then count of Tours,* seeking the favour of Fredegund, laid many snares for him, and finally entrapped and slew with the sword some of his servants who had gone out into the country: he was eager to kill Merovech himself if he could come upon him in a convenient place. But by counsel of Guntram, and to revenge himself, Merovech ordered Marileif, the royal physician, to be seized * on his return from the king's presence; he was sorely beaten, his gold and silver and all else that he

[1] A. D. 577.

had upon him were taken away, and he was left stripped of everything. Nor would even his life have been spared, had he not slipped out of the hands of his assailants and got away into the cathedral.* Afterwards I gave him fresh raiment, and getting a pledge that his life was safe, sent him home to Poitiers.

Merovech made many charges against his father and his step-mother.[1] These may have been partly true; but in my opinion it is not acceptable in God's sight that a son should publish such things abroad, as was clear to me in the sequel. One day I was invited to his table, and as we were sitting together, he urgently besought me to read him something for the instruction of his soul. I opened the book of Solomon, and took the first text I found, which contained these words: 'The eye that looketh a father in the face, may the crows of the valleys pick it out.'[2] Though he did not understand, I considered this text was prophetic and given to us by the Lord.

At this time Guntram[3] sent one of his servants to a certain woman having a spirit of prophecy,* known to him from the days of King Charibert, that she might tell him what things should befall him. He used to declare that she had proclaimed before the event not only the year, but the day and the hour when King Charibert should die. This was the prediction which she now sent him through his servants: 'It shall come to pass that King Chilperic shall die this year, and Merovech shall shut out his brothers and possess himself of the whole kingdom. As for thee, for five years thou shalt be duke of all his dominion. But in the sixth year, in one of the cities on the right bank of the Loire, thou shalt obtain the dignity of bishop by favour of the people, and thou shalt pass away from this world an old man, full of days.'* When his servants returned with this message, he was straightway puffed up with vanity, as if already he sat on the throne in the cathedral of Tours; and he came to tell me the prediction. I laughed at his folly and said: 'Of God alone are these things to be obtained; the promises of the Evil One may not be believed.'* When he had withdrawn in much confusion, I laughed heartily at this man who deemed such tales worthy of belief. One night, after vigils had been celebrated in the church of the holy bishop,[4] I had

[1] Fredegund.
[2] Prov. xxx. 17. Not the Vulgate version.
[3] i. e. Guntram Boso.
[4] St. Martin.

fallen asleep, stretched upon my bed, when I saw an angel flying through the air. As he passed over the holy church, he cried with a loud voice: 'Woe, woe! God hath stricken Chilperic and all his sons; nor shall one survive from among the issue of his loins to govern his kingdom for ever after him.' At that time the king had four sons by different wives, to say nothing of his daughters. When, at a later date, these words were fulfilled,* I clearly perceived how false were the promises of the soothsayers.

Now while they two abode in the church of the holy Martin, Queen Fredegund, who in secret protected Guntram Boso on account of his part in the death of Theudebert,[1] sent him a message in these terms: 'If thou canst drive Merovech from the church that he may meet his death, thou shalt receive a great reward at my hands.' Guntram thought that assassins were posted in readiness; he therefore said to Merovech: 'Why sit we here like slothful men or craven? Why are we such dull fools as to slink privily about this church? Let our horses be brought; let us take our hawks, and go hunting with the hounds; let us delight our eyes with view of the open lands!' He said this of his craftiness, to get him forth from the holy church. Guntram in other ways had his good qualities, but he was too prone to break faith, and he never took an oath to any of his friends which he was not at the first moment ready to break. They therefore left the church, as I have said, and went as far as Jocundiacus,* a country house in the neighbourhood of Tours; but no man did harm to Merovech.

And because Guntram was accused, as I have said,[2] of the death of Theudebert,* King Chilperic sent messengers with a letter for the tomb of the holy Martin,* in which he wrote a request that the blessed Martin should write back to him, whether it might be lawful for Guntram to be dragged out of his church or not. The deacon Baudegil,[3] who brought this letter, put on the holy tomb, as well as the written sheet, a piece of blank paper. But after waiting three days and getting no answer, he went back to Chilperic. Then the king sent other messengers to exact a solemn oath from Guntram that he would not leave the church without his knowledge. Guntram readily

[1] Her step-son. Cf. IV. 35 (50).
[2] Above, ch. 4.
[3] Probably Baudegisil is meant.

swore on the altar-cloth never to go out thence without the royal sanction.*

But Merovech, distrusting the prophetess,[1] placed three books upon the saint's tomb,* the Psalter, the Book of the Kings, and the Gospels, and passed the whole night in prayer, beseeching the blessed confessor to declare the future, and show forth to him whether or not he should be able to win the kingdom. After three days of fasting, vigil, and supplication, he returned to the blessed tomb and opened * one of the books, which was the Book of the Kings. The first verse on the opened page was this : ' Because ye have forsaken the Lord your God, to go after strange gods, and have not walked uprightly before Him, the Lord your God shall deliver you into the hand of your enemies.' [2] The verse which he found in the Psalms was this : ' But by reason of their deceit * didst Thou set evil in their way ; Thou castedst them down, until they be raised up. How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment ! they have ceased and have perished because of their iniquities.' [3] In the Gospel he found this : ' Ye know that after two days is the feast of the Passover, and the Son of Man is betrayed to be crucified.' [4] He was dismayed by these replies, and wept a very long time at the tomb of the holy bishop ; then, taking with him Duke Guntram, with five hundred men or more, he departed. But after leaving the holy church, as he was making his way through the territory of Auxerre, he was taken by Herpo, a duke of King Guntram. By him he was held prisoner, but by some means or other escaped, and entered the church of the holy Germanus.* When King Guntram heard this, he fined Herpo seventy pieces of gold, and removed him from his office, saying : ' My brother saith that thou didst hold his enemy prisoner. If thou wert minded so to do, thou shouldst first have brought him before me ; if not, thou shouldst not even have laid a finger on one whom thou wert not resolved to hold.' The army of King Chilperic now advanced as far as Tours,[5] spoiling, burning, and ravaging all the country, and not sparing the property of the holy Martin ; whatsoever the

[1] The *pythonissa*, or woman with a spirit of prophecy, mentioned above.
[2] 3 (1) Kings ix. 9, perhaps from an Itala version.
[3] Ps. lxxiii. 18, 19. The text does not agree with that of the Vulgate.
[4] Matt. xxvi. 2. Vulgate, but *sciatis* is written for *scitis*.
[5] Cf. p. 180, above.

hand touched, that it carried off; there was neither respect nor fear of God

Merovech abode about two months in the aforesaid church, and then fled, making his way to Queen Brunhild; but the Austrasians * would not receive him. His father led his army against the people of Champagne, believing him to be concealed in those parts; but he did no mischief there, nor did he discover his son.

9 (15). When Alboin came into Italy,[1] Lothar * and Sigibert had settled Suevi and other peoples in the place which he left void.* The Saxons who returned in the time of Sigibert, those, namely, who had been with Alboin, rose up against the new settlers and would have driven them from the district and destroyed them. The intruders offered them a third part of the land, saying: 'We can live together without falling upon each other.' But the others, angered because formerly they themselves had owned all the land, were by no means to be appeased. The Suevi then offered the half, and afterwards two-thirds, leaving only one-third for themselves. When the Saxons still refused, they offered, together with the land, all the flocks and herds, if only they would cease to threaten war. But the Saxons would not accept even this, and demanded battle. And already they fell to quarrelling among themselves, and had arranged how they would divide the wives of the Suevi, who should take which, when the men were slain; for these they deemed already as good as dead. But the compassion of the Lord, which doeth justice, frustrated their intent. For when the battle was engaged, out of twenty-six thousand Saxons there fell twenty thousand, while of the six thousand Suevi only four hundred and eighty were laid low, and those who remained won the victory. The survivors of the Saxons took an oath that not a man among them would cut hair or beard until they were avenged of their enemies. There followed a second battle, wherein they were overwhelmed in even greater ruin, and so the war ceased.*

10 (16). The following events befell in Brittany. Macliav and Bodic, counts[2] of the Bretons, had sworn a mutual oath that whichever of them survived the other would defend the sons of the deceased like his own. Bodic died, leaving a son

[1] A. D. 568–9. [2] Meaning 'chiefs'.

named Theuderic. Him Macliav, forgetting his oath, drove from his country; he then usurped his father's kingdom, and for a long time Theuderic lived the wandering life of an exile. But God had compassion upon him; he gathered about him a band of Bretons and fell upon Macliav, putting him to the sword, together with his son Jacob. He thus brought back into his own power the part of the kingdom which his father had ruled. Waroch, son of Macliav, maintained his right to the rest.

11 (17). King Guntram put to the sword two sons of Magnachar,* who was already dead, for having openly said hateful and abominable things of Queen Austrechild and her children; their wealth was taken for the royal treasury. He himself lost two sons,[1] destroyed by sudden disease, and sorely was he afflicted by their death, for he was left bereaved and childless. This year there was question as to the day on which Easter fell. We in Tours, with many other cities, celebrated the holy paschal feast on the fourteenth day of the kalends of May;[2] others, with those of Spain, kept this feast on the twelfth day of the kalends of April.[3] It is said that, nevertheless, those springs in Spain which are filled by the will of God were full upon our Easter.

At Chinon, a village of Touraine, while Mass was being celebrated on the day of the Lord's resurrection, the church shook, and the affrighted people cried out with one voice that it was falling; they broke down the doors, and all of them escaped out of the building, though some had broken bones. After this a great pestilence visited the people.

Thereafter King Guntram sent envoys to his nephew Childebert, seeking peace, and praying that they might meet. Then Childebert with the chief men of his kingdom came to him, and they met at the bridge called the Stone Bridge,* greeting and embracing each other. Then King Guntram said: 'It is befallen me through my sins that I am left childless; and therefore I ask that this my nephew may now be to me as a son.' And setting him upon his own seat, he gave over to him his whole kingdom in these words: 'Let a single shield protect us and a single spear defend! If I should yet have

[1] Lothar and Chlodomer. Cf. the end of ch. *20*, below.
[2] 18th April.
[3] 21st March.

sons, I will none the less regard thee as one of them, that between them and thee there may abide the lovingkindness which to-day I promise thee, calling God to witness.' The chief men of Childebert made a like promise on his behalf. Then did they eat and drink together, honouring each other with worthy gifts, and so parted in peace. But they sent an embassy to King Chilperic, demanding restoration of all territory which he had taken from their kingdom, and bidding him know that if he delayed to do so he had best appoint a field of battle.* But Chilperic, disdainful of their words, had circuses built at Soissons and at Paris,* and began presenting shows to the people.

12 (18). These things thus befalling, news reached Chilperic that Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen, was making largess to the people to the king's loss, and ordered him to be summoned to his presence. When he was searched, he was found to have with him property entrusted to him by Queen Brunhild ; * this the king took away, and commanded him to be kept in banishment until his case should be heard by the bishops. When the episcopal council * met at Paris, Praetextatus was brought before it ; the bishops who were attending it sat in the church of Peter the Apostle.[1] The king said to the accused : ' What was in thy mind, O bishop, that thou didst unite to his own aunt, his uncle's wife, mine enemy Merovech, who should have behaved as my son ? Was it unknown to thee what the canons * have laid down for such a case ? It is proven not only that thou didst wrong in this, but also that thou hast given gifts to the people in order that together ye might compass my death. Thou hast set a son at enmity with his father ; thou hast led astray the people with bribes that no man might keep with me his plighted faith ; thou hast sought to betray my kingdom into the hands of another.' When the king said this, there rose a great murmur from the crowd of Franks without ; * they wished to break in the doors of the church, drag forth the bishop and stone him, but this the king forbade. And when Bishop Praetextatus denied the truth of the king's charges, there came forward false witnesses, displaying various things of price, and saying : ' This and this didst thou give us on condition that we sware loyalty to

[1] Also called the church of the Holy Apostles.

Merovech.' To this he replied: 'Ye say true that often ye received rewards from me; but not to drive the king from his dominion. For since ye gave me fine horses and other things, what else could I do but make presents of like worth in return?' * The king now withdrew to his lodging,* but we remained seated in the sacristy * of the church of Saint Peter. As we were taking counsel together, there suddenly arrived Aëtius, archdeacon of the church of Paris, who gave us greeting, and then said: 'Give ear to me, O priests of the Lord here assembled; for either ye shall now exalt your name and shine with the grace of good renown or, lacking manhood to play the part that falleth to you, and suffering this your brother to perish, of a surety not a man of you shall henceforth be accounted the minister of God.' Thus he spake, but not a bishop answered him a word, for they feared the king and his fury, by whose prompting these things were being done. As they remained absorbed in thought with their fingers on their lips,[1] I myself spoke as follows: 'Hearken, I pray you, to my words, most holy priests of the Lord, ye before all who seem to have the confidence of the king. Give him now holy counsel and befitting bishops, lest in fury against a minister of God he perish by his wrath and lose both kingdom and renown.' When I had said this, all still held their peace. And as they still remained silent, I added: 'Remember, my lord bishops, the word of the prophet: "If the watchman behold the iniquity of man and say nothing, he shall be guilty for the soul that perisheth."[2] Hold not your peace, therefore, but speak out, and set the king's sins before his eyes, lest haply some ill befall him, and ye be guilty for his soul. Or know ye not what hath been done in recent time? How Chlodomir seized Sigismund and thrust him into prison; and how Avitus, priest of the Lord, said to him: "Lay not thy hand upon him; so shalt thou have the victory when thou goest out against Burgundy." But he refused to follow the bishop's counsel, and went out, and slew him with his wife and his sons, and marched into Burgundy, where he was crushed by the army of the enemy and put to death.[3] And what of the emperor Maximus?

[1] *Digito ora comprimentibus.* Possibly, burying their faces in their hands.
[2] Ezek. xxxiii. 6. The text differs from that of the Vulgate.
[3] Cf. III. 6.

when he had forced the blessed Martin [1] to have fellowship with a bishop guilty of murder, and when the saint had consented to this impious ruler in the hope of setting free men condemned to death, was it not seen how the judgement of the Eternal King pursued this emperor, who was driven from the throne, and condemned to the vilest death?' * When I had spoken not one of them replied, but all were as men rapt and confounded. Two sycophants among them, it is lamentable to say it of bishops, went to the king and told him that there was no greater enemy of his interests than myself. Forthwith one from the court was sent with all speed to command my presence. When I arrived, the king was standing near an arbour formed of branches, with Bishop Bertram [2] on his right and Ragnemod [3] upon his left: before them was a bench covered with bread and various dishes. As soon as he saw me, the king said: 'O bishop, it is thy part freely to deal justice to all, and lo! I receive not justice at thy hands; but I see thee consenting with iniquity, and in thee is fulfilled the proverb that crow picketh not out crow's eye.' [4] Whereto I answered: 'If any among us, O king, would overstep the path of justice, it is in thy power to correct him; but if thou transgress, who may rebuke thee? For we may speak with thee indeed, and if thou wilt, thou hearest; but if thou wilt not, who shall condemn thee save He who hath proclaimed Himself to be very Justice?' He replied (for his flatterers had inflamed him against me): 'All other men show me justice; with thee alone I find it not. But sure I am what I will do, that thou mayst be known among the people as thou art, and it may be right clear to all that there is no justice in thee. I will call together the people of Tours, and I will say to them: "Cry aloud against Gregory, that he is unjust and accordeth justice to no man." And when they shout as I bid, I shall make answer to them: "Myself, the king, can find no justice at his hands, and how shall ye lesser folk find it?"' To this I said: 'Were I unjust, what shouldst thou know of it? He only knoweth my conscience

[1] The text has *Germanum*, but *Martinum* should be read. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Dialog.* iii. 13. Other texts actually have Martin.

[2] Of Bordeaux.

[3] Bishop of Paris. It seems to be implied that these two important churchmen were the sycophants mentioned just before.

[4] *Corvus oculum corvi non eruit.*

to whom the secrets of the heart are open. And if the people, because thou dost revile me, cry out against me, clamouring falsely, it is naught to me ; for all men will know that these things come from thee. Therefore it is not I that should be the mark of their outcry, but rather thou. But wherefore should I speak further ? Thou hast the law and the canons ; it beseemeth thee to search them diligently, and then, if thou observe not their precepts, thou shalt know that the judgement of God hangeth over thy head.' Then, as if to propitiate me, deeming that I did not see through his crafty dealing, he turned to a dish * placed before him, and said : ' These dishes I have had prepared for thee ; there is nothing in this but fowl and a little pulse.' But, knowing his insinuating arts, I said : ' Our food should be to do the will of God, and not to take delight in these dainties, that in no case we transgress His commandments. As for thee, who accusest others of injustice, promise first thyself to keep the law and the canons ; then shall we believe that thou followest after justice.' Thereat he stretched forth his right hand, and swore by Almighty God that in no case would he transgress the teaching of the law and the canons. After this I accepted some bread, and even drank wine before I went away. That night, when we had finished singing the nocturnal hymns, I heard a loud knocking on the door of my lodging, and learned from the servant whom I sent that messengers from Queen Fredegund stood without. They were introduced, and gave me greeting from the queen. These servants of hers then besought me not to oppose her interests ; at the same time they promised me two hundred pounds of silver if, through my joining in the attack on him, Praetextatus were condemned. For they said : ' We have now the promise of all the bishops ; do not thou oppose alone.' I made answer : ' If ye gave me a thousand pounds of gold and silver, could I do aught but that which the Lord commandeth ? One thing alone I promise ; I will follow the course upon which the rest are agreed provided it be according to the canons.' The men, without understanding what I meant, thanked me and withdrew. At dawn the next day, some of the bishops came to me with a like message, to whom I gave a like reply.

When therefore in the morning we were all assembled in the church of Saint Peter, the king was also present, and said : ' If

a bishop be caught in larceny, it is decreed by authority of the canons that he be removed from his episcopal office.' When we replied by asking who was the bishop against whom the charge of theft was brought, the king replied: 'Why, ye have yourselves seen the precious things which he hath purloined from us.' He had in fact displayed to us three days before two bundles filled with objects of price and jewels valued at more than three thousand gold pieces,[1] and a bag of coins which, to judge by its weight, might contain two thousand pieces. These, the king averred, were stolen from him by the bishop. But Praetextatus made answer: 'I doubt not ye remember that on the departure of Queen Brunhild from Rouen, I came to you[2] and told you that she had entrusted to me five bundles containing things belonging to her, and that her servants often came to me with the request that I should give them up, and that I would not without taking thine advice. And thou thyself, O king, didst say to me: "Cast these things from thee, and let this woman have the things that be hers, lest for this cause there spring up enmity between me and my nephew Childebert." I therefore returned to the city and delivered up one bundle to her servants, for that was all they were able to carry. They came again, and asked for the rest, and once more I took counsel with thy magnificence. And once more thou didst enjoin me, saying: "Cast these things from thee, O bishop, that there arise no cause of offence." I therefore delivered up to them two more; only two now remained in my keeping. Wherefore then dost thou now falsely accuse me and charge me with theft, when it is not a case of theft, but of custody?' The king made answer: 'If this was a deposit committed to thy safe keeping, wherefore didst thou open one of these bundles and cut up an orphrey woven of gold thread, and distribute the pieces among the men who were to drive me from my kingdom?' Bishop Praetextatus replied: 'I have already told thee that I had received gifts from them, and therefore I borrowed this and gave it to them as a return present, because I had nothing else at hand to give. It seemed to me in some sort mine,

[1] *Solidi.*

[2] Reading *venirem* for the *veniret* of the text. *Vos* is used instead of *te*, but refers to Chilperic.

because it belonged to my son Merovech,* whom I had received from the font of regeneration.' King Chilperic now perceived that he could not get the better of Praetextatus by false charges; he left us, much marvelling and troubled in conscience. Then he called to him certain of his flatterers and said: 'I confess myself vanquished by the bishop's words, and I know that what he saith is true. Now, therefore, what shall I do that the queen's will may be accomplished upon him?' And he said further: 'Go to him and say, as if ye were giving him your own advice: "Thou knowest that King Chilperic is a man of piety, tender-hearted, and quickly moved to pity; humble thyself, therefore, before him, and confess that thou hast indeed done the wrongs of which he hath accused thee. Then all of us will throw ourselves at his feet and implore his pardon for thee."' Bishop Praetextatus was misled by their advice, and promised that he would act as they suggested.

The next morning, when we were assembled in the usual place, the king entered and said to the bishop: 'If thou only gavest these men gift for gift, wherefore didst thou demand of them an oath of fidelity to Merovech?' The bishop answered: 'I confess that I sought their friendship for him; and had it been permitted, I would have summoned not mortal man, but an angel from heaven to succour him; for, as I have often repeated, he was my spiritual son, from his baptism.' The dispute was being carried farther, when suddenly Bishop Praetextatus prostrated himself on the ground, and said: 'I have sinned against heaven and before thee, most merciful king; I am an impious murderer; for it was my will to slay thee, and set thy son upon thy throne.' At these words the king threw himself at the feet of the bishops, saying: 'Hear now, most pious bishops, how this guilty man confesseth his execrable crime.' Then we, in tears, raised the king from the ground, whereupon he commanded Praetextatus to leave the church.

The king now went to his own dwelling, whence he sent us a book of the canons, to which was annexed a fresh quaternion containing presumed apostolic canons.* In these were the following words: 'If a bishop be convicted of homicide, adultery, or perjury, let him be removed from his bishopric.' When this was being read out, Praetextatus stood as one stupefied, and Bishop Bertram said: 'Hear now, O brother and

fellow bishop ; thou hast not the favour of the king ; wherefore thou mayst not have our friendship either, unless thou first gain the king's pardon.' After this the king demanded that the tunic of Praetextatus should be rent, or that the hundred and eighth Psalm,* containing the maledictions against Iscariot, should be recited over his head, or at least, that a judgement should be pronounced against him, depriving him in perpetuity from communion. These conditions I resisted, on the ground that the king had promised to do nothing beyond the authority of the canons.[1] Praetextatus was then carried away from our sight and imprisoned. He attempted to escape by night, but was cruelly beaten and banished to an island in the sea over against the city of Coutances.*

A rumour now spread that Merovech was seeking to return to the church of the holy Martin. Chilperic commanded the church to be guarded, and all the approaches to be closed. The guard left one door by which the clergy could enter to perform the offices, but kept the rest closed, which caused no small inconvenience to the people. During my sojourn at Paris, there appeared signs in the heaven, twenty rays in the North, which rose from the East and moved towards the West ; one of them, longer than the rest, towered above them, only to be soon eclipsed ; in like manner the rest which followed it vanished : * in my belief they portended the death of Merovech.

This prince, who was in hiding in the district of Champagne near Reims, because he feared to trust himself to the Austrasians, was circumvented by the people of Thérouanne,* who told him that if he would come among them they would forsake his father Chilperic and submit to him instead. He came to them, taking with him some of his most valiant men, whereupon they unmasked a treachery prepared beforehand ; they confined him in a country house, surrounded him with an armed force, and sent messengers to inform his father. When he heard their report, Chilperic made ready to set out for the place with all speed. Merovech, fearing that the vengeance of his enemies would exact the utmost penalty, summoned to him Gailen, his trusted servant,[2] to whom he said : ' Until this

[1] i. e. Canons of Gallican Councils.

[2] Cf. ch. 8 (14), above.

day we twain have shared a single heart and mind. I pray thee suffer me not now to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but take this sword and fall upon me.' Gailen did not hesitate, but stabbed him with the blade, and when the king arrived, he was discovered dead.[1] There were some who now asserted that the above words of Merovech were invented by the queen, and that the prince was done to death in secret by her orders. Gailen was seized, his hands, feet, ears, and nostrils were cut off, and after undergoing many tortures he was miserably slain. Grindio was hoisted high, engaged in the spokes of a wheel; * Ciuciolo, once count of the palace * to King Sigibert, was beheaded. Many others who had followed Merovech were cruelly done to death. It was bruited abroad at the time that the ringleaders in the betrayal of the prince were Bishop Egidius * and Guntram Boso, the latter because he enjoyed the secret countenance of Fredegund for having slain Theudebert,[2] the former because he had for a long time found favour in her sight.

13 (19). When the emperor Justin lost his wits and became insane, and the empire fell under the sole rule of the empress Sophia, the people, as I have related in the previous book,[3] chose Tiberius * as Caesar,[4] a man strenuous and helpful, wise, charitable, and the best defender of the poor. He gave great largess to the needy of the treasures which Justin had amassed, and the empress would often rebuke him for reducing the State to poverty, saying to him: 'What I have brought together in many years thou in short space dost squander.' To this he answered: 'Our treasury shall not fail, if only the poor receive alms, and the captives are ransomed. For this is the great treasure, according to the word of the Lord: "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither rust nor moth doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."[5] Therefore of that which God hath given let us lay up in heaven for the poor, that the Lord may deign to give us increase even in this world.' And since, as I have said, he was a great and true Christian, all the time that he made distribution with a glad heart for the succour of the poor, the Lord supplied

[1] This occurred in 578. [2] Above, IV. 35 (50). [3] IV. 27 (40).
[4] i. e. associate in imperial power.
[5] Matt. vi. 20. In the main agreeing with the Vulgate text, but with one or two verbal differences.

him with the means more and more. One day, as he was walking through the palace, he saw in the pavement a marble slab, upon which was graven the Cross of Christ, and he cried : ' Thy Cross, O Lord, is the defence of our brows and of our breasts, and lo ! we tread that Cross under our feet.' No sooner had he spoken than he ordered the slab to be removed. But when they had dug about it and raised it, they found beneath it a second slab bearing the same sign. They sent and told him, and he bade remove that also. They did it, whereupon they found yet a third ; and by his command this too was removed. And when it was taken away, they found a great treasure containing more than a hundred thousand pounds of gold. When it had been taken away, according to his custom he used it for yet more abundant largess to the poor ; nor did the Lord ever suffer him to want because of this his good intent. I will not leave untold what the Lord sent him at a later time. Narses, the famous duke of Italy,* possessed a large house in a certain city,* and when he came with great treasures out of Italy he went to this city, and secretly dug out a great cistern within his house, in which he deposited many hundreds of thousands of pounds of gold and silver. Then he did to death on the spot all those who knew of the place, and gave charge of the hidden treasure to a single old man, from whom he exacted an oath of secrecy. On the death of Narses,[1] this wealth still lay hidden beneath the ground. But when the aforesaid old man saw the emperor's unceasing charities, he went to him and said : ' If it may profit me but a little, I will reveal to thee, O Caesar, a great secret.' The emperor answered : ' Say on what thou wilt. For it shall profit thee, if thy tale show me any way of profit.' ' I hold concealed,' replied the other, ' the treasure of Narses, which being now at the end of my days, I may no longer keep hidden.' Then the Caesar Tiberius was glad, and sent his servants to the place, who followed in amaze as the old man went before. They reached the cistern, and opening it, entered in, and there they found so much gold and silver that the men who carried it away could scarce clear the place in many days. In consequence of which the emperor went on dispensing to the needy as a joyful giver.

[1] In 568.

20. Now the people rose against the bishops Salonius and Sagittarius.[1] These brothers had been brought up by the holy Nicetius, bishop of Lyons ;[2] under him they received the rank of deacon, and in his lifetime both were made bishops, Salonius of Embrun, Sagittarius of Gap. But the episcopal dignity once theirs, they were carried away by the joy of doing as they pleased, and began abandoning themselves to a very fury of mad wickedness, robbing, wounding, slaying, committing adulteries and all manner of crimes, to such a point that one day when Victor, bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux,* was celebrating his birthday, they fell upon him with a troop armed with swords and arrows. They came and rent his garments, beat his attendants, carried off all the vessels and furnishings of the feast, and left him thus grossly outraged. When news of this reached King Guntram, he commanded a council to assemble at Lyons. The bishops met, together with their patriarch,* the blessed Nicetius, and after investigating the affair and finding the accused plainly convicted of the crimes laid to their charge, ordered that men who had committed such acts should be deprived of the episcopal dignity. But the two, aware that the king still regarded them with favour, sought his presence, urging that the deprivation was unjust, and asking his permission to go before the pope of Rome.* The king granted their petition, gave them a letter, and his permission to depart. When they came before the pope John[3] they set forth to him that they had been deprived without reasonable cause assigned, and he addressed a letter to the king, directing that they should be restored to their former rank. The king straightway did as he desired, not without first reprimanding them at great length. But the worst of the matter was that no amendment followed, though they sought to make their peace with Bishop Victor by handing over to him the men whom they had sent to do him that outrage. But Victor, remembering the Lord's commandment not to render to our enemies evil for evil, did the men no hurt, and suffered them to depart in freedom. For this he was afterwards suspended from communion on the ground that, privily and without consulting his brethren, he had spared the enemies whom

[1] IV. 42. [2] Gregory's great-uncle. Cf. Introduction, pp. 4, 6, and IV. *36.*
[3] John III, 559–72.

he had publicly accused before them ; but by royal favour he was received into communion again. But the two bishops daily involved themselves in greater crimes ; and, as I have already related,[1] in the battles between Mummolus and the Lombards they armed themselves like laymen, and slew many adversaries with their own hands. When they were for some cause enraged with certain inhabitants of their cities, they assailed them savagely, beating them with clubs till the blood flowed. Whence it befell that once more the outcries of the people came to the king's ears, and he ordered these bishops to be summoned before him. But when they came, he would not have them brought before his eyes, unless they were first examined and found innocent ; only then might they be admitted into the royal presence. Sagittarius was wroth and took this procedure ill ; he was of a light and idle nature, and a babbler of thoughtless talk ; he now began declaiming freely against the king, saying that his sons could not succeed to the kingdom, because their mother [2] had been taken to the king's bed from among the servants of Magnachar. He overlooked the fact that, irrespective of their mothers' birth, all male children begotten by kings are called king's sons.* When he heard this, the king was filled with wrath, and took from them their horses and their servants with everything they had. And he ordered them to be shut up in two monasteries far removed from each other, that there they might repent them of their deeds ; only a single cleric was to be left to attend upon each, and stern warning was given to the judges [3] of both regions to keep them under an armed guard, and to close to visitors every means of access.

At that time the king's sons were still alive, though the elder had already begun to ail. Now the king's familiar friends approached him, saying : ' If the king deign to receive with favour the words of his servants, they are fain now to speak in his presence.' The king said : ' Speak your mind as ye will.' Then they said : ' What if these bishops were unjustly banished, whereby the king's sin were increased, and therefore our lord's son should die ? ' He answered : ' Go straightway and set them free and entreat them to pray for my young sons.' They went forthwith, and the bishops were released. They

[1] IV. 28 (42). [2] Austrechild. [3] i. e. the counts.

therefore left their several monasteries and met with mutual embraces, because it was long since they had seen each other; they then returned each to his own city. And now they were so filled with remorse that it seemed they should never cease from chanting, fasting, and doing charity; they read through the Psalms of David in the day, and passed the night singing hymns and meditating on passages of Holy Writ. But this devoutness was not long unimpaired * and once more they fell away. Again they passed most of their nights in feasting and drinking, so that while the clergy were celebrating matins in the cathedral church, they were calling for fresh cups and keeping up their libations. No word was there of God upon their lips, nor did they remember the order of the services. Not till the return of dawn did they rise up from the banquet; then they put on soft garments, and all bedrowsed and sunk in wine, slept on until the third hour of the day; nor did there fail them women with whom to be defiled. When they rose, they took a bath, and lay down to feast anew; * leaving the table at evening, they were soon greedy for their supper again, which lasted, as I have said, until the morning light. Thus they did day after day, until the wrath of God fell upon them after such wise as I shall afterwards relate.[1]

14 (21). At this time Winnoch the Breton, one most austere in fasting, came to Tours, desiring to visit Jerusalem; his only garments were of sheepskin shorn of the wool. In order to induce him to abide with us, as he seemed to us of great holiness, we conferred on him the dignity of the priesthood. Ingitrude,[2] the religious, was in the habit of collecting water from the tomb of the holy Martin.* Water one day failing, she asked leave to bring a vessel of wine to the saint's tomb. After it had remained there a whole night, she ordered it to be taken up in the presence of this priest, and when it was brought to her she said to him: 'Draw off some wine, and pour in a single drop of the blessed water, of which I have but a little left.' He did so; and, wondrous to relate, the vessel, which had been half empty, was filled to the brim on the falling into it of the single drop. Likewise, when it had been emptied two or three times again, each time one drop filled it. Without doubt the power of the blessed Martin was seen in this.

[1] Ch. 20 (27), and VII. 39.

[2] Cf. IX. 33; X. 12.

15 (22). After this, Samson, younger son of King Chilperic, was attacked by dysentery and fever, and passed from the world of men. He was born at the time when Chilperic was besieged by his brother in Tournai ;[1] and his mother, from fear of death, cast him away from her, and would have let him die. The king chid her, and having failed in her desire, she ordered the child to be baptized. He was christened, the bishop himself receiving him from the water, but he died before he reached five years. His mother Fredegund was grievously ill at the same time, but she recovered.

16 (23). Thereafter, on the night of the third day of the Ides of November, while we were celebrating the vigil of the holy Martin, there appeared to us a great wonder. A glittering star was seen to shine in the centre of the moon ; above and below the moon appeared other stars all near to it, and round it was the circle which is wont to portend rain. We know not what these things signified. And often, in this year, we saw the moon darkened, and before Christmastide there was loud thunder. Moreover, there appeared round the sun the meteors which the country people also call suns, such as those described by me as visible before the calamity in Auvergne.[2] It was declared that the sea had risen beyond its usual bounds, and many other signs were seen.

17 (24). Guntram Boso, coming to Tours with a few armed men, carried off by force his daughters, whom he had left in the holy church, and took them to the city of Poitiers, which belonged to King Childebert. But King Chilperic attacked Poitiers, and his soldiers put his nephew's men to flight. They also brought before the royal presence Ennodius, now no longer count ;[3] he was banished and his property confiscated, though a year later he was restored to his country and his possessions. Guntram Boso left his daughters in the church of the blessed Hilary, and joined King Childebert.

18 (25). In the third year of King Childebert, which was the seventeenth of Chilperic and Guntram,[4] Dacolen, son of the deceased Dagaric, deserted King Chilperic, and while wandering from place to place, was treacherously seized by Duke Dragolen, who was known as Industrius.* Dragolen brought him in

[1] Cf. IV. 35 (50).
[2] The plague. Cf. above, IV. (24) 31.
[3] i. e. of Poitiers.
[4] A. D. 578.

bonds to King Chilperic at Berny,[1] having sworn an oath that he would obtain him his life from the king. But regardless of the oath, he made impious charges against him, and wrought with the king to bring about his death. When Dacolen saw himself kept in prison with scarce a chance of escape, he asked absolution from a priest without the king's knowledge. After receiving it, he was put to death. While Dragolen was hastening home, Guntram Boso was attempting to remove his daughters from Poitiers. As soon as Dragolen heard this, he went against him. But Guntram's men, who were armed, resisted, and fought in their own defence. Then Guntram sent one of his friends to Dragolen, saying: 'Go and tell him this: "Thou knowest that there is a pact between us; I pray thee therefore, abstain from unfair attack upon my men. Take what thou wilt of my possessions; I will make no resistance. Only let it be granted me to go whither I will with my daughters, though I be stripped of everything I have."' But Dragolen, foolish and thoughtless as ever, made answer: 'Behold the rope in which I have led other culprits bound before the king. By this same cord shall your master this day be bound and taken in his bonds to the same goal.' So saying, he struck spurs to his horse and charged Guntram at full speed. But his blow failed, for his lance broke, and his sword fell to the ground. Guntram, when he saw death impend over him, called upon the name of the Lord and the miraculous power of the blessed Martin; then, raising his lance, he struck Dragolen in the throat and unseated him. And as Dragolen was hanging from his horse, one of Guntram's friends thrust a lance into his side and gave him the finishing blow. His party was put to flight, and his body despoiled, whereupon Guntram withdrew in freedom with his daughters. Some time afterwards, Severus, father-in-law of Guntram, had to answer a grave charge before the king, brought against him by his sons. On news of this, he set out to see the king, bearing great gifts, but was captured on the road and robbed; after being sent into banishment, he ended his days by a most miserable death. His two sons, Burgolen and Dodo, were condemned to death on a charge of *lèse-majesté*;[2] one of them met a violent end at the hands of

[1] The king's favourite villa, at Berny-Rivière, Aisne.

[2] *Ob crimen maiestatis laesi* (sic).

the people ; * the other was caught in attempted flight, and died after his hands and feet had been cut off. All their property, like that of their father, was confiscated ; they had possessed great treasures.

19 (26). The men of Touraine, Poitou, the Bessin, Maine, and Anjou, with many others, now by command of Chilperic marched into Brittany, and encamped over against Waroch, the son of the dead Macliav,[1] on the banks of the Vilaine. But the enemy by a surprise attack fell at night upon the Saxons of the Bessin,* and slew the greater part of them. Three days later Waroch made peace with the leaders of King Chilperic's forces, gave up his son as a hostage, and bound himself to that king by an oath of fealty. He also restored the city of Vannes, on condition that the king should allow his claim to hold the place ; he, for his part, paying, without waiting for any demand, all the annual tribute due from the city. These terms having been made, the army withdrew from that region. Thereupon, King Chilperic ordered the ban to be enforced against the poor and the servants of the cathedral and the church of Martin for not marching with the army,* though it was not the usage for these men to do any public service. After this, Waroch, disregardful of his promise and wishing to annul his act, sent Eunius, bishop of Vannes, to King Chilperic. But the king was wroth, and after chiding the bishop, ordered him to be sent into banishment.

20 (27). In the fourth year of Childebert,[2] which was the eighteenth of Guntram and of Chilperic, a council was held by command of Guntram at Chalon-sur-Saône. Different matters having been first discussed, the old charges against bishops Salonius and Sagittarius[3] were renewed. Various accusations were brought against them, not of adultery alone, but even of murder. As, however, the bishops held that these offences might be purged by penitence, they were further charged with *lèse-majesté* and treason to their country. They were therefore stripped of their episcopal rank, and imprisoned under a guard in the church of the blessed Marcellus. Thence they managed to escape, and roamed as wanderers through divers regions, while others were appointed bishops of their cities.*

21 (28). Now King Chilperic ordered heavy new tax-assess-

[1] Cf. above, ch. 10 (16). [2] A. D. 579. [3] See above, ch. *20*.

ments to be made in all his kingdom. For which cause many left their cities * and their own possessions, and sought other kingdoms, deeming it better to migrate than to remain exposed to such risk of oppression. For it was enacted that each proprietor should pay one amphora [1] of wine for every half-acre of land.* Further taxes were imposed on other lands and on serfs, which it was impossible to meet. The people of Limoges, perceiving with what a burden they were to be laden, assembled on the first of March,[2] and would have slain Mark the referendary,[3] who had been ordered to carry out the plan ; nor could they have been prevented, had not Bishop Ferreolus [4] delivered him from his imminent peril. The mob seized the tax collector's lists and burned them all to ashes. Whereat the king was exceeding wroth, and dispatched thither men from about his person ; * through these he inflicted immense losses upon the people, crushed them with punishments, and freely inflicted the penalty of death. It is said that these envoys of the king falsely accused even priests and abbots of having incited the people to burn the lists during the riot, stretched them on posts, and subjected them to divers tortures. Afterwards yet severer tributes were imposed.

22 (29). The Bretons sorely ravaged the district of Rennes, burning, spoiling, and taking prisoners ; they advanced, destroying as they went, as far as the village of Cornus.* Bishop Eunius, restored from banishment, was sent to be supported at Angers, and forbidden to return to his city of Vannes. Duke Beppolen [5] was sent against the Bretons and ravaged divers places with fire and sword, which but incited the people to greater fury.

23 (30). While these things were happening in Gaul, the emperor Justin [6] completed the eighteenth year of his reign,* and the madness which had befallen him ended only with his life. After his funeral, Tiberius, the Caesar, seized the empire in which he had been long associated. According to the custom of the city,* the people awaited his ceremonial appearance at the games of the Hippodrome, intending a secret attack on

[1] An *amphora* was 5 gallons.
[2] *in Kal. Martiis.*
[3] Cf. VI. 28.
[4] Cf. VII. 10.
[5] Cf. VIII. 42 ; X. 9.
[6] Justin II, A. D. 565–78. Cf. above, ch. 13 (19).

him in the interest of Justinian, who was the nephew of Justin; but he proceeded to the holy shrines instead. Having completed his prayers, he summoned to him the pope of the city,* and entered the palace with the consuls * and prefects. Then, invested with the purple, crowned with the diadem, and seated on the imperial throne, he confirmed his right to the empire amidst boundless acclamations. The conspirators who awaited him at the Hippodrome were put to shame and confusion when they learned what had been done, and went home without accomplishing their aim; for he who had placed all his hope in God had no fear of any adversaries. After three days had passed Justinian came, and throwing himself at the emperor's feet, offered him fifteen hundred pounds of gold to obtain his pardon. The emperor, with his wonted long-suffering, raised him and bade him reside at the palace. But the empress Sophia, forgetful of her promise made to Tiberius, sought to lay a snare for him. One day, when he was gone to a country domain for thirty days, to take part in the vintage festival, after the imperial usage, she secretly called Justinian to her, and designed to raise him to the throne. Tiberius heard of it, and posted swiftly back to Constantinople, where he seized the empress, deprived her of all her treasures, and left her nothing but her daily sustenance. He also removed her servitors from her, and appointed others, including men of proved fidelity to himself, commanding that henceforth none of her former household should have access to her presence. Justinian he reprimanded, but afterwards took him into high favour, even promising his own daughter to his son, and in return demanding Justinian's daughter for his own son; these plans, however, were not carried out.

His army warred victoriously against the Persians; and returning in triumph, he brought back vast quantities of plunder, enough, one might think, to sate the utmost avarice of man. Twenty captured elephants were brought to the emperor.*

24 (31). In this year [1] the Bretons sorely harassed the tract round about the cities of Nantes and Rennes. They carried off immense spoils, overran the fields, stripped the vineyards of grapes, and took away many prisoners. Bishop Felix [2] sent

[1] A. D. 579. [2] Of Nantes; cf. above, ch. 5.

envoys to them, and they promised to amend their ways,* but would not keep any of their promises.

32. At Paris a certain woman fell under accusation, many asserting that she had forsaken her husband for a connexion with another man. The husband's relatives went to her father, saying: 'Either prove thy daughter innocent, or let her surely die, that her adultery be not suffered to bring disgrace upon our family.' The woman's father answered: 'I know that my daughter is wholly innocent, nor is there truth in this rumour spread by evil tongues. Yet in order that the charge may proceed no farther, I will establish her innocence by an oath.' They answered: 'If she be free from guile, affirm it with an oath over the tomb of the blessed martyr Dionysius.' 'That will I do,' said the father. On this understanding, they met at the church of the holy martyr, where the father, lifting up his hands over the altar, swore that his daughter was without guilt.* The husband's supporters, on the other hand, declared him perjured; thereupon an altercation arose, in which they unsheathed their swords, and rushed upon each other, so that there was bloodshed before the very altar, though they were of high birth and among the first at the court of Chilperic. Many received sword-wounds; the holy church was splashed with blood of men; the doors were pierced by javelins and swords; the weapons of wickedness raged even at the very sepulchre of the saint. As soon as the strife was with difficulty appeased, the celebration of holy offices in the church was suspended while the matter was brought to the king's cognizance. The parties hastened before the royal presence, but were not received into favour. The king ordered them to be sent back to the bishop of the city, that if they were found not guilty they might in due course be admitted to communion. They then made composition * for their offences, and were again received into communion by Bishop Ragnemod, head of the church of Paris. A few days after, the woman, on being summoned to trial, strangled herself with a noose.

25 (33). In the fifth year of King Childebert [1] the country of Auvergne suffered from great floods; for twelve days the rain never ceased, and the Limagne * was so sodden through

[1] In 580.

the inundation that it was impossible for many to proceed with sowing. The river Loire, the Flavaris, which they call Allier,[1] and the torrents flowing into them were in such wise swollen that they rose above marks never passed before, causing great havoc among the flocks and herds, great damage to the cultivated land, and the ruin of many buildings. The Rhône, in conjunction with the Saône, likewise overflowed its banks, and brought heavy loss to the inhabitants, undermining part of the walls of Lyons. After the rains had ceased, the trees burgeoned anew, though it was the month of September. In Touraine this year, one morning before the day had dawned, there was seen a great light traversing the heaven, and sinking towards the east. Moreover, a sound as of a tree crashing down was heard over all that country, which could not be attributed to any tree, because it was heard more than fifty miles away. The same year the city of Bordeaux was sorely shaken by an earthquake, and the walls were in danger of falling down ; the whole people was so terrified by the fear of death that they thought they must be swallowed up with the city unless they could escape by flight ; wherefore many fled to other cities. This terror extended to neighbouring towns, and even reached Spain, though in that country it was less intense. But huge rocks were detached from the Pyrenaean mountains, crushing both herds and men. Moreover, a supernatural fire burned down villages about Bordeaux ; it took so swift a hold that houses and threshing-floors with all their grain were consumed to ashes. As there was absolutely no other apparent cause of the fire, it may well have arisen by the divine will. The city of Orleans was also ablaze with so great a fire that even the rich lost almost their all ; if any one snatched anything from the flames, it was torn from him by thieves pressing round him. In the district of Chartres blood flowed forth at the breaking of bread. The city of Bourges also at this time was scourged by hail.

26 (34). These portents were followed by a most grievous pestilence. The kings were at strife and once more making ready for civil war, when a dysentery[2] invaded almost the whole of Gaul. The sick suffered from severe fever with vomiting, exceeding pains of the kidneys, and a heaviness of

[1] *Flavaris, quem Elacrem vocant.* [2] Cf. chs. 29 (39), 30 (41), and VI. 14.

head and neck; what they passed at the draught was of a yellow or greenish colour. Many declared that the sickness was caused by secret poison. The country people described the cause as internal pustules,* which is not so incredible a belief; for when cupping vessels were applied to the shoulders or legs, vesicles swelled and burst, the matter escaped, and many were cured. Numbers found a safeguard in drinking a decoction of the herbs which are antidotes to poisons. This sickness, which began in the month of August, first attacked young children and brought them to their death.[1] Then did we also lose the little children, so sweet and dear to us, whom we had cherished in our bosoms and carried in our arms, fed with our own hands, and nourished with all the care and knowledge that we had. But we wiped away our tears, and said with the blessed Job: 'The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass. Let His name be blessed, world without end.'[2]

In these days Chilperic the king fell sick, and no sooner was he better, than his younger son, who was not yet reborn of water and the Holy Spirit, began to ail. Perceiving him nigh his end, they washed him in the water of baptism.* He became a little better; but his elder brother Chlodobert was now attacked by the disease. When their mother Fredegund saw him also in peril of death, she repented all too late, and said to the king: 'The divine mercy hath long borne with us in our misdeeds; oft have we been seized with fevers and other ills, but there hath followed no amendment. And lo! now we lose our sons; lo! now they are slain by the tears of the poor, by the lamentations of widows, by the sighs of orphans, nor is there any object now left to us for which we may amass riches. We lay up treasures without knowing for whom we gather them together. Behold now our treasures are without an owner, having the taint of things plundered and accursed. Were not our store chambers full of wine, our granaries of corn? were not our treasuries filled with gold, with silver and precious stones, with necklaces and other royal ornaments. And lo! now we lose that which was loveliest of all that was ours. Come, therefore, if thou wilt, let us burn all the unjust tax-lists; let that be sufficient for our treasury which sufficed

[1] Reading *leto* for *lecto* of the text.

[2] Job i. 21.

ordered the offender to be shut out of the church. An episcopal council was then held at Saintes, whereupon Nantinus begged for reconciliation with Heraclius, promising to return all Church property wrongfully taken by him, and to humble himself before the bishop. Who now, yielding to the injunctions of his brethren, granted his enemy's petition, and recommending to Almighty God the cause of the murdered priest, once more received the count in Christian charity. But Nantinus, returning thence to the city, plundered, broke down, and destroyed the houses which he had wrongfully seized, saying: 'If the Church get back the property, she shall find it all laid waste.' Whereat the bishop, stirred once more to anger, suspended him from communion, but in the meanwhile the blessed father in God finished his earthly course, and departed to the Lord. Nantinus then had recourse to rewards and flatteries, and was restored to communion by certain other bishops. But a few months afterwards he was attacked by the aforesaid malady, and burning with exceeding heat of fever, cried aloud: 'Alas! alas! I am burned by Bishop Heraclius; he it is who tortureth me, he who summoneth me to judgement. I confess my guilt; I remember how unjustly I did outrage to the bishop; I therefore pray for death, that I be no longer tormented in this anguish.' While he thus cried aloud in the height of his fever, his bodily strength failed, and he breathed out his unhappy spirit, leaving the clearest signs that this befell him in punishment for his treatment of the holy bishop. For before life fled, his body became so black that you might think it to have lain upon glowing coals, and to have been burned. Therefore let all men stand amazed at these things; let them marvel, and fear to do injury to bishops, for the Lord is the avenger of His servants who put their trust in Him.

37. At this time [1] died the blessed Martin, bishop of Galicia,* greatly lamented by his people. He was a native of Pannonia, whence he set forth for the East to visit holy places, and became so well versed in letters that he was held second to none among the men of his day. He then went into Galicia, and at the time when relics of the blessed Martin * were brought thither, was consecrated bishop, in which dignity he passed some thirty years, and departed to the Lord full of good works.

[1] About 580, on 20th March.

It is he who composed the verses over the southern door in the church of the holy Martin.*

28 (38). In this year[1] there arose a great persecution of the Christians in Spain; many were they who were driven into exile, deprived of their possessions, consumed by hunger, cast into prison, beaten with rods, and done to death by divers tortures. The chief in this wickedness was Goiswinth,[2] whom King Leuvigild * espoused as widow of King Athanagild. But she who had set the mark of humiliation on the servants of God was now herself marked in the sight of all peoples, the divine vengeance pursuing her. For a white cloud covered one of her eyes, and drove from her eyelids the light, of which already her mind had none. By another queen King Leuvigild had two sons, the elder of whom was betrothed to the daughter of King Sigibert, the younger to the daughter of King Chilperic.[3] Ingund, daughter of Sigibert, was sent with a great train into Spain, and was joyfully received by her grandmother Goiswinth. This queen did not suffer her to remain long tranquilly in the Catholic faith, but began with persuasive words to entice her to a second baptism into the Arian heresy. But she stoutly resisted, and spoke after this manner: 'It is enough for me to have been washed once for all from original sin by the baptism that maketh whole, and to have confessed the Persons of the Holy Trinity one and equal. I now confess with my whole heart that this is my faith, nor will I ever go back therefrom.' At these words the queen, aflame with fury of wrath, seized the girl by the hair of her head and dashed her to the ground; there she spurned her for a long time with her feet, and, all bleeding as she was, had her stripped and plunged in the piscina.* But, as there are many to maintain, Ingund never suffered her mind to swerve from our faith.

Now Leuvigild gave Hermangild and Ingund a city[4] in which to dwell in royal state. But when they had departed thither, Ingund began to enjoin upon her lord that he should forsake the errors of his heresy and recognize the truth of the Catholic law.[5] For a long time he refused, but was moved at

[1] In 580. [2] Mother of Queen Brunhild. Cf. IV. 25 (38).
[3] Hermangild was the elder son. Recared, the younger, was betrothed to Chilperic's daughter Rigunth.
[4] Probably Seville.
[5] *Legis catholicae veritatem.*

length by her exhortation ; he was converted to the Catholic law, and upon his baptism was renamed John.* When Leuvigild heard this, he began to seek occasion to bring his son to ruin. But Hermangild learned his intent, and went over to the emperor's side,[1] entering into friendly relations with his prefect, whose army was attacking Spain. Then Leuvigild sent envoys to him, saying : ' Come thou to me, for there be matters for us to confer upon together.' But his son answered : ' I go not, since thou art mine enemy because I am a Catholic.' The king gave thirty thousand pieces of gold to the imperial prefect to withdraw his help, and marched against his son. Hermangild summoned the Greeks, and went forth against his father, leaving his consort in the city. But when Leuvigild came up against him, those who should have supported Hermangild[2] abandoned him ; and seeing that he could not prevail, he fled to a church near by, saying : ' Let not my father come against me, for it is impious that a father should slay his son, or a son his father.' When Leuvigild heard this, he sent the prince's brother[3] to him, who swore an oath to him that he should not be abased, and said : ' Go thou and throw thyself at our father's feet ; he will forgive thee all.' Then Hermangild demanded that his father should be summoned, and when the king entered, prostrated himself at his feet. But Leuvigild raised him up and kissed him, and after soothing him with kind words, conducted him to his camp. There, disregarding his oath, he made a sign to his men, who stripped the prince of his own vesture and put upon him vile raiment. And on his return to Toledo he removed his son's servants from him, and sent him into banishment * attended by only a single slave.

29 (39). After the death of his sons, King Chilperic, still full of sorrow, abode with his consort in the month of October in the forest of Cuise.* His son Chlodovech he sent, at the queen's suggestion, to Berny, that he too might die the same death ; for at this time the disease which had killed his brothers yet raged there unabated. But the prince was untouched of that sickness. The king himself now went to Chelles, his domain in the territory of Paris. After some days he commanded

[1] The emperor was Tiberius.
[2] The Byzantine troops.
[3] Recared.

Chlodovech to come to him, and I will here tell freely the manner of the prince's end.

While he was dwelling with his father on this domain he began to vaunt himself untimely and to say: 'Behold, my brothers are dead, and the whole kingdom is fallen to me; all Gaul shall be under my feet; the fates have made me largess of universal power. Mine enemies are in the hollow of my hand, and I shall do to them whatsoever shall seem good in my sight.' Moreover he spoke as beseemed not of his step-mother Fredegund. But she heard of it, and was filled with great alarm. And after some days one came to the queen who said: 'That thou sittest thus bereaved of thy children cometh through the treachery of Chlodovech. For he loveth the daughter of one of thy women, and hath slain thy sons by the magic arts of her mother. I therefore warn thee, look thyself for no better lot, since the hope whereby thou shouldst have reigned is taken from thee.' Then was the queen terrified and inflamed with rage, for she was yet sore with her recent loss. She bade arrest of the girl on whom Chlodovech had cast his eyes and had her severely beaten; she further commanded that her hair should be shorn, and that she should be fastened to a stake set up before Chlodovech's lodging. The girl's mother she had bound and subjected to the torture, till there was drawn from her a confession confirming these charges. And now, whispering these and other things in the king's ear, she demanded of him vengeance upon Chlodovech.

Now as the king was setting forth later for the chase, he ordered his son to be brought secretly before him. When he came he was seized by royal command and manacled by the dukes Desiderius and Bobo,* his arms and apparel were stripped from him, and he was taken to the queen in base array. She commanded him to be held in custody, desiring to have the truth from him; she was fain to know whether all was verily as described to her; whose counsel and whose prompting he had followed, and who had been chief among his friends. He denied all else, but revealed a number of his friendships. Three days afterwards the queen ordered him to be taken in bonds across the Marne, and guarded in the domain called Noisy.* While in this duress he was stabbed

to death, and his body was buried on the spot.[1] In the meantime messengers were sent to the king to say that the prince had pierced himself with his own hand, affirming that the knife which struck the blow was still sticking in the wound. King Chilperic, deceived by this account,* shed never a tear for the son whom, the queen setting him on, he might be said to have himself delivered up to death. The prince's servants dispersed in different directions. His mother[2] was put to a cruel death: his sister tricked into a monastery by the queen's servants, where she assumed the religious habit, and remains at this day;[3] all their possessions were handed over to the queen. The woman who had informed against Chlodovech was sentenced to be burned alive. As she was being dragged along, the wretched creature swore that she had spoken falsely; but her confession availed her nothing; she was bound to the stake, and consumed alive in the flames. The chamberlain of Chlodovech was brought back from the territory of Bourges by Chuppa,[4] count of the stables,* and handed over to the queen. He was destined to undergo divers tortures, but the queen ordered him to be released from his punishment and from his chains, and on my intercession suffered him to go free.

40. After these events, Elafius, bishop of Châlons, sent on an embassy to Spain in the interests of Queen Brunhild, was attacked by a raging fever, and breathed his last;[5] his body was brought home and interred in his own city. Bishop Eonius, envoy of the Bretons, as I have above narrated,[6] was not suffered to return to his city, but by the king's command was supported at the public expense in Angers. During a visit to Paris, he was celebrating the holy mysteries on a Sunday, when he emitted a cry, as it were a neighing, and fell to the ground. Blood flowed from his mouth and nostrils, and he was carried out in men's hands, but he recovered. He was overmuch addicted to wine, and often was so grossly drunken that he could not stir a step.

30 (41). Mir, king of Galicia,* now sent envoys to King

[1] Cf. VIII. 10.

[2] Audovera. She had been relegated to a nunnery, probably in Maine.

[3] Basina; the place was the monastery of St. Radegund at Poitiers (see below, VI. *34*, IX. 39).

[4] Cf. VII. 39; X. 5. [5] 19th August 580. [6] Above, ch. 22 (29).

Guntram. Their passage through the territory of Poitiers was announced to King Chilperic, who then held that region.[1] The king ordered them to be brought before him, and kept in imprisonment in Paris. At this time a wolf from the forests came into Poitiers through one of the gates, and when all the gates were shut, men fell upon him and killed him within the city walls. There were some who averred that they had seen the heavens aflame. The river Loire rose higher than in the previous year, when the waters of the Cher * were mingled with it. A south wind blew with such exceeding violence that it levelled forests, cast down houses, bore off fences, and whirled afar even men to their destruction. This wind raged over a breadth of some seven acres * and travelled a distance which none could measure. Often, too, the cocks crowed at the beginning of the night. The moon was darkened, and a comet appeared in the sky. A great pestilence followed among the people. The Suevic envoys[2] were dismissed at the end of a year, and returned to their own country.

42. Maurilio, bishop of Cahors, was grievously afflicted by the gout. But to the pains provoked by the evil humours of the disease, he added tortures of his own. Sometimes he would apply a red-hot iron to his shins and feet, the better to increase his anguish. For his bishopric there were many candidates, but his own choice fell on Ursicinus,* formerly referendary of Queen Ultrogotha.[3] He prayed that Ursicinus might be consecrated before he himself died ; then he passed away from this world. He was of great charity, and very learned in the Holy Scriptures ; he could even repeat by heart the series of genealogies set forth in the Old Testament, which few men may hold in their memories. He was likewise just in judgement, and defended the poor of his church from the hand of evil judges, as it is written in the Book of Job : ' I have preserved the poor man from the hand of the mighty, and have succoured the helpless who had no helper. The mouth of the widow hath blessed me, when I was the eye of the blind, the foot of the lame, and the father of the feeble.' [4]

[1] Cf. above, ch. 18 (25).

[2] The envoys sent by Mir and detained by Chilperic, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

[3] Queen of Childebert I. Cf. IV. 13 (20).

[4] Job xxix. 12–13, 15–16. Apparently derived from another version than the Vulgate.

31 (43). King Leuvigild sent as envoy to Chilperic, Agilan, a man of poor wits, untrained in reasoning, and distinguished only for malevolence towards the Catholic law. His way bringing him to Tours, he proceeded to provoke me as to my belief, and to assail the dogmas of the Church. 'That', he said, 'was a wrong opinion of the ancient bishops which asserted the Son equal to the Father. For how can He be equal to the Father in power who Himself saith: "The Father is greater than I"?[1] It is not therefore right that He should be considered equal to Him than whom He proclaimeth Himself less, to whom He lamenteth the sadness of death, to whom as He died He commended His spirit as though Himself without all power, whence it is plain that in power, as in age, He was lesser than His Father.' To this I replied by asking whether he believed that Jesus Christ was Son of God, and whether he admitted that He was the wisdom of God, the light, the truth, the life, the justice. 'I believe', he said, 'that the Son of God is all these things.' Then I said: 'Tell me now, when was the Father without wisdom, without light, without life, without truth? when was He without justice? For like as the Father could not exist without these things, so neither could He be without the Son. For these things above all are essential to the holiness of the divine name. But neither also could He be called the Father if He had no Son. As for the words which thou imputest to Him, "My Father is greater than I", know that He said this in the lowliness of the flesh which He had assumed to teach thee that by humility thou wert redeemed and not by power. And well were it that thou shouldst remember, thou who dost cite the words, "My Father is greater than I", that in another place He saith: "I and My Father are one."[2] His fear of death and the commending of His Spirit are to be referred to the weakness of the flesh; that even as He is believed to be very God, so He may be believed to be very man.' He answered: 'He that doeth the will of another is less than he; and the Son is ever less than the Father in that He doeth the will of the Father, nor is it proven that the Father doeth His.' To this I replied: 'Know that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, each subsisting eternally in one Godhead. Wouldst thou know, therefore, that the Father

[1] John xiv. 28. [2] John x. 30.

doeth the will of the Son? Hear then, if faith in the Gospel abide in thee, what Christ our Lord Himself said when He came to raise Lazarus: "I thank Thee, Father, that Thou hast heard Me, and I knew that Thou hearest Me always. But because of the people that stand by I said it, that they may believe that Thou hast sent Me."[1] And when He came to His Passion, He said: "O Father, glorify Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was made."[2] And the Father replied to Him from Heaven: "I have both glorified, and will glorify again."[3] Therefore is the Son equal in Godhead and not inferior; nor is He in anything less. For if thou dost confess Him God, it is needful that thou confess that He is perfect and lacking nothing; if thou deny that He is perfect, thou dost not believe Him God.' To this he said: 'It was after He was made man that He began to be called the Son of God; for there was a time when yet He was not.' I answered: 'Hear David, speaking in the name of the Lord: "Out of my womb I have borne thee before the morning star."[4] And John the Evangelist: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."[5] And this consequence: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, by whom all things were made."[6] But ye who are blinded by the poison of a vain opinion have no worthy perception of God.' He then replied: 'Do ye then say that the Holy Ghost is God, or declare Him equal to the Father and the Son?' I answered: 'In the Three there is one will, one power, one action, one God in Trinity, and three Persons in unity. There be three Persons, but there is one kingdom, one majesty, one power, one omnipotence.' To that he rejoined: 'The Holy Ghost whom ye proclaim equal to the Father and the Son is admitted less than either, for we read that He was promised by the Son and sent by the Father. Now man promiseth only that which standeth within his control, and sendeth only him who is inferior to himself, as He saith Himself in the Gospel: "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you; but if I go, I will send Him unto you."'[7] Whereto I made reply: 'Well did the Son say before His Passion that if He returned

[1] John xi. 41, 42. [2] John xvii. 5, not exactly quoted.
[3] John xii. 28. [4] Ps. cix. 3. [5] John i. 1.
[6] John i. 14, the last words an addition.
[7] John xvi. 7.

not victor to His Father, having redeemed the world with His own blood, and prepared in the heart of man a habitation worthy of God, the Holy Spirit, which is God, should not descend in a heart idolatrous and spotted with the stain of original sin. " For the Holy Spirit ", saith Solomon, " will flee deceit." [1] And thou, if thou have no hope of resurrection, speak not against the Holy Spirit, for according to the word of God : " He that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit shall not be forgiven in this world or the next." ' [2] ' But ', said he, ' God is He who sendeth ; he who is sent is no God.' At this I inquired whether he believed the doctrine of the apostles Peter and Paul ? And when he replied, ' I do believe,' I added : ' But when the apostle Peter convicted Ananias of fraud in the matter of his field, see what he said : " Wherefore hath it seemed good to thee to lie to the Holy Ghost ? Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God." [3] And Paul, when he was distinguishing the degrees of spiritual graces, spake thus : " All these things worketh that one and the same Spirit, dividing to every one severally as he will." [4] For he that doeth according to his will is brought under the power of no man. But ye, as I said but now, hold no right opinion on the Holy Trinity, and how wicked is the perversity of this sect the end of your founder Arius hath plainly shown.' To this he answered : ' Speak not evil of law which thou thyself observest not ; as for us, though we believe not the things which ye believe, yet we do not speak evil of them, for the holding of this or that belief may not be imputed as a crime. And indeed we have a common saying that no harm is done when one passing between the altars of the Gentiles and the church of God, payeth respect to both.' I saw the stupidity of the man, and said : ' As I perceive, thou art a defender of the Gentiles and a champion of heretics, for thou dost defile the dogmas of the Church, and dost proclaim the worship of pagan abominations. It were better done if thou wouldst arm thee with the faith which Abraham found at the oak, Isaac in the ram, Jacob in the stone, Moses in the bush ; which Aaron wore in the ephod, and David knew, dancing before the ark

[1] Wisd. of Sol. i. 5. The full text is : ' The Spirit *of discipline* shall flee,' &c.
[2] Matt. xii. 32. Gregory does not quote the Vulgate exactly.
[3] Acts v. 3, 4. The earlier words are not in the Vulgate text.
[4] 1 Cor. xii. 11. Verbal differences from the Vulgate text.

with the timbrel ; which Solomon proclaimed by his wisdom ; which all the patriarchs and prophets, and the very law itself, sang in oracles or figured forth in sacrifice ; which the holy Martin, to-day ever present with us, possessed in his heart and manifested in his works, that so thou also mightst be converted to believe in the Trinity indivisible, receiving our benediction and cleansing thy heart from the poison of false belief until these iniquities were blotted out.' Then was he moved to wrath, and gnashing his teeth almost like a madman, rejoined : ' The soul shall leave the bonds of this body, or ever I receive the benediction from a priest of thy religion.' Whereto I : ' Neither may the Lord so make lukewarm our religion or our faith that we distribute His holy thing to dogs, or expose the sacredness of precious pearls before unclean swine.' Thereat he abandoned the argument, and rising up, withdrew. But afterwards, on his return to Spain, when he was made weak by sickness, necessity constrained him, and he was converted to our faith.

32 (44). About the same time, King Chilperic wrote an ordinance enjoining that in the Holy Trinity we should make no distinction of Persons, but call it only God, declaring it unseemly that in the case of God we should speak of a Person, as if He were man in the flesh ; moreover, he affirmed that the Father is the same as the Son, and the Holy Ghost is the same as the Father and the Son. ' Even so ', said he, ' did He appear to the prophets and the patriarchs, so did the law itself proclaim Him.' * After he had ordered these arguments to be recited to me, he said : ' This is my will, that such be thy faith, and that of the other doctors of the Church.' I made answer to him : ' Most pious king, thou must abandon this vain belief, and follow that which the apostles, and after them the Fathers of the Church, have handed down to us, that which Hilary and Eusebius * taught, that which thou thyself didst confess in thy baptism.' Then was the king wroth and said : ' It is clear enough that in this matter I have strong enemies in Hilary and Eusebius.' I replied : ' Thou shouldst well perceive that neither God nor His saints be against Thee. But know that in their Persons the Father is different from the Son, and the Son from the Holy Ghost. It was not the Father who was made man, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son, that He who was the Son of God might for man's redemption be held the Son of

man and of a Virgin. It was not the Father who suffered, nor the Holy Spirit, but the Son, that He who was incarnate in the world might Himself be offered for the world. And that which thou sayest with regard to persons is not to be understood corporeally, but spiritually. Therefore in these three Persons is one glory, one eternity, one power.' Then he was angered, and said: 'I will set forth these things to others wiser than thou, who will be of my mind.' I retorted: 'He who should be minded to follow that which thou dost propose will never be a wise man, but a fool.' Thereat he gnashed his teeth, but held his peace. Not many days afterwards Salvius, bishop of Albi,[1] arrived; and the king caused these opinions to be recited to him, begging him to express his agreement. But as soon as Salvius heard them, he rejected them with such abhorrence that if he could have reached the paper on which such things were written he would have torn it to pieces. So the king desisted from his purpose.

This king wrote books in verse, in which he tried to imitate Sedulius,* but his verses in no wise conformed to any laws of metre. He also added certain letters to our alphabet,* the ω of the Greeks, and the *ae*, *the*, *wi*, to be represented by the following signs: ω Ψ Ζ Δ. And he sent letters to all the cities in his kingdom, ordering that they should so be taught to boys, and that old books should be erased with pumice-stone and rewritten with the new characters.

45. At this time died Agricola, bishop of Chalon,[2] a man of senatorial family, and known for his wisdom and refinement. He carried out much building in that city, put up dwelling-houses, and erected the cathedral church,[3] which is supported on columns, enriched with various marbles, and adorned with paintings in mosaic. He practised a severe abstinence, never eating at midday, but only having supper in the evening, sitting down to it so early, that he always rose from before sunset. Though his acquaintance with polite learning was slender, his eloquence was great. He died in the forty-eighth year of his episcopate and the eighty-third of his own age. He was succeeded by Flavius, King Guntram's referendary.

46. In these days also Dalmatius, bishop of Rodez, passed

[1] Cf. ch. 33 (50), below, and VII. 1.
[2] Chalon-sur-Saône. He died 17 March 580.
[3] *Ecclesia.*

from the world, one eminent in all holiness, abstinent alike in food, and in all concerning the desires of the flesh, a man exceeding charitable, and human in his relations with all, steadfast in prayer and vigils. He erected the cathedral church, but in the effort to improve it he did so much pulling down that in the end he left it unfinished. After his death many, as ever, sought the succession to the bishopric. The priest Transobad, once archdeacon of Dalmatius, was the most persistent candidate, trusting to the fact that he had placed his son in the household of Gogo, then governor of the king.* But the bishop had made a will in which he pointed out what gift after his death he would fain receive at the king's hands, adjuring him, under the sanction of dread oaths, to prevent the consecration of any stranger, or of any covetous man, or of any one bound by the yoke of marriage, but to appoint in his stead one free from all these who passed all his days in giving praise to God. Now the priest Transobad made a banquet for the clergy in the city. And when they were sat down, one of the priests began most shameless abuse of the late bishop, going so far as to call him a madman and a fool. While he was yet speaking, the cupbearer came to him to offer a cup. He took it, and was putting it to his lips, when he began to tremble, and letting it fall from his hands, leaned his head against his neighbour, and gave up the ghost. They took him straight from the banquet to the grave, and laid him beneath the earth. After this the will of the bishop was read in the presence of King Childebert and the chief men of his kingdom, and Theodosius, at the time archdeacon of the city, was consecrated bishop.

47. Now when Chilperic heard all the ill wrought by Leudast[1] to the churches and the whole people of Tours, he sent thither Ansovald,[2] who arrived on the feast of the holy Martin, and offered ourselves and the people a free choice,* with the result that Eunomius was raised to the dignity of count. When Leudast found himself removed, he went to Chilperic and said : ' Until now, most pious king, I have kept for thee the city of Tours : but now that I am removed from my office, give heed to the manner of its keeping. For thou art not ignorant that Bishop Gregory aimeth to hand it over to the son of Sigebert.' *

[1] Count of Tours ; cf. above, ch. 8 (14). [2] A duke ; cf. ch. 3, above.

When the king heard this he answered : ' Not so, but because thou art removed, therefore dost thou trump up these charges.' Leudast went on : ' The bishop speaketh yet worse things against thee ; he saith that thy queen liveth in adultery with Bishop Bertram.' [1] At this the king in fury smote him with his fists and kicked him, commanding him to be loaded with chains and cast into prison.

48. But as this book calls for its ending, I am fain to tell somewhat of Leudast's career, beginning with his family, his native country, and his character. There is an island off Poitou called Gracina,* where Leudast was born to the serf of Leucadius, a vine-dresser of the domain. In due time summoned to service,* he was assigned to the royal kitchens. But as in early life he had weak eyes ill fitted to endure the sharp smoke, he was transferred from the pestle to the baker's basket.[2] He pretended to enjoy himself amid the fermenting dough, but escaped, and forsook his service. Two or three times he was brought back after evasion ; but as he could not be restrained, he was punished by the slitting of one ear. Then, as there was no possible means of concealing this branding mark, he took refuge with Queen Marcovefa, whom King Charibert loved exceedingly, and had wedded in her sister's place.[3] She received him kindly, promoted him in her service, and assigned to him the care of her finest horses. As a result of this, his conceit and arrogance led him to solicit the office of count of the stables. No sooner was it his, than he looked down on and slighted every one ; he was inflated with vain pride and gave way to lechery ; he was inflamed with covetousness, and as the special favourite of his protectress was dispatched here, there, and everywhere about her affairs. After her death, as his purse was well filled through his extortions, he offered presents to King Charibert, and thus retained his old office. It was after this that he was nominated count of the city of Tours, for the sins of the people were now waxing gross. Pride of place yet further swelled his arrogance ; he showed himself a most rapacious plunderer, a bombastic brawler, a foul adulterer ; by his art in sowing discord and spreading calumny he amassed no mean fortune. After Charibert's death, the city

[1] Of Bordeaux. Cf. ch. 12 (18), above, and Introduction, p. 87.
[2] *A pistillo ad cophinum.* [3] Cf. IV. 19 (26).

of Tours fell to the lot of Sigibert,[1] and Leudast went over to King Chilperic ; whereupon the party of Sigibert pillaged all his unjust gains. But as soon as Chilperic, through his son Theudebert, had seized the city of Tours,[2] the prince urgently recommended him to me, as I had now come to the city, with a view to reinstating him in his former countship. Right humble and submissive was his demeanour towards me, as again and again he swore over the tomb of the holy bishop Martin that never would he act contrary to the laws of reason, and that he would be loyal to me in all things, alike in matters affecting my private interests, and in those concerning the needs of the Church. For he feared, what actually came to pass, that Sigibert might once more reduce this city under his authority.[3] On that king's death, Chilperic again coming into possession, Leudast regained his countship. But when Merovech came to Tours,[4] he pillaged all this man's property wherever found. During Sigibert's two years' possession of Tours Leudast had remained hidden in Brittany. But after his recovery of his old office in the manner above related, such was his upstart arrogance that he came into the church house in his gorget and shirt of mail * with his quiver hung about him, helmet on head and lance in hand ; he could trust no man, being the enemy of all. When he sat in his court with the chief men of the country, lay or clerical,* and marked any man pursuing justice, he straightway wrought himself into a fury and broke into abuse against the citizens. By his orders priests were dragged forth in manacles, and soldiers * were beaten with clubs ; such was his cruelty that there are no words to describe it. On the departure of Merovech,[5] who had despoiled him of his goods, he began slandering me, falsely asserting that Merovech had carried off his property by my advice. But after inflicting injury on me he once more renewed his oath, making the pall upon the blessed Martin's tomb his surety that he would never oppose me more.

49. But since it would be wearisome to trace all his perjuries and other misdeeds one by one, let me come at once to his attempt to give me a fall by unjust and wicked calumnies, and to the descent upon him of the divine vengeance, to the fulfil-

[1] IV. 31 (45). [2] IV. 33 (47). [3] IV. 35 (50).
[4] Above, ch. 8 (14). [5] Cf. ch. 8 (14), above.

ment of that which is written : ' Every man that supplanteth shall be supplanted,' [1] and again : ' He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it himself.' [2]

Well then, after doing many wrongs to me and mine, and time and again plundering Church property, he conspired with the priest Riculf, a man of like perversity, and had the shamelessness to accuse me of having attacked Queen Fredegund, declaring that if Plato, my archdeacon, or my friend Gallienus were put to the torture, I should be convicted of the slander out of their mouths. Then it was, as I have said,[3] that the king lost his temper, struck him with his fist and foot, and ordered him to be confined in prison. Leudast pretended to have said what he did on the authority of the cleric Riculf. Now this Riculf was a subdeacon, a man, like himself, wayward and void of all principle. The year before, he had plotted with Leudast about this matter, seeking grounds of offence that, once embroiled with me, he might have a pretext for going over to Leudast. He at length found one, and joined his patron. He then for four months prepared all manner of traps and snares, and then returned to me with Leudast, entreating me to pardon him and take him back. I did it, I admit, and publicly took into my house my secret enemy. On the departure of Leudast, he threw himself at my feet making this petition : ' If thou aid me not betimes, I am lost. For, behold, set on by Leudast I have said things which I ought not to have said. Now, therefore, send me forth into one of the other kingdoms, for if thou do it not, I shall be taken by the king's people and pay the penalty.' I answered : ' If thou hast spoken madly, thy words shall be upon thine own head ; I will not send thee into one of the other kingdoms, lest I incur the suspicion of the king.' After this Leudast became his accuser, declaring that he had heard the subdeacon Riculf say the words which I have mentioned. When Leudast had been set free, Riculf was put in bonds and imprisoned ; he now declared that Gallienus and the archdeacon Plato were both present on the day when I, their bishop, had said these words.

But the other Riculf, the priest, who had received a promise of my bishopric from Leudast, had grown so big a man that his

[1] Jer. ix. 4. Gregory appears to misinterpret the text.
[2] Prov. xxvi. 27. [3] Above, ch. 47.

pride was as that of Simon Magus.* Though thrice or yet more often he had sworn loyalty to me over the tomb of the holy Martin, he yet, on the sixth day after Easter, reviled and spat at me in such wise that he could hardly keep his hands from doing me violence ; so sure was he of the snare which he had laid. On the morrow, Easter Saturday, Leudast came to Tours, and pretending another errand, arrested Gallienus and the archdeacon Plato, putting them in chains ; then he had them brought before the queen, fettered and stripped of their upper garments. The news was brought to me while I was in the church house ; I was grieved and vexed in spirit, and going into my oratory, took up the book of the Psalms of David, that when I had opened it I might find a text of consolation. Now these were the words I found : ' He led them on in hope, and they feared not, and the sea overwhelmed their enemies.' [1] Meanwhile they had embarked on the river above the bridge supported by two boats, and the vessel bearing Leudast sank, so that he would probably have perished with his companions, if he had not saved himself by swimming. The other boat, carrying the prisoners and attached to the first, by God's aid kept afloat. They were therefore taken in their chains before the king, and promptly accused ; their end was to be compassed by capital punishment. But the king reconsidered the matter, and ordered them to be freed from their bonds and kept unharmed, under guard, but without close restraint.

At Tours, Duke Berulf and Count Eunomius* invented the tale that King Guntram meant to take the city, and declared that in consequence the place must be closely guarded, to prevent any negligence. They therefore craftily posted a watch at the gates, who should seem to be protecting the citizens, but in fact should keep their eyes on me. They even sent emissaries to advise me that I should do well to take the best treasures of the church and make my escape to Clermont. I did not do as they wished.

The king now summoned the bishops of his kingdom [2] and ordered the matter to be thoroughly investigated. Riculf the cleric [3] was several times examined in secret and uttered many calumnies against me and mine ; thereupon a certain Modestus,

[1] Ps. lxxvii. 53. Practically as the Vulgate, but Gregory writes *eduxit* for *deduxit*.
[2] To the royal villa at Berny ; see below.
[3] i. e. Riculf the subdeacon.

a carpenter, said to him : ' Thou wretch, thus contumaciously to plot against thy bishop ! It were better for thee to hold thy peace, ask his pardon, and once more obtain his favour.' Whereat he made outcry with a loud voice, and said : ' Behold, this fellow would bid me be silent and cease following after truth ! Here is an enemy of the queen who would prevent us from examining the charge brought against her.' The words were forthwith reported to the queen. Modestus was arrested, put to the torture, scourged, fast bound, and imprisoned. Now as he was there between two guards in his chains, fastened to the block, he prayed to the Lord while the men slept at the mid hour of the night, that of His omnipotence He might deign to visit one in misery, and that by the help of Martin the bishop and of Médard, he that was put in bonds without cause might be set free. And soon the bonds were riven asunder, the block broken, the door opened, and he himself came into the church of the holy Médard, where I was keeping vigil that night.*

The bishops assembled at Berny * received the order to take up their residence in one house. When the king arrived he greeted all present and received their benediction, whereupon he sat him down. Then Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux, against whom, equally with the queen, the charge was brought,[1] set forth the whole matter, and questioned me, declaring me to be the author of the accusation. In all sincerity I denied having said anything of the kind ; others might have heard such talk ; nothing of the sort had come into my head. Outside the building there now rose a great uproar among the people,* who cried : ' Wherefore these attacks upon the priest of the Lord ? Why doth the king pursue this matter ? Could a bishop have spoken thus even of a slave ? Alas ! alas ! Lord God, bestow Thine aid upon Thy servant.' But the king said : ' A charge brought against the queen is a disgrace for me. If therefore ye hold that witnesses should be called against the bishop, they are here present. But if ye decide that this may not be, and that the bishop's honour shall be trusted, speak your will ; right gladly will I hear what ye desire.' All admired the mingled wisdom and restraint shown by the king. Then, as every one maintained ' that the evidence of an inferior might not be believed against a bishop ', it was settled that

[1] Above, ch. 47.

I should say Mass at three altars and clear myself of the accusation by an oath. And, though these conditions were contrary to the canons, they were fulfilled out of consideration for the king. Nor need I conceal the fact that the princess Rigunth,* in her sympathy with me in my tribulation, fasted with all her household until one of her servants brought the news that I had accomplished everything as it had been ordained. The bishops now returned to the king and said: 'O king, the bishop hath fulfilled all the conditions imposed upon him. What remaineth now for thee but to be deprived of communion together with Bertram, accuser of his brother?' The king thereupon replied: 'I did but repeat such things as I had heard.' And when they asked who told him, he made answer that he heard it from Leudast. But this man had already fled; his was a nature without stability either in judgement or in purpose. Then the whole body of the bishops decreed that this sower of scandal, this slanderer of a queen, this accuser of a bishop, should be banned from all churches for having thus evaded judgement, and they dispatched to those bishops who were not present a letter to this effect signed by their hands. Thereupon they returned, every man to his own place. When Leudast heard what was done, he betook himself to the church of Saint Peter at Paris. But, learning the royal edict that no man in the kingdom should receive him in his house, and above all that his son, whom he had left at home, was dead, he came privily to Tours and removed the most valuable of his possessions to the territory of Bourges. The king's servants pursuing him thither, he escaped from their hands by flight. His wife was taken, and sent into banishment in the district of Tournai: Riculf, the cleric,[1] was condemned to death. His life was with difficulty granted me, but I could not save him from the torture. Nothing, not even metal, could bear such blows as this wretch had to endure. From the third hour of the day he hung suspended from a tree with his hands bound behind his back. At the ninth hour he was taken down, racked with the rope and pulley,* and beaten with staves, with rods, and double thongs; and not by one or two assailants, but every one struck him who could get within reach of his wretched limbs. When he found himself in peril of death, then

[1] i. e. the subdeacon.

at last he revealed the truth and publicly laid bare the secret of the plot. He declared that the queen had been accused that she might be expelled from the realm; Chlodovech, after his brothers had been slain,* was to receive his father's kingdom, and Leudast a dukedom. The priest Riculf, who from the time of the holy bishop Eufronius had been the friend of Chlodovech, was to solicit the bishopric of Tours; he himself, the subdeacon, had been promised the office of archdeacon.

So by the grace of God I returned safe to Tours, but found the church thrown into confusion by Riculf, the priest. This man had been raised from poor estate under Bishop Eufronius, and ordained archdeacon. Promoted later to the priesthood, he withdrew to a house of his own.* He was ever an upstart, full of bombast and presumption. For while I was absent with the king he insolently entered the church house as if he were already bishop, made an inventory of the church plate, and took possession of all the other effects. He gave rich presents to the principal clergy, making gifts of vineyards and distributing fields; to the lower clerics, on the other hand, he administered with his own hand a shower of blows and cudgellings, saying: 'In me perceive your master, who hath won the victory over his enemies, whose genius hath purged Tours from the rabble of Auvergne.'* The wretch was ignorant that all the bishops but five who held the see of Tours were connected with my family. He often used to tell his intimates that perjury was the only means of deceiving a wise man. On my return he continued to treat me with contempt. He did not come out to greet me as the rest of the citizens did, but instead threatened me with death. I therefore took counsel with the bishops of my province,* and ordered his removal to a monastery. He was there kept in close durance, but escaped by the help of envoys sent by Bishop Felix,* who had supported those guilty of the affair above related. The abbot was taken in by lies, and Riculf came safely to Felix, who received with eagerness one whom he should have held in execration. Leudast betook himself to the territory of Bourges, taking with him all the treasure that he had amassed by plundering the poor. But soon afterwards the inhabitants, with the judge of the place,* fell upon him and took from him all the gold and silver which he had brought with him, leaving him nothing but what he

had upon his person; they would even have taken his life if he had not escaped by flight. But no sooner had he once more forces at his command than he attacked his despoilers with certain men of Tours, and, having slain one of his enemies and recovered some of his lost property, returned into the territory of that city. At news of this Duke Berulf dispatched a body of armed followers to take him. Seeing himself on the point of capture, he abandoned his goods and took refuge in the church of the holy Hilary at Poitiers; Duke Berulf then sent the king the property which had fallen into his hands. Leudast made frequent sallies from the church, broke into the houses of divers persons, and openly carried off the plunder. Moreover, he was taken in adulteries within the very porch of the holy building. The queen, indignant at this pollution of a place consecrated to God, ordered him to be ejected from the church. After his expulsion he once more betook himself to his friends in the territory of Bourges, and besought them to hide him.

33 (50). I should have recorded above a conversation which I had with the holy bishop Salvius,[1] but since it then escaped me it may perchance not be taken amiss if I add it in this place. When the aforesaid council was at an end, and I was about to return home, having already bidden the king farewell, I was unwilling to depart without embracing Salvius again. I sought him therefore, and found him in the court of the royal dwelling at Berny. I told him that I was on the point of returning home. Then, as we were talking of one thing and another, having withdrawn a little from the house, he said to me: 'Canst thou see above the roof that which I see?' I answered: 'I can see the superstructure * which the king recently ordered to be erected.' 'And thou beholdest nothing more?' 'Nothing more can I see,' I answered, for I suspected him of joking with me. I added: 'If thou discernest anything more, tell me what it is.' He fetched a deep sigh, and said: 'I behold the drawn sword of the divine wrath suspended over this house.' Nor was the bishop wrong in his presage. Twenty days later passed away the king's two sons, whose death I have already related.[2]

HERE ENDS THE FIFTH BOOK, FINISHED IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF KING CHILDEBERT

[1] Of Albi. Cf. above, ch. 32 (44).

[2] Ch. 26 (34), above.

BOOK VI

[BOOK THE SIXTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE SIXTH BOOK

I. How Childebert went over to Chilperic, and of the flight of Mummolus.
II. Of Chilperic's envoys, returned from the East.
III. Of the envoys sent by Childebert to Chilperic.
IV. How Lupus was forced to fly Childebert's kingdom.
V. My dispute with a Jew.
VI. Of the holy Hospicius, the anchorite, his abstinence and his miracles.
7. Of the passing of Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès.
8. Of Eparchius, the anchorite in the city of Angoulême.
9. Of Domnolus, bishop of Le Mans.
10. Of the breaking into the church of the holy Martin.
11. Of Bishop Theodore, and of Dynamius.
VII. (12) Of the army sent against Bourges.
13. Of the slaying of Lupus and Ambrosius, citizens of Tours.
VIII. (14) Of signs and wonders that appeared.
15. Of the death of Bishop Felix.
IX. (16) How Pappolen recovered his wife.
X. (17) Of the Jews converted by King Chilperic.
XI. (18) Of the envoys of Chilperic, back from Spain.
XII. (19) Of the men of King Chilperic at the river Orge.
XIII. (20) Of the death of Duke Chrodin.
XIV. (21) Of portents revealed.
22. Of Bishop Charterius.
XV. (23) How a son was born to King Chilperic.
XVI. (24) Likewise of the treachery against Bishop Theodore, and of Gundovald.
XVII. (25) Of signs and wonders.
XVIII. (26) Of Guntram and Mummolus.
XIX. (27) How King Chilperic entered Paris.
XX. (28) Of Mark, the referendary.
29. Of the nuns in the monastery of Poitiers.
XXI. (30) Of the death of the Emperor Tiberius.
XXII. (31) Of the many wrongs to the cities of his brother done by King Chilperic, or at his command.
XXIII. (32) Of the death of Leudast.
XXIV. (33) Of locusts, sicknesses, and prodigies.
XXV. (34) Of the death of Chilperic's son, Theuderic.

XXVI. (35) Of the death of Mummolus the prefect, and of women slain.
36. Of Bishop Aetherius.
37. Of the murder of Lupentius, abbot of Javols.
38. Of the death of Bishop Theodosius, and concerning his successor.
39. Of the death of Bishop Remigius, and of his successor.
XXVII. (40) Of my dispute with a heretic.
XXVIII. (41) How King Chilperic went with his treasures to Cambrai.
XXIX. (42) How Childebert went into Italy.
XXX. (43) Of the kings of Galicia.
XXXI. (44) Of divers signs.
XXXII. (45) Of the betrothal of Rigunth, daughter of Chilperic.
XXXIII. (46) Of the death of King Chilperic.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 580 to 584.]

HERE BEGINS THE SIXTH BOOK, COMMENCING FROM THE SIXTH YEAR OF KING CHILDEBERT

IN the sixth year of his reign [1] King Childebert, abandoning peace with King Guntram, allied himself with King Chilperic.[2] Not long afterwards died Gogo,[3] and Wandelen was appointed in his place. Mummolus [4] escaped by flight from Guntram's kingdom, and shut himself within the walls of Avignon.* A council of bishops assembled at Lyons, which decided various matters in dispute and condemned persons whose conduct was remiss. The council then betook itself to the king; it was much occupied with the flight of Duke Mummolus, somewhat also with the present discords.*

2. Meanwhile the envoys of King Chilperic, dispatched three years before to the court of the emperor Tiberius, returned home,* not without suffering hardships and heavy loss. Not venturing to approach the harbour of Marseilles because of the dissensions between the kings, they put in at Agde, a city in the Visigothic territory.[5] But before they reached land the ship was caught by a squall which drove her ashore and broke her up. The envoys and their servants, seeing their peril, laid hold of planks and hardly reached the shore; many of the servants were lost, but the greater number escaped. The people of the place seized such of their effects as were washed ashore, though they recovered the more precious objects which they were bringing for King Chilperic. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Agde kept many of these things for themselves.

At that time [6] I had gone to the royal domain of Nogent * to see the king; and there he showed us a great salver, fifty pounds in weight, which he had caused to be made of gold and gems,* saying: 'This have I had made for the glory and ennoblement of the Frankish race. And much more shall yet be done, if life remain to me.' And he displayed to us pieces of gold, each of a pound's weight,* which the emperor

[1] A. D. 581.
[2] Cf. Introduction, p. 121.
[3] The young king's *nutritor*, or governor; cf. V. *46*. For Wandelin, see VIII. 22.
[4] The successful general; cf. IV. 29 (30).
[5] i. e. in Septimania.
[6] In A. D. 581.

sent him, having the imperial image on one side with the legend : TIBERII CONSTANTINI PERPETUI AUGUSTI, and on the reverse a four-horsed chariot and charioteer with the legend : GLORIA ROMANORUM. He displayed at the same time many other precious objects which the ambassadors had brought.

3. While Chilperic abode at Nogent, Egidius, bishop of Reims,[1] came on an embassy to him with the chief notables of Childebert ; and there they discussed a plan for depriving King Guntram of his kingdom and forming an alliance against him. And King Chilperic said : ' So great were grown my sins that I have no sons more, nor remaineth there an heir to me, save only King Childebert, my brother Sigibert's son. Therefore let him be heir of all that my labours may win ; only let me keep the whole for the term of my natural life without trouble or dispute.' They rendered him thanks, signed a pact in confirmation of the terms discussed, and returned to Childebert with great gifts. After their departure King Chilperic sent Bishop Leudovald [2] with the first men of his kingdom, who gave and received oaths and came back bringing gifts.

4. Now Lupus,[3] duke of Champagne, had long been continually harried and despoiled by his enemies, and above all by Ursio and Bertefried, who finally agreed together to take his life, and marched against him with an army. At sight whereof Queen Brunhild, sore at heart for her loyal servant thus unjustly persecuted, armed herself with a man's courage * and threw herself between the hostile armies, crying : ' Desist, O warriors, from this wickedness ; cease to persecute the innocent ; join not battle on account of one man, nor destroy the strength of our country.' But in answer to these words Ursio said : ' Stand back from us, O woman ; let it suffice thee to have borne sway under thy consort. But now the kingdom is thy son's, and it is upheld not by thy protection but by ours. Stand therefore back from us, lest our horses' hoofs trample thee.' For a great while did they thus dispute together, till the queen by her perseverance succeeded in preventing a conflict. Nevertheless, the two leaders, when they had withdrawn from the spot, broke into houses belonging to Lupus ;

[1] Cf. V. 12 (18) ; VI. 22 (31) ; VII. 14 ; IX. 14 ; X. 19 ; and Introduction, p. 86.

[2] Of Bayeux ; cf. VIII. 31 ; IX. 13.

[3] Cf. IV. 32 (46) ; IX. 9–14.

they laid hands upon all his property. Making as if they would pay it into the royal treasury, they carried it off to their own homes, uttering threats against Lupus and saying: 'He shall not escape alive out of our power.' Then Lupus, perceiving in what peril he stood, put his wife in safety within the walls of Laon,* and took refuge with King Guntram, who received him kindly. He remained quietly with the king, awaiting the time when King Childebert should come of age.

5. King Chilperic, who was still in the aforesaid domain,[1] ordered his baggage to be sent on, and prepared himself to depart for Paris. I had gone to him for the purpose of bidding him farewell, when there came in a Jew named Priscus,* whom he treated with familiarity, because he helped him in the purchase of precious things. The king took him gently by the hair and said to me: 'Come, bishop, and lay thy hands upon him.' As the man resisted, the king said: 'O hardened spirit, O ever-unbelieving generation, which understandeth not that which hath been promised to it by the voice of the prophets; which comprehendeth not that the mysteries of the Church are figured forth in its own sacrifices.' To this the Jew made answer: 'God hath no need, nor hath He provided Him a Son, nor doth He brook any consort in His kingdom. Who said by the mouth of Moses: "Behold now, behold, that I am the Lord; apart from Me, there is no God. I will kill, and I will make alive; I will strike and I will heal."'[2] To this the king replied: 'God in spiritual wise brought to the birth the eternal Son, neither younger than Himself in time, nor less in power, of whom He Himself saith: "Out of the womb have I begotten Thee before the morning star."[3] This Son, born before the ages, He sent in the latter time to heal the world, as thy prophet saith: "He sent forth His Word and healed them."[4] And as for that thy statement that He begetteth not, hear now thine own prophet, who setteth these words in the Lord's mouth: "Shall I, who make others bring forth, not bring forth Myself?"[5] Now this He saith of the people which is born again in Him by faith.' The Jew rejoined: 'How should God be made man, or be born of woman, or submit to stripes, or

[1] Nogent.
[2] Deut. xxxii. 39. Verbal differences from the Vulgate text.
[3] Ps. cix. 3. *Ex utero ante Luciferum genui te.* Vulgate.
[4] Ps. cvi. 20.
[5] Isa. lxvi. 9.

be condemned to death ? ' The king was now silent, whereupon I broke into the discussion. ' That God,' I said, ' the Son of God, was made man, resulted not from His own necessity, but from ours. Save He had put on mortality, He could not have redeemed man from the captivity of sin, or from his servitude to the devil. But as we read that David of old slew Goliath, so will I now pierce thee with thine own sword, producing for thee testimony, not from the Gospels or from an apostle in whom thou believest not, but from thine own Scriptures. Hear therefore thy prophet, foretelling that God should be made man : " He is both God and man," he saith, " and who hath known Him ? " [1] And in another place : " This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted in comparison with Him, for He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved. Afterwards did He show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men." [2] And that He was born of a virgin, hear likewise the word of thy prophet : " Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us." [3] And that He must needs be smitten, pierced with nails, and suffer other injury, yet another prophet declareth : " They pierced My hands and My feet ; they parted My garments among them ", and so further.[4] And again : " They gave Me gall to eat, and in My thirst vinegar to drink." [5] And to proclaim that through the gibbet of the Cross He should restore in His kingdom the world, sinking under the tyranny of the devil, the same David saith : " The Lord hath reigned from the tree." [6] Not that He did not reign before with the Father ; but He received a new kingdom over the people whom He had delivered from the servitude of the devil.' To this the Jew replied : ' And what necessity was there for God to suffer all these things ? ' I retorted : ' I have already said to thee that God created man in innocence ; but, ensnared by the serpent's guile, he was made to transgress the divine command,

[1] These words cannot be found in the Bible.
[2] Baruch iii. 36, 38 ; the text differs from the Vulgate.
[3] Cf. Isa. vii. 14 with Matt. i. 23.
[4] Ps. xxi. 17, 19.
[5] Ps. lxviii. 22.
[6] Ps. xcv. 10. The words ' from the tree ' (*a ligno*) are not in the Vulgate.

and therefore was he cast out from Paradise and condemned to earthly labours ; who, by the death of Christ, the only Son of God, was reconciled with the Father.' The Jew said : ' But might not God have sent prophets or apostles to recall him to the way of salvation, without being Himself humbled in the flesh ? ' I answered : ' From the beginning the race of man was ever delinquent ; neither the Flood might affright it, nor the burning of Sodom, nor the plagues of Egypt, nor the miracle of the sea and the Jordan dividing their waters. Ever hath it resisted the law of God and disbelieved the prophets ; and not only disbelieved, but put to death those that preached to it repentance. Therefore if God Himself had not come down from heaven to redeem it, by no other means could the redemption have been accomplished. We were regenerated by His nativity, washed by His baptism, healed by His wounds, raised by His resurrection, by His ascension glorified. And need was that He should come to heal our sicknesses, as thy prophet saith : " By His bruises we are healed " ; [1] and in another place : " He shall bear our sins, and pray for the transgressors." [2] And again : " He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter ; and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth. While He was humbled was the judgement removed.[3] Who shall declare His generation ? The Lord of Hosts is His name."[4] Of Him doth that Jacob speak, from whom thou vauntest to descend, in that blessing of his son Judah, wherein he seemeth to address Christ Himself, the Son of God : " The sons of thy father shall adore thee. Judah is a lion's whelp ; from the seed, my son, thou art grown up. Thou hast couched and slept as a lion, as a lion's whelp. Who hath raised him up ? His eyes are fairer than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk Who ", saith he, " hath raised him up ? " [5] And though He Himself hath said, " I have power to lay down My life, and power to take it up again ",[6] yet the apostle Paul saith : " Whosoever hath not believed that God hath raised Him from the dead, cannot be saved." ' [7] Despite these and other argu-

[1] Isa. liii. 5. [2] *Ibid.* 11.
[3] *Ibid.* 7, 8. *In humiliatione iudicium eius sublatum est.* Differs from Vulgate.
[4] Isa. liv. 5. [5] Gen. xlix. 8, 9, 12. Divergencies from the Vulgate.
[6] John x. 18. [7] Rom. x. 9.

ments of mine, this wretch felt not remorse, so as to believe, but held his peace, whereupon the king, seeing that all that had been said could not move him to compunction, turned to me, and asked my blessing before he departed. He said: 'I will say to thee that which Jacob said to the angel that spake with him, "I will not let thee go unless thou bless me".'[1] With these words he ordered water to be brought for our hands. And when they were washed, I offered prayer, and took bread, and, giving thanks to God, received it myself, and presented it to the king. And we drank the wine and parted, bidding each other farewell. The king took horse and returned to Paris with his consort, his daughter, and all his household.

6. There was at this time near the town of Nice one Hospicius, a recluse and great ascetic, who wore iron chains wound close about the bare skin, and over them a hair shirt; he would eat nothing but dry bread with a few dates. During Lent he nourished himself on the roots of the Egyptian herbs which the hermits eat, brought to him by merchants; * he first drank the water in which they were cooked, then ate the roots themselves. Great miracles the Lord deigned to perform by his means. For upon a time the Holy Spirit revealed to him the coming of the Lombards into Gaul, which he foretold after this manner: 'The Lombards,' he said, 'will enter Gaul, and lay waste seven cities because their wickedness is waxed great in the sight of the Lord. For there is none that understandeth, none that seeketh the Lord, none that doeth good to appease the wrath of God. The whole people is without faith, given to perjuries, prone to thefts, swift to shed men's blood; from such the fruit of justice in no wise groweth. They pay not tithes, they feed not the poor, they clothe not the naked; they take not in the stranger, nor do they give him meat according to his need. For this cause this blow cometh upon them. Now, therefore, I say to you: Gather together all your substance within your walls, that it be not pillaged by the Lombards, and fortify yourselves in the strongest places that ye have.' At these words all were amazed, and, bidding him farewell, returned, greatly marvelling, to their own homes. And to the monks he said: 'Remove ye also from this place,

[1] Gen. xxxii. 26.

and take all your possessions with you ; for lo ! the people which I have foretold draweth nigh.' Then they said : ' We will not leave thee, most holy father.' But he answered : ' Fear not for me ; they shall vex me, but they shall not harm me to the death.' And when they were gone that people came, laying waste all things within reach, and arrived at the place where the holy man of God lived in his solitude. And he showed himself to them through a window of his tower.* Then did they go about the tower, but could not find an entrance whereby they might come in to him. So two of them climbed up and uncovered the roof, and saw him girded with chains, and wearing a hair shirt ; and they said : ' This is a malefactor who hath slain a man ; for this cause is he held in these bonds.' And they called to them an interpreter and inquired of him what evil he had wrought that he was thus hardly punished. He himself confessed to them that he had wrought manslaughter and was guilty of every crime. Then one drew a sword to strike him on the head ; but his right arm was suspended in the act to strike and turned stiff, so that he could not draw it back ; then he loosed his hold on the sword, and let it fall to the ground. At sight of this his comrades raised a shout heaven high, beseeching the holy man of his mercy to tell them what they ought to do. He made the sign of our salvation over the arm and made it whole again. And the man was converted on the spot, and received the tonsure, and is now held the most faithful of the monks. Two dukes * who hearkened to the words of Hospicius returned in safety to their country ; but those of the Lombards who scorned his injunction perished miserably in that land of Provence. Many of them were possessed by demons, and cried aloud : ' O holy and most blessed, wherefore dost thou torment us and burn us thus ? ' But he laid his hands upon them and healed them.

Some time after this, there was an inhabitant of Angers who through exceeding fever had lost his speech and hearing ; on his recovery from the fever he remained deaf and dumb. Now a deacon was being sent from that district to Rome to bring back relics of the blessed apostles and other saints who protect that city. When the parents of the sick man heard this, they asked him of his goodness to take their son with him on

his journey, having faith that if he could only visit the tombs of the most blessed apostles he should at once find healing. The two set forth, and came to the place where the blessed Hospicius dwelled. The deacon, having saluted and embraced him, set forth the causes of their journey, told how he was on his way to Rome, and besought him to commend them to any of the clergy who were among his friends.* But while they sojourned with him the saint felt the power of miracle present within him through the Spirit of the Lord, and he said to the deacon: 'Bring into my sight, I beg thee, the sick man who is the companion of thy journey.' The other, losing no time, went swiftly to their lodging, and found the sick man in a high fever, who by a sign of the head gave him to know that there was a ringing sound in his ears. He took him and brought him to the holy man of God, who grasped his hair with one hand and drew his head into the window;[1] there, holding the sick man's tongue with his left hand, he took consecrated oil, and poured it into his mouth and on the top of his head, saying: 'In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, be thine ears unsealed, and thy mouth opened by that same power which cast out the evil spirit from him that was deaf and dumb.' With these words he asked of him his name. He answered: 'I am called So-and-so.'* And when the deacon saw it he said: 'I render Thee thanks without end, Christ Jesus, who deignest to reveal such wonders by the hand of Thy servant. I was seeking Peter, I was seeking Paul and Laurence, and the other martyrs who have glorified Rome through their blood; and lo! I have found them all here; here I have discovered them all.' But as he said this, marvelling and with many tears, the man of God, eschewing all thought of vainglory, said to him: 'Hold to thy peace, most beloved brother, for it is not I who do these things, but He who created the world out of nothing; who, putting on our mortal nature, made the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak; who restoreth to lepers their skin as it was before, and granteth to all the sick remedy abounding.' Then the deacon bade him farewell, rejoicing, and departed with his companions. When they were gone, a certain man named Dominicus, blind from his birth, came to put to

[1] i. e. of his cell.

the proof this miraculous power. This man had sojourned in the monastery for two or three months, constant in prayer and fasting, when at length the man of God summoned him and said: 'Art thou fain to recover thy sight?' 'It was ever my wish', answered the other, 'to know things unknown to me. For I am ignorant what thing light may be. This only I know, that it is praised by all men. As for me, from the beginning of my life till now, I have not had grace to look thereon.' Then the saint, making the sign of the holy Cross over his eyes with consecrated oil, said to him: 'In the name of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, be thine eyes opened.' And forthwith they were opened; and there he was, marvelling and beholding the wonderful works of God, which he saw for the first time in this world. Afterwards, a woman was brought to him who, as she herself proclaimed, was possessed of three devils. And when he had blessed her with his holy touch, and set the Cross upon her brow with the sacred oil, the devils were driven forth, and she departed healed. And by his benediction he made whole another girl vexed by an unclean spirit.

But when the day of his death now drew nigh, he called to him the prior of the monastery,* and said: 'Bring a crow-bar, and break through the wall, and send messengers to the bishop of the city, that he may come and bury me. For on the third day from now I shall pass from the world, and enter into my appointed rest which the Lord hath promised me.' Thereupon the prior of the monastery sent to the bishop of the city of Nice to give him this news. Now a certain Crescens came to the window, and beholding Hospicius bound with chains and covered with worms, said to him: 'O my lord, how art thou able to endure such grievous torments?' The other replied: 'He giveth me comfort for whose name I suffer these things. And I tell thee that now I am released from these chains, and go into my rest.' And when the third day came, he put from him the chains with which he was bound, and prostrated himself in prayer. And when he had prayed with tears for a long time, he laid himself down upon a bench, with his feet stretched out, and his hands raised towards heaven, and rendering thanks to God, gave up the ghost. And straightway all the worms which had gnawed his holy limbs

vanished. Then Bishop Austadius came, and with utmost care committed the hallowed body to the earth. All these things I learned from the lips of the man who, as I have related, was deaf and dumb and healed by the saint. The same man told me much more of his miracles; but I was prevented from speaking of them because I heard that his life had already been written by many writers.*

7. At this time died Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, a man of great sanctity, full of wisdom and understanding. He composed some books of Letters, following the manner of Sidonius.* After his death, Albinus the ex-prefect, through the influence of Dynamius, actual governor of Provence,* assumed the episcopate without the royal sanction. He held the see for not more than three months and was on the point of being dispossessed, when he departed this life, and Jovinus, another ex-governor of Provence,[1] received the royal nomination to the bishopric. But Marcellus the deacon, son of Felix, the senatorial,* forestalled him, for on the advice of Dynamius he was consecrated by the assembled bishops of the province. He too was afterwards attacked by Jovinus, who sought to expel him. Shut up within his city, he strove courageously to defend himself; but not having strength to prevail, he won over Jovinus by making him gifts.

8. Then also died Eparchius, the recluse of Angoulême, a man magnificent in holiness, by whom God showed many miracles;* most of these I pass over, touching only upon a few. He was an inhabitant of Périgueux; but becoming a cleric after his conversion, he went to Angoulême and built himself a cell. There he gathered a few monks about him, and continued diligently in prayer; if any offered him gold or silver, he gave it to relieve the needs of the poor, or to redeem captives. So long as he lived, no bread was ever baked in his cell; it was only brought in by the devout when necessity demanded. By the offerings of the faithful, he redeemed a great multitude of captives. Often with the sign of the Cross he destroyed the poison of malignant pustules, by prayer cast out evil spirits from the bodies of the possessed, and by the exceeding sweetness of his address compelled, rather than besought, judges to pardon the accused. For he had such

[1] He had preceded Albinus in the office (IV. *43*).

a charming way, that when he prayed for lenience they were unable to refuse him. On one occasion a man was being led off to be hanged for theft who was accused by the inhabitants of many other crimes, both robberies and murders. When Eparchius was told of it, he sent one of his monks to petition the judge for the life of the accused. Thereupon the people rose, crying that if this fellow were set free there would be no safety either for the country or for the judge; the prisoner therefore could not be released. Meanwhile he was stretched by rope and pulley, beaten with rods and cudgelled, and condemned to the gallows. The monk sadly bringing back the news, 'Go', said the abbot, 'and watch from some distance, for know that the Lord of His munificence shall grant me him whom man hath refused to give up. Be it thy part to take him up when he falleth, and straightway bring him to the monastery.' The monk obeyed his orders. Then Eparchius prostrated himself in prayer and poured forth his supplications with tears to the Lord until the bar and the chains were broken, and the hanged man reached earth again. Then the monk raised him and brought him in safety into the presence of the abbot, who, giving thanks to God, bade summon the count,[1] and said to him: 'Ever, most beloved son, wert thou wont to hearken to me with kindly mind; wherefore to-day didst thou harden thy heart and refuse to free the man whose life I begged of thee?' The count answered: 'Right gladly do I hearken to thee, holy priest; but when the people rose, I could do no other, for I feared a riot.' Eparchius said: 'Thou indeed wouldst not hear me, yet hath God deigned to give ear, and him whom thou deliveredst to death the Lord hath restored to life. Behold, there he standeth before thee sound and whole.' At these words the count flung himself at his feet, amazed to behold alive one whom he had left at the point of death. These things I learned from the count's own lips. Eparchius did much else which it were too long to relate. After forty-four years of his seclusion he was attacked awhile by fever, and breathed his last. He was brought forth from his cell and committed to the earth. A great concourse of ransomed prisoners walked in his funeral procession, for, as I have related, he redeemed many.

[1] The count was the same person as the judge. Cf. Introduction, p. 211.

9. Domnolus, bishop of Le Mans, fell sick. In the time of King Lothar he had been the head of a monastic community at Paris, by the church of the holy Laurence. And as in the lifetime of Childebert the elder he ever remained loyal to Lothar, and often concealed the envoys whom he sent thither to bring him intelligence, the king waited for a chance of appointing him to a bishopric. On the death of the bishop of Avignon, he had intended to give Domnolus that see. But when the blessed Domnolus heard of this, he went to the church of the holy bishop Martin, whither King Lothar had then come to pray, and making vigil all night long, by intermission of the notables there present, he made known his hope that the king would not suffer him to be banished like a captive from the royal presence, or permit him, in the simplicity of his nature, to be teased by sophisticated senatorials or philosophizing counts;* he declared that such a place would be to him one of humiliation rather than of honour. The king consented, and on the death of Innocentius, bishop of Le Mans, appointed him prelate of that see. But from the time of his assumption of his holy office he proved himself of such virtue and greatness that he rose to the very summit of holiness, restoring to those who were lame the use of their limbs, and to the blind their sight. After holding the bishopric for twenty-two years, and finding himself most grievously afflicted by jaundice and by the stone, he signified his choice of the abbot Theodulf as his successor. The king approved the choice; but not long afterwards changed his mind, and caused Badegisil, mayor of the palace,* to be elected instead. This man received the tonsure, passed through the grades of ecclesiastical rank,* and in forty days, on the bishop's death, succeeded to his throne.

10. In these days thieves broke into the church of the holy Martin.* They took a railing from above some tomb, and setting it up against a window mounted upon it, broke the glass, and so entered. They carried off much gold and silver and many silken stuffs, not shrinking even from setting their feet upon that holy tomb, which we scarce presume to touch with our lips. But the power of the saint was to make public example of these reckless men by a terrible doom. After committing the outrage they went to Bordeaux, where, a dispute arising, the one slew the other. In this way the deed was

discovered, and the stolen things found ; the silver, all broken up, and the silken fabrics were recovered at their lodging. When King Chilperic heard of the matter, he commanded the men to be bound and brought before him. But I feared that men's lives might be taken for the sake of him [1] who in his own day often begged the life of the condemned ; so I sent the king a petition, praying that they should not die, since we, with whom the prosecution lay, did not accuse them. The king received the petition graciously, and gave them their lives. But he ordered the precious things which had been scattered to be carefully collected and restored to the holy place.

11. At Marseilles, Dynamius, governor of Provence,[2] began to deal treacherously with Bishop Theodore.[3] While preparing to hasten to the presence of the king,[4] the bishop was arrested by the governor and kept a prisoner in the middle of the city ; then, after grievous affronts, was at length released. The clergy of Marseilles were in the plot with Dynamius to cast him out of his bishopric. Theodore now betook himself to King Childebert, but by command of King Guntram he was detained on the way, together with the ex-prefect Jovinus.[5] On receiving this news, the clergy of Marseilles were filled with great joy : the bishop was taken, they said ; he was doomed to exile ; things had come to such a point that he was never likely to return. They therefore laid hands on the church houses,* made inventories of the sacred vessels, opened the strong boxes, pillaged the store-rooms, making free with all the property of the Church as if the bishop were already dead. They uttered various charges against him, which, Christ aiding, were afterwards proved false.

Now Childebert, having made a peace with Chilperic,[6] sent envoys to King Guntram, calling on him to restore the half of Marseilles which he had given to him after the death of his father.[7] Should he refuse, let him know that the holding of this part should cost him dear. But Guntram would not, and ordered the roads to be closed, so that none should find a way open to cross his kingdom.* When Childebert saw this, he sent to Marseilles Gundulf the ex-domestic, who was of a

[1] S. Martin.
[2] Of Marseilles ; cf. ch. 16 (24) ; VIII. 5, 12, 13 ; IX. 22.
[3] Cf. above, ch. 7.
[4] Childebert.
[5] Cf. above, ch. 7.
[6] Cf. above, ch. 3.
[7] Sigibert.

senatorial family * and had risen to the rank of duke. Not daring to traverse Guntram's territory, Gundulf came to Tours. I received him kindly, and discovered him to be my mother's uncle; I kept him with me for five days, and after providing him with all that he needed, let him depart. He continued on his way, but was unable to enter Marseilles in face of the opposition offered by Dynamius. Nor was the bishop, who had now joined Gundulf, received again in his church. For Dynamius and the clergy barred the city gates, vied with one another in abuse, and scornfully entreated both of them, the bishop and Gundulf alike. But at length, invited to a parley with the duke, he came out to the church of the holy Stephen, close beyond the walls. The doorkeepers * guarding the entrance to the church stood ready to close the doors the moment Dynamius passed in; this they managed to do, and the troop of armed men who were with him were unable to follow. He himself was unaware of this. They conferred of various matters at the altar, then withdrew from it and passed into the sacristy. On the entry of Dynamius into a place where he was deprived of his followers' support, he was assailed with terrible upbraiding. As he was brought out, his followers crowded noisily round with arms in their hands, but were driven off, and the duke assembled the principal citizens with intent to enter the city with the bishop. Dynamius at the sight sought pardon, presented numerous gifts to the duke, and swore an oath that in future he would be loyal both to bishop and king; whereupon his equipment was restored to him.* The gates of the town and the doors of the church were then flung open, and duke and bishop both entered the city with ringing of bells and acclamations, the various official standards being borne before them. Then the clergy who were involved in this misdeed, of whom the abbot Anastasius [1] and the priest Proculus were the ringleaders, fled to the house of Dynamius, asking a refuge from the man who had set them on. Many of them were released, on finding satisfactory surety, and ordered to present themselves before the king. Gundulf, having thus placed the city once more under the authority of King Childebert, and restored the bishop to his place, returned to the king his master.

[1] Of the monastery of St. Victor.

But Dynamius forgot the loyalty which he had promised to that king, and sent messengers to King Guntram, to tell him that the bishop was like to lose him the part of the city pertaining to him, and that unless this enemy were driven from Marseilles, he could never hold the city in his power. The king was moved to wrath and impiously commanded that the priest of the most high God should be brought in bonds before him, saying: 'Let the enemy of my kingdom be thrust forth into exile, that he have no longer the power to do us harm.' The bishop suspected his danger, and it was no easy matter to get him out of the city. But now came the festival of dedication for an oratory in the country just beyond the walls. He was proceeding to this solemnity, and had issued from the town, when suddenly armed men poured forth with loud cries from an ambush, and surrounded the holy bishop. They cast him down from his horse, put all his companions to flight, bound his servants, beat his clergy, and setting him on a sorry jade, took him away to bring him into the king's presence, without permitting any of his own people to follow. As they passed Aix, Pientius, bishop of that city, full of compassion for a brother, sent clerics to succour him, and only let him go when he had provided him with all of which he stood in need. While these things were done, the clergy of Marseilles once more opened the church houses, pried into all secret matters, making lists of some things, and carrying off others to their own homes. The bishop was taken before the king, but found not guilty; he received permission to return to his city, where he was welcomed with great honour by the citizens. Out of this matter arose grave enmity between King Guntram and his nephew Childebert. They broke their alliance, and began to lie in wait for each other.

7 (12). Now when King Chilperic saw these seeds of discord springing up between his brother and his nephew, he summoned Duke Desiderius [1] and bade him deal some malicious blow at his brother. Desiderius marched with an army, put Duke Ragnovald [2] to flight, and occupied Périgueux, where he bound the people to Chilperic by an oath; he then went on to Agen. Ragnovald's wife, learning that by her husband's flight this city must likewise pass into the power of King Chilperic, betook

[1] Cf. V. 7 (13), 29 (39).

[2] Cf. VII. 10.

herself to the church of the holy martyr Caprasius.* But she was dragged out, despoiled of her riches and the support of her household, and forced to find sureties before being sent to Toulouse, where once more she made her abode in the church of the holy Saturninus.[1] Desiderius took all the cities in that region belonging to King Guntram, and brought them under the sway of King Chilperic.

Duke Berulf,[2] hearing that the men of Bourges made much talk of invading the territory of Tours, marched with an army, and established himself in these parts. The districts of Yzeures and Barrou * of the region of Tours were cruelly devastated at this time. Afterwards, those [3] who were unable to join in this expedition were sentenced without mercy.

Duke Bladast [4] marched into the country of the Gascons * and lost the greater part of his army.

13. Lupus, a citizen of Tours, having lost his wife and children, sought to become a cleric, but his brother Ambrosius hindered him, because he feared that if he joined the Church of God he might make it his heir. This evil counsellor of a brother found another wife for him, and fixed a day when they should meet for presentation of the wedding gifts. So they both came together to the town of Chinon,* where they had a house. But the wife of Ambrosius, who was an adulteress, loathing him and loving another [5] with a harlot's love, now laid a snare against her husband's life. The two brothers having dined together, and soaked themselves with wine that night until they were drunken, lay down to rest in one bed. Then the wife's lover came in the dark, when all the people in the house were asleep, all overcome with wine, and having set fire to some straw to see what he was doing, drew his sword and struck Ambrosius on the head, the blade piercing his eyes and even cutting the pillow. The blow roused Lupus, who found himself wallowing in blood, and cried with a loud voice : ' Woe is me ! help, help ! my brother is slain.' Thereupon the lover, who after the doing of the foul deed was making off, came back to the bed and made at him. Lupus resisted, but was gashed with many wounds, overwhelmed, and left more dead

[1] Cf. VII. 10.
[2] Cf. V. *49* ; VI. 22 (*31*) ; VIII. 26.
[3] i. e. of Tours.
[4] Cf. ch. (22) 31, below ; VII. 29 (28), 34, 37 ; VIII. 6.
[5] Vedast ; see below, VII. 3.

than alive, stricken with a mortal blow. None of the household heard anything. The next morning, every one was aghast at such a crime. Lupus was found still alive, and told them how the deed was done before breathing his last. The harlot took little time over her mourning, but after a few days' interval went off with her lover.

8 (14). In the seventh year of King Childebert,[1] which was the twenty-first of Chilperic and Guntram, there were rains, lightnings, and great thunder-claps in the month of January. Trees blossomed ; the star, which I have above named comet,[2] appeared in such a way that round about it there was a great blackness ; it shone through the dark as if set in a cavity, glittering, and spreading abroad its hair. And there issued from it a tail [3] of wondrous size which from afar appeared as the great smoke of a fire. It was seen in the western quarter of the heavens at the first hour of night. And on the holy day of Easter, in the city of Soissons, men saw the heavens aflame, in such wise that there appeared two fires, the one greater, the other less. But after the space of two hours they were joined together, making a great beacon-light * before they vanished away. In the territory of Paris there rained real blood from the clouds, falling upon the garments of many men, who were so stained and spotted that they stripped themselves of their own clothing in horror. This portent was seen in three places within the territory of that city. In the territory of Senlis, a certain man, rising in the morning, found his house all spattered with blood within. A great pestilence raged among the people during this year ; great numbers were carried off by various malignant diseases, the symptoms of which were pustules and tumours ; but many, by taking precautions, escaped. We heard in this year also of a malady of the groin which raged fiercely at Narbonne ; it was of such a kind that if a man was once attacked, all was over with him.

15. Felix, bishop of Nantes,[4] succumbing to this malady,* fell grievously sick. Thereupon he summoned to him the neighbouring bishops and besought them to support by their signatures the agreement which he had drafted * in favour of

[1] A. D. 582. [2] IV. 24 (31). [3] Literally 'ray' (*radius*).
[4] Cf. V. 5, 49.

his nephew Burgundio as his successor. This done, they sent the young man to me. At this time Burgundio was about twenty-five years old. He arrived with the request that I should go to Nantes,* give him the tonsure, and consecrate him bishop in the room of his uncle, who was yet alive. I refused, because I knew that his proposal contravened the canons. Nevertheless I gave him advice, saying: 'We find it written in the canons, my son, that none may attain the rank of bishop unless he have first passed through the ecclesiastical grades in regular order.[1] Therefore, dearly beloved, return to Nantes, and demand the tonsure of him who hath chosen thee. When thou hast received the dignity of the priesthood, be assiduous in the service of the Church. And when it shall be God's will that he pass away, thou shalt easily attain the rank of bishop.' He returned, but neglected to follow the counsel which I had given him, because Bishop Felix seemed to be growing better. But when the fever departed, as a result of malignant humours, pustules came out upon his legs. He applied too strong a plaster of cantharides, and his legs festered, so that he ended his days in the thirty-third year of his bishopric and the seventieth of his life. Nonnichius, his cousin, succeeded him by the royal ordinance.

9 (16). Now when Pappolen heard of his decease, he recovered the bishop's niece, from whom he had been separated. She had previously been his betrothed, but as Bishop Felix was averse to the marriage, Pappolen came with a great company and removed the girl from an oratory; he then took sanctuary in the church of the holy Albinus. At this, Bishop Felix was moved to wrath; he cunningly entrapped his niece, and separated her from her would-be husband, after which he forced her to take the veil, and put her in a monastery at Bazas.* But she sent servants privily to Pappolen, begging him to take her away from the place where she was confined. He on his part was ready to act; he took her from the monastery and married her; as he had the formal sanction of the king he disregarded the threats of her kinsfolk.

10 (17). In this year King Chilperic ordered the baptism of a number of Jews; * he himself received many of them from the sacred font. But some of these people were laved in body

[1] Cf. Introduction, pp. 272–3.

only and not in their hearts; they lied to God, returning to their infidel state, and while they seemed to honour the Lord's Day, still observed their Sabbath. Priscus,[1] however, could by no argument whatsoever be induced to receive the truth, whereupon the king, in his wrath, ordered him to be imprisoned, determined that though he would not believe of his own free will, he should be forced in despite of it both to hearken and to believe. Priscus, first making certain presents, besought a respite until his son's marriage to a Jewess of Marseilles was over, deceitfully promising afterwards to do the king's will. But in the meantime a dispute arose between him and Phatyr, one of the converted Jews who had become godsons of the king; and on the Sabbath, when Priscus, bound with a kerchief, and carrying naught made of iron, was proceeding to a place apart, to fulfil the laws of Moses, Phatyr came upon him and slew him with the sword, with all those in his company. After they were slain, this man took sanctuary, together with his servants, in the church of the holy Julian, which was in a street hard by.* While they remained there, the men heard that the king intended to spare their lord, but that they themselves were to be dragged from the church and put to death. Thereat one of them drew his sword, slew his own companions (his master had already taken flight), and afterwards issued from the church, sword in hand. But the people rushed upon him and did him cruelly to death. Phatyr received permission to return to the kingdom of Guntram, whence he had come; but a few days afterwards he was slain by the kinsmen of Priscus.

11 (18). Now Ansovald * and Domegisel, the envoys of King Chilperic who had been sent into Spain to inspect the dowry,* returned home. At this time[2] King Leuvigild was with the army against his son Hermangild, from whom he took the city of Merida. I have already set forth[3] how the prince had allied himself with the generals of the emperor Tiberius; this caused delays, so that the envoys returned late. When I saw them, I was eager to learn whether there was zeal for the faith among the few Catholics[4] remaining in that land. Ansovald gave me the following answer: 'Those now dwelling in Spain keep the Catholic faith unimpaired. But the king seeketh to expel it

[1] See above, ch. 5. [2] In 582. [3] V. 38. [4] *Christiani.*

by a new device. He cunningly pretendeth to pray at the tombs of the martyrs and in our churches; he even saith: "I am well persuaded that Christ is the Son of God, and equal to the Father. But I utterly refuse belief that the Holy Spirit is God, because in no Scriptures is this written." ' Alas! alas! what wickedness in this opinion, what poison in this belief! How it marks a mind depraved! And where, then, is that saying of the Lord: 'God is a Spirit',[1] and these words of Peter to Ananias: 'How hath it seemed good to thee to tempt the Holy Spirit? Thou hast lied, not to men, but to God'?[2] Where also the words of Paul, commemorating the mystical gifts of the Lord: 'But these worketh one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will'?[3] For he that doeth according to his own will is plainly in subjection to none. When Ansovald was come to Chilperic, an embassy from Spain followed, which from Chilperic went on to Childebert, and then returned home.

12 (19). King Chilperic had placed guards at the bridge over the Orge * in the territory of Paris to bar the passage of any who might come by stealth from his brother's kingdom, and prevent them from doing him a mischief. But the ex-duke Asclepius had warning in advance, and in a night attack put them all to death, and devastated the country near the bridge. When news of these events reached Chilperic, he sent messengers to the counts, dukes, and his other representatives,[4] ordering them to assemble an army and invade his brother's kingdom. But he was dissuaded from so doing by the counsel of certain trusty advisers, who said to him: 'These men have acted perversely, do thou act wisely. Send envoys to thy brother; if he be minded to redress the wrong, it is thou that profitest; but if he refuseth, then is time to consider what course thou wilt pursue.' The king admitted their argument and stayed the army. He then dispatched an embassy to King Guntram, who made complete amends, and sought full reconciliation with his brother.*

13 (20). This year[5] died Chrodin,* a man eminent in goodness and piety, and exceeding charitable; he relieved the

[1] John iv. 24.
[2] Acts v. 3, 4. The Latin is not identical with that of the Vulgate.
[3] 1 Cor. xii. 11. The text does not exactly agree with the Vulgate.
[4] The word used is *agentes*.
[5] In 582.

poor ; he right lavishly endowed churches and sustained the clergy. He would often lay out country estates, planting vineyards, building houses, and putting land under cultivation ; then he would invite bishops whose revenues were small, and after entertaining them at a banquet, distribute among them all the buildings, with the labourers and tilled lands, together with plate, hangings, utensils, servants and slaves, addressing them in this wise : ' Let all these things belong to the Church, that when the poor are thereby relieved, they may obtain grace for me at the hands of God.' Many other things of good report have we heard concerning this man which it were over long to relate. He passed away when he was over seventy years of age.

14 (21). In this year again appeared [1] the following portents. The moon was eclipsed. In the territory of Tours real blood flowed from broken bread. The walls of Soissons fell down. The earth quaked at Angers. Wolves entered the walls of Bordeaux, and without any fear of men devoured dogs. A fiery light was seen to traverse the sky. The city of Bazas was burned, so that the churches and the houses belonging to them were destroyed. We learned, however, that all the sacred vessels were saved from the flames.

22. King Chilperic appointed new counts to the cities taken from his brother,[2] and commanded that all the taxes from these towns should be paid to him. This, as I know, was duly done At this time Nonnichius, count of Limoges, arrested two men, who carried letters from Charterius, bishop of Périgueux,[3] containing much abuse against the king ; among other things the bishop wrote that he bewailed his own fall from heaven to hell, because he had passed from the dominion of Guntram to that of Chilperic. The count sent the letters, with the men under a close guard, to the king. Chilperic, without losing his temper, sent men to bring the bishop before him, wishing to find out by examination whether the charge was true or not. When he came, he was confronted with the men and the letters, and the king demanded of him whether he had sent them or not. He denied that he had sent them. The men were then asked from whom they received the letters ; they

[1] Cf. ch. 8 (14), above.
[2] Cf. ch. 7 (12), above.
[3] This was one of the towns in question.

named the deacon Frontonius. The bishop was questioned as to the deacon; he replied that this man was his particular enemy, and that the whole villainy was without doubt his work, since he had often made unjust attacks upon him. The deacon was forthwith summoned and questioned by the king, whereupon he made admissions which involved the bishop, saying: 'I wrote the letter at the bishop's bidding.' The bishop loudly protested, declaring that the deacon was ever devising how he might drive him from his bishopric. The king thereupon was moved to compassion, and leaving the decision to God, abstained from examining either of them more. He begged the bishop to pardon his deacon, and implored his prayers on his own behalf. Charterius was therefore sent back with honour to his city. Two months afterwards Count Nonnichius, who had sown the seeds of this scandal, died of a stroke. As he had no children, the king granted his property to various persons.

15 (23). After this a son[1] was born to Chilperic, who had buried so many sons. In honour of the event, the king commanded that the gates of the prisons should be opened, that the bond should be set free, and that fines due to the treasury should not be exacted. But in the after time this infant was the cause of great woe.*

16 (24). Fresh attacks were now made against Bishop Theodore.[2] Gundovald, who pretended to be the son of King Lothar, returned from Constantinople and landed at Marseilles. I may recall in brief certain facts about his origin.

He was born in Gaul, brought up very carefully, and instructed in letters. After the fashion of the Frankish kings, he wore his hair long * down his back. His mother presented him to King Childebert,[3] saying: 'Behold thy nephew, son of King Lothar, who hateth him. Receive him now, for he is of thy blood.' The king received the child, and kept him with him because he had no sons. But this was reported to King Lothar, who sent envoys to his brother with this request: 'Let the boy go, that he may come to me.' Childebert straightway sent the boy to Lothar, who, after he had looked on him, ordered his hair to be shorn, saying: 'This is no son of mine.' *

[1] Theuderic; cf. below, ch. 19 (27).
[2] Cf. ch. 11, above.
[3] Childebert I, king of Paris, son of Clovis.

After the death of King Lothar, Gundovald was received by King Charibert. Then Sigibert summoned him,* once more caused his hair to be cut off, and sent him to the city of Agrippina, which is now called Colonia.* He escaped from that place, let his hair grow long again, and made his way to Narses, who at that time held the chief command in Italy.* He there took a wife, begat sons, and betook himself to Constantinople. After long lapse of years, invited, as it is said, by a certain personage * to return to Gaul, he landed at Marseilles and was received by Bishop Theodore. From the bishop he obtained horses, and joined Duke Mummolus, who was then at Avignon, as I have above related.[1]

Duke Guntram [2] arrested Bishop Theodore, and imprisoned him on account of this affair, charging him with having introduced a foreigner * into Gaul and with the intention of subjecting a Frankish kingdom to imperial rule.[3] But it is said that the bishop produced a letter signed by the chief men of Childebert's kingdom, protesting at the same time that he had done nothing of himself, but had only obeyed the commands of his lords and superiors.* He was kept under guard in a cell, and not suffered to go near the church. But one night, while he was fervently praying to the Lord, the cell shone with an exceeding splendour, so that the count who guarded him * was seized with a great fear, and an immense globe of light appeared over him for the space of two hours. As soon as it was day, the count related these things to the others who were with him. Theodore was then taken before King Guntram, with Bishop Epiphanius,* who had fled from the Lombards, and was living at Marseilles ; he was accused of complicity in the same affair. The king examined them, but found them guilty of no offence. Nevertheless he ordered them to be kept in confinement, in which, after many sufferings, Epiphanius died. Gundovald withdrew to an island in the sea,[4] to await the issue of the matter. Duke Guntram divided the possessions of Gundovald with King Guntram's duke, and carried off with him, by common report, to Auvergne an immense weight of silver and other treasure.*

[1] Ch. 1.
[2] Guntram Boso (cf. V. 17 (24), now serving Childebert.
[3] i. e. that of the East Roman Empire.
[4] In the Mediterranean.

17 (25). At Tours, in the eighth year of King Childebert, on the eve of the kalends of February,[1] which was a Sunday, the bell had rung for matins. The people had risen and were on their way to church, when a great globe of fire fell with the rain from a cloudy sky, and traversed a great space of air. It gave forth so much light that all things were seen plain, as if it were midday ; then it was once more taken up into cloud and darkness followed. The waters rose beyond all wont ; the Seine and the Marne caused such flood round Paris that many a boat was wrecked between the city and the church of the holy Laurence.*

18 (26). Duke Guntram first went back to Auvergne with the aforesaid treasures, and then went to King Childebert. On his return with his wife and sons he was seized and detained by King Guntram, who said : ' It was by thy invitation that Gundovald was brought to Gaul ; that was the reason of thy visit to Constantinople a few years ago.' The other replied : ' It was thine own Duke Mummolus who received him, and kept him at his side at Avignon. Give me leave now, and I will bring him to thee ; then shall I be cleared from the charges brought against me.' The king answered : ' I will not suffer thee to depart except thou pay the penalty of thy misdeeds.' Then the other saw death near, and said : ' Behold my son ; take him, and let him be a hostage for that which I promise my lord the king. For if I bring not Mummolus to thee, I shall lose my young son.' Then the king suffered him to go, but kept the boy with him. The duke took with him men of Auvergne and Velay,* and set forth for Avignon. But the astute Mummolus had seen to it that no vessels but such as were in bad condition were ready for use on the Rhône, so that when, suspecting nothing, they embarked and pushed into the middle of the river, the vessels filled and sank. All on board were in great danger ; some escaped by swimming ; others reached the bank by seizing loose planks from the vessels ; many, who had less presence of mind, were drowned in the stream. Duke Guntram, however, reached Avignon. When Mummolus first entered the town, he had perceived that a small part was undefended by the Rhône, and had taken measures to lead a channel from the river so as to protect the

[1] A. D. 583, 31st January.

whole of the exposed part by water. Before it was done he had caused very deep pits to be dug there, which were now covered by water. When Guntram appeared, Mummolus called from the walls: 'If he is come in good faith, let him advance from one bank, while I will come from the other: then let him say what he hath in his mind.' When they had thus approached each other, Guntram spoke from the opposite bank, for the aforesaid channel from the river lay between them: 'If it be permitted, I will come over, for there are certain matters on which we should confer privily together.' 'Come, and fear naught,' said Mummolus. Guntram then entered the water with one of his comrades, who was weighed down by a heavy mail shirt and, coming to a pit in the channel, sank and was never seen again. Guntram was also sinking, being carried away by the swift current, when one of those standing on the bank held out a spear for him to grasp; in this way he reached the bank again. Thereupon, after bandying of high words, he and Mummolus departed each his own way. Guntram Boso now besieged the city with an army of King Guntram's, and this was reported to King Childebert, who was wroth that the duke acted thus without his authority * and sent the aforesaid Gundulf [1] to Avignon. Gundulf raised the siege and brought Mummolus to Clermont; but a few days later he returned to Avignon.

19 (27). King Chilperic now set forth for Paris on Easter Eve,[2] but to avoid the curse pronounced in the pact between his brothers and himself * on whichever of them should enter Paris without the consent of the others,[3] he caused the relics of many saints to be carried before him, and so came into the city. He kept the Easter feast with great cheer, and caused his son to be baptized. The boy was received from the font by Ragnemod, bishop of Paris,* and by the king's will was named Theuderic.

20 (28). The referendary Mark, of whom I have above spoken,[4] after amassing much treasure through unjust ingathering of taxes, was suddenly seized with pains in the side, whereupon he shaved his head,* and confessing his sins, gave up the ghost; his property was confiscated. They found in

[1] Cf. ch. *11*, above. [2] 18th April 583. [3] Cf. VII. 6.
[4] V. 21 (28), 26 (34).

his house great store of gold and silver, and many things of price ; but he himself carried away with him nothing but the harm of his own soul.

21 (29). The envoys sent to Spain [1] returned without clear answer, because Leuvigild was still with the army, warring against his eldest son.[2]

In the monastery of the holy Radegund a certain girl named Disciola, niece of the blessed Salvius, bishop of Albi,[3] died in the following manner. She had fallen ill, and the other sisters were nursing her, when the day came on which she should pass from the body. About the ninth hour, she said to the sisters : ' Lo ! now I feel myself made lighter ; behold, I have no pain ; now is no need more that with this tender care ye do me further service ; leave me, rather, that I may more readily fall asleep.' Hearing these words, the sisters withdrew awhile from her cell, but after a short time returned, and standing before her, waited to hear if she would say aught to them. But she spread out her hands, and asked a blessing from I know not whom, in these words : ' Bless thou me, holy servant of the High God ; to-day for the third time art thou troubled on my behoof. Wherefore, O holy one, endurest thou thus oft annoyance for the sake of a poor weak woman ? ' They asked her to whom she addressed these words, but she made them no reply. Then, after a short interval, she laughed out loud ; and so gave up the ghost. And behold ! a man possessed, who had come there to be healed for the glory of the blessed Cross,* plucked his hair with his hands, and dashed himself against the ground, crying : ' Alas, alas ! woe to us who have suffered such loss ! This soul should not have been thus snatched from us, and the chance denied us of seeking out evidence on our side.' When those present asked him the meaning of his words, he answered : ' Behold, the angel Michael hath taken this maiden's soul, and himself now beareth it to the heavens. And our prince, whom ye call the Devil, hath no part in her.' And later, those who washed her body told that it shone with a whiteness as of snow, so that the abbess could find in her store no linen that shone whiter. But she was wrapped in clean linen cloths, and committed to the grave.

[1] By Chilperic on the business of the princess Rigunth's betrothal.
[2] Hermangild. See above, ch. 11 (18). [3] Cf. V. 32 (44), 33 (50).

Another nun of this monastery saw a vision which she related to the sisters. She said that she seemed to be making a journey, and longed as she walked that she might come to a living spring. And as she was without knowledge of the way, a certain man came towards her, who said: 'If thou desirest to reach the living spring, I will guide thy steps.' She thanked him, and followed him as he went before. So, walking on, they came to a great spring the waters of which gleamed like gold, while the grass shone as it were with the lively rays of various gems. And the man said to her: 'Lo, here is the living spring that with so much toil thou hast sought. Drink thy fill of its streams, that it may become for thee a fount of living water springing to eternal life.' But while she drank eagerly of the waters, the abbess came, who disrobed her and clothed her in royal apparel, so glittering with light and gold and jewels that it might scarce be conceived. And the abbess said: 'It is thy spouse who sendeth thee these gifts.' After seeing such a vision, the nun was moved to the heart, and a few days afterwards prayed the abbess that a cell might be prepared in which she might be shut up in solitude. So was it quickly done, and the abbess said: 'Here is the cell prepared; what wouldst thou now?' The nun asked permission to live as a recluse. Which being granted, all the virgins assembled with much chanting, having their lamps lighted; thus was the maid escorted to her place, the blessed Radegund herself leading her by the hand. So, bidding all farewell, and kissing each in turn, she was enclosed in her cell. The door by which she entered was filled in, and there she now devotes her days to holy reading and to prayer.

30. In this year[1] the emperor Tiberius passed from the world, leaving to his peoples great grief over his death. For he was a man of the utmost goodness, ready in charity, just in his decisions, very cautious in forming judgement, looking down on no man, but embracing all in equal benevolence; loving all men, he was beloved of all. When he fell sick, and saw that he might not hope to live, he called to him the empress Sophia,* to whom he said: 'Behold, my days are fulfilled; now with thy counsel will I choose the man who should be head of the commonwealth. Choose we a strong

[1] The emperor had really died in the previous year (582).

man to follow me in so great a power.' The empress chose a certain Maurice, and said: 'This is a man both strenuous and wise, who hath many a time won victories over our enemies, doing battle for the State.' This she said, because she thought to espouse him after the emperor's death. But when Tiberius learned the thought of the empress that Maurice should be chosen, he commanded his own daughter to be decked with the imperial ornaments, and summoning Maurice to him, said: 'Behold, with the consent of the empress thou art chosen to be emperor. And that thou mayst be more firmly stablished, I give thee now my daughter.' Then the princess approached, and her father gave her to Maurice, with these words: 'Let my imperial power pass to thee with this maid; use it in prosperity, and remember ever to find thy joy in equity and justice.' Maurice received the young girl, and took her home; and after the marriage had been solemnized, Tiberius died. When the public mourning was over,* Maurice, arrayed in the diadem and fine linen, proceeded to the Hippodrome.[1] He was received with acclamations, and having given the people the usual largess, was confirmed in possession of the empire.

22 (31). King Chilperic now received envoys from his nephew Childebert, at the head of whom was Egidius, bishop of Reims.[2] When they were introduced, and permission to speak was given, they said: 'Our lord thy nephew asketh of thee that the peace which thou hast made with him may be in all ways preserved. But with thy brother[3] he can have no peace, because, after their father's death, he took from him a part of Marseilles,* and keepeth fugitives, refusing to send them back.[4] For this cause thy nephew Childebert desireth to preserve unimpaired the friendly feeling which now bindeth him to thee.' Chilperic made reply: 'In many things my brother', said he, 'is proven guilty. For if my son[5] Childebert will inquire how one event came of another, he will forthwith discover that King Guntram was privy to his father's[6] death.' At these words Bishop Egidius said: 'If thou join forces with

[1] Cf. V. 23 (30). [2] V. 12 (18); ch. 3, above. [3] King Guntram.
[4] To Austrasia.
[5] Chilperic had proposed to adopt Childebert after the death of his own sons. Cf. ch. 3, above.
[6] i. e. the death of Sigibert.

thy nephew and he with thee, and ye march together against him, the vengeance due shall be the quicker taken.' An agreement was confirmed by oath and hostages were exchanged, after which the embassy departed.

Trusting in their promises, Chilperic assembled his own army and came to Paris, where his sojourn proved exceeding costly to the inhabitants. But Duke Berulf,[1] with the men of Tours, Poitiers, Angers, and Nantes, marched to the territory of Bourges. Desiderius and Bladast, with the whole strength of the province entrusted to them,* invested the territory on the other side, causing great devastation along the line of their march. Chilperic bade the army which had come to join him pass through Paris, and when it was gone through, he himself followed, and came to the strong place of Melun,* committing all to flames and devastation. Though the army of his nephew had not joined him, dukes and envoys of Childebert were in his company. He then sent messengers to the aforesaid dukes, saying: ' Enter the territory of Bourges, advance to the city, and exact oaths of allegiance in my name.' But the men of Bourges, to the number of fifteen thousand, gathered at Châteaumeillant,* and did battle against Duke Desiderius; and there was made so great a slaughter, that of the two armies more than seven thousand fell. The two dukes with the remainder of their force pushed on to the city, doing havoc and ravaging on all sides; and there was wrought devastation beyond all that is told of ancient times. There remained not a house, nor a vineyard, nor a tree; all was cut down or ruined. They even carried off the sacred vessels from the churches and burned the churches themselves with fire. But King Guntram came up with an army against his brother,* putting all his hope in the judgement of God. And on a day, towards evening, his army advanced and destroyed the greater part of the host of Chilperic. In the morning they sent men to parley, and made peace, each promising that whichever had exceeded the bounds of law should pay such composition to the other as their bishops and chief subjects should decide. So they parted in peace. King Chilperic, finding it impossible to keep his army from plundering, put the count of Rouen to the sword,* after which he returned to Paris, leaving behind all his booty, and

[1] Cf. V. 49; VIII. 26.

setting the prisoners free. But when the forces which were besieging Bourges received the order to return home, they brought away with them such vast spoil that the whole region, after they had left it, seemed void alike of man and beast. The army of dukes Desiderius and Bladast, on their entry into the territory of Tours, was in the same way guilty of such burning, pillaging, and manslaying as commonly are wrought only in an enemy's country ; they further carried off captives, most of whom they released after stripping them of all that they had. This disaster was followed by a sickness among the herds, so that scarce a head of cattle was left, until it was a strange thing to see a horse or set eyes upon a heifer.

During these events King Childebert remained with his army in one place. But when one night the army was ordered to march, the lower ranks raised loud murmurs * against Bishop Egidius and the king's dukes. There were shouts and open cries : ' Away out of the king's presence with those who sell his kingdom, subject his cities to another master, and deliver over our prince's people to foreign rule.' The next morning, still shouting these and the like threats, they seized their arms and rushed to the king's tent to lay hands upon the bishop and the persons of rank, use them roughly, beat them or wound them with their swords. But the bishop was warned of their intent ; he took flight, mounted his horse, and set off for his own city.[1] The mob followed in an uproar, casting stones and loudly venting their abuse. The one thing that saved him was that the pursuers had no horses ready. As it was, the horses of his companions flagged, and the bishop alone reached the goal, in such panic that he never troubled to fasten one of his boots that slipped from his foot. In this state he reached his city of Reims and shut himself up within its walls.

23 (32). A few months earlier, Leudast[2] arrived in the territory of Tours bringing a royal order that his wife should be restored to him, and that he should be allowed to settle there. He also brought me a letter signed by several bishops, recommending me to admit him to communion again. But as I saw nothing of any letter from the queen,[3] to whom his exclusion was chiefly due, I put off his readmission, and said : ' When I receive an order from the queen, then I will delay

[1] Reims. [2] Cf. V. 47–49. [3] Fredegund.

no longer to take him back.' Meanwhile I sent a message to her, and she returned me a written answer to this effect: 'Yielding to the pressure of several persons, I could do naught but let him go. But now I request thee not to permit him to reconcile himself with thee, or to receive consecrated bread from thy hand * until we have more fully weighed the course which we ought to pursue.' When I read this letter, I feared there might be intent to slay him. I summoned his father-in-law and informed him of all, beseeching him to put Leudast on his guard until the queen's wrath should be assuaged. I gave him this advice for the love of God, in all sincerity, but he suspected a trap and, as he was still my enemy, would not do as I bade him. So was fulfilled a saying that once I heard from the lips of an old man: 'To friend and enemy alike, give ever good advice, for the friend will take it, and the enemy reject it.' Spurning, therefore, my counsel, Leudast went to the king, who then was with his army in the district of Melun, and besought the army to intercede with him, that he would give him audience. All the people pleading his cause, the king admitted him to his presence, when he prostrated himself at his feet and besought pardon. The king thereon replied: 'Be cautious a while, until I have seen the queen, and some way hath been found to restore thee to her good grace, for thou art guilty of much against her.' Leudast, reckless and irresponsible as ever, was full of confidence through having thus been received in audience. He returned with the king to Paris, and on a Sunday in the holy church cast himself at the queen's feet, imploring her forgiveness. But she, furious, and abominating the very sight of him, thrust him from her, and cried amid her tears: 'Since I have no son left me to take up my cause, to Thee, Lord Jesus, do I commit it.' Then, throwing herself at the king's feet, she went on: 'Woe is me that I see mine enemy face to face, and may not prevail against him.' Leudast was expelled from the holy place, and Mass was celebrated. But when the king and queen came out from the holy church, Leudast followed them into the street, without suspecting what should befall him. He went about among the merchants' houses, examined the precious things, had silver weighed, and caused divers ornaments to be shown him, saying: 'This and this will I buy,* for I have yet good store of gold and silver.'

While the words were yet in his mouth, the queen's servants came up, and would have put him in chains. But he unsheathed his sword, and wounded one of them; whereupon the rest, in their fury, seized sword and shield, and rushed upon him. One of them levelled a blow which cut away the skin and hair, laying bare the greater part of his head. He took to flight over the city bridge, but his foot slipped between two of the planks which form the bridge, and he broke his leg. He was thus captured; his hands were then bound behind his back, and he was committed to prison. The king commanded that he should be kept by the doctors until such time as he should be healed of these wounds, and then be subjected to a lingering torture.* He was taken to a royal domain, reduced to the last extremity, his wounds being already festered. But by the queen's orders he was laid on the ground upon his back, and a great bar was placed under his head, while with a second they struck him upon the throat.* So did a perfidious life meet a fitting end.

24 (33). In the ninth year of King Childebert,[1] King Guntram himself restored to his nephew the part of Marseilles belonging to him.[2]

Envoys of King Chilperic returned from Spain with the news that the province of Carpitania had been ravaged by locusts, so that there remained not a tree, not a vine, not a thicket, not a crop, no, not any green thing which the locusts had not destroyed. They further reported that the enmity which had sprung up between Leuvigild and his son[3] was now in full violence. The pest had also devastated various regions, but raged with especial fury in the city of Narbonne.* Three years had passed since it had won a hold there, and it seemed to have died out; but now the returning fugitives were once more consumed by the disease; the city of Albi in like manner suffered very greatly under this plague.[4]

In those days there appeared at midnight in the northern sky a multitude of rays which shone with an exceeding splendour; they came together, went apart again, and vanished in all directions. So brilliant was the heaven towards the north that it seemed the breaking of the dawn.

[1] A. D. 584.
[2] Cf. ch. 22 (31), above.
[3] Cf. chs. 11 (18) and 21 (29), above.
[4] Cf. VII. 1.

34. Once more came envoys from Spain. They brought gifts, and in conference with King Chilperic formally arranged the betrothal of his daughter [1] to the son of King Leuvigild,[2] according to the previous understanding.[3] The agreement made, and all points settled, the envoy * took his departure.

But now a new sorrow befell King Chilperic as he left Paris for a visit to the territory of Soissons. His son, who a year before had been washed in the water of holy baptism,[4] was attacked by dysentery and breathed his last: this therefore was the event prefigured by the bright light which escaped out of the cloud, as I have above recounted. They returned with infinite lamentation to Paris, and gave the boy burial; thereupon they sent after the envoy, bidding him return, that the execution of the agreement might be postponed. For the king said: 'Behold, I bear a burden of lamentation in my home, and how shall I celebrate the espousal of my daughter?'

At this time he was fain to have sent to Spain another daughter,[5] born to him by Audovera, and placed by him in the monastery of Poitiers. But she declined,* the blessed Radegund above all opposing the project, declaring: 'It is unseemly that a maid dedicated to Christ should return to the pleasures of the world.'

25 (35). While these things befell, it was told the queen that her dead son had been taken from her by witchcraft and incantations, and that the prefect Mummolus,* who had long been odious in her sight, was privy to the fact. It happened that the prefect was feasting in his house, and one from the court was lamenting that a boy dear to him had been carried off by the dysentery. The prefect answered: 'I have always at hand a herb which if one attacked by dysentery shall drink, he shall be made whole even though his case were desperate.' These words, reported to the queen, inflamed her to greater fury. She arrested and put to the torture sundry women of Paris, whipping them into a confession of all that they knew. They avowed that they were witches, and admitted that they had done many to death, adding this, which in my judgement is beyond belief: 'O queen, we have given thy son for the life of the prefect Mummolus.' * Thereat the

[1] Rigunth. [2] Recared. [3] Cf. ch. 21 (29), above. [4] Cf. ch. 19 (27), above.
[5] Basina; cf. IX. 39. Rigunth was his daughter by Fredegund.

queen caused to be applied yet fiercer tortures ; some of the women she had put to the sword, others burned, others fixed in the spokes of wheels so that their bones were broken. She then withdrew to the royal residence of Compiègne with the king, and there revealed to him all that she had learned regarding the prefect. The king sent messengers with the order that he should be brought before him. He was first examined, then loaded with chains and subjected to torture. He was hung on a beam with his hands bound behind his back, and in that posture questioned as to what he knew of these sorceries, but he confessed to none [1] of the misdeeds above related. Yet he did admit that he had often received from these women unguents and potions to win for him the favour of the king and queen. When he was taken down from this punishment, he called an executioner * to him, and said : ' Tell my lord the king that I feel no pain from all the tortures that I have undergone.' When the king heard this, he said : ' It must be true, then, that he is a sorcerer, if such punishment as this hath not hurt him.' Mummolus was next racked by rope and pulley and flogged with triple thongs until the very torturers were tired out. After this splinters were driven beneath the nails of his fingers and his toes. Not until the sword which was to cut off his head was on the point of falling did the queen grant him his life. But there followed an indignity not less bitter than death. For all that he possessed was taken from him, and he was sent in a cart to his native city of Bordeaux. On the way he had a rush of blood,[2] and was hardly able to reach his destination ; not long afterwards he breathed his last.

The queen now took and burned all the valuable things that had belonged to her dead boy, precious objects and garments of silk or furs ; it is said that they filled four carts. The gold and silver was melted down and so kept, that nothing might remain intact to recall the days of her mourning for her son.

36. Now Aetherius, bishop of Lisieux, of whom I have above spoken,[3] was expelled from his city and restored to it in the

[1] The text has *mihi*, but *nihil* must be the correct reading.
[2] *ictuatus sanguine.*
[3] There has been no previous mention of Aetherius in the *History.*

following way. There was a certain priest of Le Mans, given to fleshly lusts and overfond of women; one abandoned to gluttony, fornication, and all manner of uncleanness. This man, having formed a connexion with a certain woman, cut her hair short, and dressing her as a man, took her away to another city; he thought that among strangers he might not be suspected of fornication. She was a woman of free birth and came of a good stock. After some days her kinsfolk discovered what had occurred, and made haste to avenge the dishonour of their family. As soon as they found the priest, they bound him and cast him into prison; the woman they burned alive. But now, as the accursed thirst of gold has ever power over men,[1] they endeavoured to sell the priest, calculating that some one would be found to redeem him; if not, he would have to suffer the penalty of death.

When the matter came to the ears of Aetherius, he was moved to compassion, and by a payment of twenty pieces of gold saved the man from imminent death. The priest thus obtaining his life announced himself as a teacher of letters, promising the bishop to perfect in grammar any boys who might be entrusted to his charge. The bishop was rejoiced; he assembled the boys of the city, and handed them over to the priest to be taught. The man won a position of repute among the citizens; he was presented by the bishop with a piece of land and a vineyard, and was invited to the homes of his pupils. But the dog returned to his vomit; for he forgot his former wickedness, and lusted after the mother of one of the boys. She was a modest women, and told her husband, who summoned his relations. They put the priest to grievous tortures, and would have killed him, had not the bishop, once more moved to compassion, freed him and restored him to his place, administering a mild rebuke for all punishment. But this crooked mind was never to be bent to goodness. On the contrary, the fellow now became the enemy of the man who had more than once saved him from death. He conspired with the archdeacon of the city, and, pretending to be worthy of the bishopric, plotted the bishop's death. They suborned a cleric to strike him down with an axe; meanwhile they themselves went about everywhere, muttering, making secret

[1] Cf. IV. 32 (46).

friends, and promising rewards if the bishop should die and the conspirator should succeed him. But God in His mercy prevented their miserable plot, and by the swift power of His love ended the cruelty of these wicked men. One day the bishop had gathered labourers for the ploughing, and the aforesaid cleric with his axe kept following the bishop, who had not the faintest suspicion of his design. At last he noticed the man, and said : ' Why dost thou follow me so closely with this axe ? ' Then was the cleric stricken with fear, and fell at his feet, crying : ' Have no fear, priest of God. For know that I am sent by the archdeacon and the schoolmaster to smite thee with an axe ; but though several times I wished to do it, whenever I raised my right arm to strike, darkness covered my eyes, my ears were stopped, and my whole body shook and trembled. Moreover, my hands lost their cunning ; I could not do my desire ; but as soon as I let my arms hang idle, I felt no shadow of these things. Since, now, I was helpless in any wise to do thee harm, I know that the Lord is with thee.' At these words the bishop wept. Then, bidding the cleric keep silence, he returned home, and dined ; after the meal he went to repose on his bed, round which were many other beds occupied by his clergy.* Now those two evil men, no longer trusting the cleric, considered how they might finish their wickedness alone. They contrived new schemes by which they might either do the bishop to death or at least bring against him some charge which should drive him from his bishopric. About midnight, when all men slept, they broke into his chamber, shouting at the top of their voices that they had seen a woman issue from the room, whom they had let go that they might come forthwith to the bishop. What was this but the Devil's work and prompting, that led them to bring such a charge against so old a man, one now about seventy years of age ? Once again the aforesaid cleric was called to their aid, and without more ado the bishop was bound in chains by the hands of the very man from whose neck he had often struck the bonds,[1] and placed under strict guard by him whom not seldom he had rescued from filthy cells. But when he found that his enemies had forcibly prevailed against him, all straitened though he was in his chains,

[1] i. e. the dissolute priest.

he besought the pity of the Lord with tears. And soon his guards were overcome by sleep, and his bonds miraculously loosed; he went forth from his prison, he, the sinless, who had so often set the sinful free. Thereupon he made his escape and went over into King Guntram's territory. As soon as he was gone, those scoundrels, now freed from all restraint, hastened to King Chilperic to demand the bishopric, setting forth many charges against Aetherius, and ending with these words: 'Thou mayst perceive the truth of what we say, most glorious king, by his escape to thy brother's kingdom; he feareth the penalty of death for his crimes.' Chilperic did not believe them, and ordered them to go back to their city. Meanwhile the citizens sorrowed for their lost shepherd; they perceived that all which had befallen him was done of envy and covetousness. So they laid hands on the archdeacon and his satellite, and trounced them; they then petitioned the king that their bishop might be restored to them. Chilperic sent envoys to his brother, asserting that he had found no guilt in Aetherius. Then King Guntram, kindly as he ever was, and swift to mercy, gave him many presents, with a letter to all the bishops in his country, charging them for the love of God to give the stranger what comfort they could. Aetherius went his way through their cities and received from the bishops so much raiment and money that hardly might he bring all of it to his own city. So was fulfilled that which the apostle saith: 'To them that love the Lord all things work together for good.'[1] For his far journeying brought him riches, and his exile much plenty. On his return home, he was welcomed by the citizens with great honour, all weeping for joy and blessing God, who in the end had given back to their church so good a bishop.

37. Lupentius, abbot of the church at Javols of Privatus, saint and martyr, was summoned by Queen Brunhild and came before her. He is said to have been accused by Innocentius, count of the city, of speaking ill against the queen. After being examined upon this charge, he was found innocent of *lèse majesté*, and suffered to depart. But on his way home he was seized by the count, taken to the domain of Ponthion,* and cruelly handled. Once more he was dismissed, to continue

[1] Rom. viii. 28.

his journey, and once more his enemy fell upon him, after he had pitched his tent on the bank of the Aisne. He was borne down ; his head was cut off, placed in a sack weighted with stones, and thrown into the river. The trunk was tied to a piece of rock and sunk in the stream. But after a few days it was discovered by some shepherds, who drew it out of the water and prepared to give it burial. But while they were making all things ready, not knowing who the dead man was, lo ! suddenly appeared an eagle, which fetched up the sack from the river-bed and set it down on the bank. All who stood by marvelled ; they laid hold of the sack, eager to discover what it might contain, and found in it the head belonging to the body ; so they buried the two together. Men say that in our time a celestial light appears at this tomb, and that if any sick man prays there in faith, he goes on his way whole.

38. Theodosius, bishop of Rodez, successor to the holy Dalmatius,[1] died. The sharp rivalries and scandalous deeds over the succession in this church reached such a pitch that it was almost stripped of its sacred vessels and of its more valuable goods. The priest Transobad was rejected, and the choice fell on Innocentius, count of Javols,[2] who was supported by Queen Brunhild's influence. But no sooner had he assumed office, than he began to harass Ursicinus, bishop of Cahors, accusing him of having usurped parishes belonging to the church of Rodez. The dispute dragged on, and grew more bitter. When it had lasted some years, the metropolitan [3] convened the bishops of the province in council at Clermont. They decided that Ursicinus should keep possession of parishes which had never belonged to Rodez in the memory of man.* The decision was obeyed.

39. Remigius, bishop of Bourges, also died. After his passing, a fire destroyed the greater part of the city ; thus all that had survived the enemy's attack [4] now perished in the flames. Thereafter, Sulpicius, whom King Guntram favoured, was chosen bishop. When many came to the king with gifts in their hands, he is said to have answered them in the following words : ' We have not made it the custom of our reign to put

[1] Cf. V. *46*.
[2] See last chapter.
[3] Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges. Cf. next chapter.
[4] Cf. ch. 22 (31), above.

a bishopric up for sale, nor should it be yours to purchase one with bribes, lest we for our part be branded with the shame of taking filthy lucre, and ye for your part be likened to Simon Magus.* But as God hath foreknown, Sulpicius shall be your bishop.' So Sulpicius * was admitted to the priesthood, and succeeded to the bishopric of Bourges. He is a man of right noble blood, coming of a senatorial family, among the first in Gaul ; he is learned in rhetoric,* and second to none in poetic skill. He it was who summoned the above-mentioned council,[1] with regard to the parishes of Cahors.

26 (40). An envoy, named Oppila, came from Spain, bringing many gifts to King Chilperic. For Leuvigild, king of Spain, feared that King Childebert might march against him to avenge the affront offered to his sister.[2] She was sister of Childebert and consort of Hermangild, son of Leuvigild, who after capturing and imprisoning his son, left the princess with the Greeks.* This envoy arriving at Tours for the holy day of Easter, I questioned him, whether he was of our faith. He answered that he believed what Catholics believe. Thereupon he went with me to church, and attended Mass ; but he did not give the kiss of peace to our people, nor did he take part in the Holy Communion. It was plain that he lied when he called himself a catholic ; none the less, he was present at the banquet to which I had bidden him. When I asked him earnestly what he believed, he replied : ' I believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are equal in power.' I rejoined : ' If, as thou declarest, this is thy faith, what hindered thee from partaking in the sacrifice which we offer to the Lord ? ' ' I so acted ', he said, ' because ye wrongly use the word " glory ". For we follow St. Paul and say : " Glory be to God the Father and to the Son." But ye say : " Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ", whereas the doctors of the Churches teach that the Father was revealed to the world through the Son, as St. Paul saith : " Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory for ever and ever through Jesus Christ our Lord." ' [3] I answered : ' No catholic, I think, is ignorant that

[1] See preceding chapter.
[2] Ingund, daughter of Sigibert. See above, V. 28 (38).
[3] 1 Tim. i. 17. The text, but for one minor difference, agrees with the

the Father was proclaimed through the Son. But the Son after such wise proclaimed the Father in this world as by His own miracles to prove Himself God. It was necessary that the Father should send the Son down to earth to reveal the Godhead, in order that the world, which had refused belief to the prophets, the Patriarchs, and the very Giver of the law Himself, might at least yield it to the Son. Therefore is it needful that glory be given to God under distinction of Persons. For this cause we say: "Glory be to God the Father, who hath sent the Son; glory to God the Son, who by His blood redeemed the world; glory to the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth man redeemed." But thou, when thou sayest, "Glory be to the Father through the Son", takest away glory from the Son, as though He were not equal to the Father in glory because He proclaimed Him in the world. The Son, as I have said, proclaimed the Father in the world; but many did not believe, as St. John the Evangelist saith: "He came unto that which was His own, and His own people received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on His name." [1] But thou, who dost minish Paul the apostle and perceivest not his meaning, see how warily he speaketh, according to the understanding of each, observe his way of preaching to unbelieving peoples, that he may seem to lay too heavy a burden on no man, as he saith to some: "I have given you milk to drink, not food to eat; for ye were not yet able, and even now ye are not able.[2] But solid food is for them that are of full age." [3] And to others he saith: "I have preached nothing to you save Christ, and Him crucified." [4] But now what wouldst thou, O heretic? Because Paul preached only Christ crucified, wilt thou therefore doubt that Christ rose from the dead? Heed rather his caution, and mark his insight, how he speaketh to others whom he perceived stronger in the faith. "Yea," he saith, "though we have known Him crucified, yet now henceforth know we Him no more." [5] Deny therefore also, O accuser of Paul, if such madness seize thy mind, that Christ was crucified. But, I pray thee, leave these errors, and hearken

Vulgate down to the words 'for ever and ever'. The remaining words, crucial to the argument, are not in the Vulgate.

[1] John i. 12. [2] 1 Cor. iii. 2. [3] Heb. v. 14. [4] 1 Cor. ii. 2.
[5] 2 Cor. v. 16. The Vulgate has, 'have known Him after the flesh'.

to better counsel; apply a salve to thy bleared eye and take within thee the light of the apostle's preaching. Paul spake in lowlier wise only for man's sake, that so he might raise them to the height of a more exalted faith, even as he saith in another place: "I am become all things to all men that I might have gain of all." [1] Shall mortal man not give glory to the Son, whom the Father Himself glorified out of the heavens, not once, but twice and three times? Hear that which He spake from the heavens, what time the Son, at the descending of the Holy Spirit, was baptized by the hand of John: "This is My beloved Son," He saith, "in whom I am well pleased." [2] But if thine ears be stopped, that thou canst not hear these words, give heed to that which the apostles heard on the mount, when Jesus was transfigured in glory, and talked with Moses and Elias. For the Father spake from the splendour of the cloud: "This is My beloved Son; hear ye Him." [3] ' To these arguments the heretic rejoined: 'In the testimonies the Father saith naught of the glory of the Son; He doth but reveal Him as His Son.' I answered: 'If thou so understandest these things, I will set before thee other testimony, in which the Father glorifieth the Son. For when the Lord came to His Passion, He said to Him: "Father, glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee." [4] What answer then did the Father make from heaven? Was it not this: "I have glorified Thee, and will glorify Thee again"? [5] Behold, now, the Father with His own voice glorifieth Him, and shalt thou seek to take from Him His glory? For that, indeed, thou hast the will, but thou hast not the power. Thou that standest forth to accuse Paul the apostle, hear him, or hear rather Christ speaking through him: "Every tongue shall confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father." [6] But if now He shareth the glory of the Father, and if He is declared to be in that glory where now the Father is, how canst thou strip him of honour, as one devoid of glory? And wherefore should not honour be rendered to Him among men, when in heaven He reigneth equal in glory with the Father? We therefore confess that Christ, the Son of God, is very God; and therefore, as the Godhead is one, so also shall be the

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 22; differs from the Vulgate. [2] Matt. iii. 17.
[3] Matt. xvii. 5. [4] John xvii. 1. [5] *Ibid.* xii. 28. [6] Phil. ii. 11.

glory.' Hereupon we were both silent and the dispute came to an end. He proceeded to King Chilperic, and after presenting the gifts sent by the king of Spain, returned to that country.

27 (41). Now when King Chilperic heard that his brother Guntram and his nephew Childebert had made peace,[1] and intended together to take from him the cities which he had occupied by force, he withdrew with all his treasures to Cambrai, and took with him all other objects which he could most conveniently remove. And he sent messengers to his dukes and counts bidding them repair the walls of their cities, and shut themselves up with their wives and all their property within the fortifications. If need should be, they were stoutly to beat off the enemy and prevent him from doing harm. 'And if', he added, 'ye suffer any loss, ye shall have more than was taken from you in the hour when we revenge ourselves upon our foes'; this he said as if he knew not that victory lieth in the hand of the Lord. Afterwards he several times set his army in movement, but each time commanded it to abide within his own territory.

At this time a son was born to him, whom he ordered to be brought up in the royal domain of Vitry,* for fear that, if he were seen in public, the child might run risk of mishap, and even lose his life.*

28 (42). King Childebert now[2] marched into Italy.* On news of this, the Lombards, fearing defeat at the hands of his army, submitted to his authority; they gave him many gifts and promised him loyalty and obedience. Having thus achieved all that he wished, the king returned to Gaul, and commanded the assembling of an army which was to march against Spain; nevertheless he remained inactive. Some years before he had received fifty thousand pieces of gold from the emperor Maurice to rid Italy of the Lombards. The emperor now hearing of the peace just concluded with that people demanded the return of the money. But Childebert felt so secure in his strength that he would not even answer.

29[3] (43). In Galicia strange new events befell, the causes of

[1] Cf. above, ch. 33. [2] In 584.

[3] In the MS. XXIX is corrected to XXX. In any case the numeration is faulty.

which must be followed from the beginning. Hermangild, as above narrated,[1] had quarrelled with his father, and, with his consort, had fixed his quarters in a certain Spanish city, relying upon support from the emperor and from Mir, king of Galicia. But he now learned that his father was advancing against him with an army, and took counsel how he might repel or slay him. The unhappy prince knew not that the divine judgement impends over him who nurses such intent against his own sire, even if he be a heretic. After due deliberation, he picked three hundred men from the many thousands who followed him, and placed them in the fortified place of Osser, where the springs in the church are miraculously filled.* His plan was that these men should first attack his father, who would be alarmed and weakened, so that he could be more easily overcome by the great force of inferior troops. When this stratagem came to the ears of King Leuvigild, he was much perplexed in thought. 'If', said he, 'I go thither with my whole army, the men will be all massed together in one place and will suffer cruelly from the enemy's javelins. If, on the other hand, I go with a few, I cannot vanquish such a body of picked men.' In the end, he went with his whole force, reached the spot, and crushed the garrison ; he then burned the place, as I have related above.[2] After winning this victory, he learned that the army of King Mir was drawn up against him. Leuvigild surrounded him and made him swear loyalty to him in the future ; and, after exchange of presents, they departed each to his own country. Not many days after his return, Mir took to his bed and died ;[3] he had sickened by reason of the bad water and unwholesome air of Spain. After his death his son Euric sought the friendship of Leuvigild ; he took the same oaths as his father, and succeeded to the kingdom of Galicia. In the same year, Audica,[4] his kinsman, and wedded to his sister, came against him with an army. He took Euric prisoner, made him enter the Church, and ordered him to be consecrated deacon and priest. He then wedded his father-in-law's wife,[5] and took possession of the Galician kingdom. Leuvigild took prisoner his son Hermangild, brought

[1] V. 28 (38) ; ch. 11 (18), above.
[2] V. 28 (38) ; but the details are not there given.
[3] In 583. [4] Andica. [5] Sisegunth.

him to Toledo, and condemned him to banishment. The prince's consort,[1] however, he could not take from the hands of the Greeks.*

31 (44). In this year the locusts which for five years had ravaged the province of Carpitania [2] moved forward, following the great highway, and entered another and neighbouring province ; they covered a space fifty miles long by a hundred broad. In this year also many marvellous sights were seen in Gaul, and the people knew much desolation. Roses were seen in January ; the sun was encircled by a ring of various colours, like those of the rainbow after the fall of rain. Frost nipped the vines, doing great damage ; a tempest followed, which in many places made havoc of vines and crops. Then, what the hail had spared was consumed by a terrible drought ; in some vineyards a few grapes were seen here and there, in others there were none at all. Men were wroth with God ; they laid open the gates of their vineyards and turned in the cattle and horses, in their misery calling down ruin on themselves, and crying : ' Let no shoot grow from these stocks to the end of time ! ' Trees which in July had borne apples in September bore a second crop. Disease again and again fell upon the flocks, till scarce a beast remained.

32 (45). On the kalends of September [3] a numerous embassy of Visigoths came to Chilperic,[4] who, after his return to Paris,[5] ordered many households of serfs to be taken from various royal estates * and carried off in wagons. Many of them wept and were loath to go ; these he had imprisoned, that he might the more easily send them with his daughter. No small number are said to have hanged themselves in this bitter hour, dreading to be carried off from those near and dear to them. Son was torn from father, mother from daughter ; they parted with groans and curses ; such was the mourning in the city of Paris, that it might be compared to the lamentation of the Egyptians. Many among those forced to go were of good birth ; * these made their wills, leaving their property to the churches, and asking that, on the arrival of the princess in

[1] Ingund, sister of Childebert. Cf. above, 26 (40) ; V. 28 (38).
[2] Cf. above, ch. 24 (33).
[3] 1st September.
[4] To escort the king's daughter Rigunth to Spain, as future bride of Recared (ch. 34, above).
[5] From Cambrai.

Spain, the documents should at once be opened as if they themselves were dead and buried.

Meanwhile envoys from King Childebert came to Paris, warning King Chilperic to remove nothing from the cities which he had taken from his brother's kingdom,[1] and bidding him beware of laying a finger on any slaves, or horses, or yokes of oxen, or any other such property. One of these envoys is said to have been secretly murdered; it was unknown by whom, but the king's influence was suspected. King Chilperic promised that he would touch none of these things, and invited the chief among the Franks and other of his loyal subjects to celebrate the betrothal of his daughter.[2] He then gave her great treasures, and entrusted her to the envoys. Her mother also brought out an immense weight of gold and silver, with fine raiment; so much, that at sight of it the king deemed nothing was left to him. The queen, seeing him vexed, turned to the Franks and said: 'Think not that anything here is taken from the treasures of former kings; everything before your eyes I am presenting from my own possessions. For the most glorious king hath given to me generously; but somewhat I have amassed from my own resources, and much I have acquired from the houses granted to me, derived both from the revenues and from the taxes. And ye, too, have yourselves oft-times given me a wealth of gifts; from these sources come the things that now lie before you; nothing here is taken from the public treasure.' By these words the king was cozened. Such was the multitude of things, that the gold, silver, and other ornaments filled fifty wagons. Moreover, the Franks themselves brought many presents, some gold, some silver, some horses; many offered raiment; each gave according to his means. And now the bride, after tears and embraces, said her farewells; but as she drove out of the gate an axle of her carriage[3] broke, whereupon all cried, 'O evil hour!'* and this was taken as an ill omen by many.

The princess, leaving Paris behind, ordered her tents to be pitched at the eighth milestone from the city. That night fifty men arose, and taking a hundred of the best horses and the like number of golden bridles,* together with two large

[1] The kingdom of Sigibert, Chilperic's brother and Childebert's father.
[2] Rigunth.
[3] *Carruca.*

basins, escaped and made off to King Childebert. And all the way along, if any man saw a chance of getting away, he took to flight, carrying off with him whatever he could lay his hands upon. Great store of supplies was provided at the cost of the different cities upon the road ; the king had given no orders that any of the expense should be borne by the treasury ; all was collected from the poor inhabitants. As the king feared that his brother or his nephew might lay some ambush for his daughter, he had commanded an army to act as her escort. With her went men of the highest rank. Duke Bobo,[1] son of Mummolen, with whom was his wife, went as conductor of the bride ; * there went also Domigisel, Ansovald,[2] and Waddo, mayor of the household,* formerly count of Saintes ; the mass of the escort numbered more than four thousand men. All the other dukes and chamberlains * who had accompanied the princess turned back at Poitiers ; but the above named, who were to go the whole distance, pushed forward as best they could. On their way they robbed and plundered in a way beyond all description. They pillaged the cottages of the poor, ruined the vineyards by cutting off the vine-stems with the grapes upon them, drove off the herds, and seized everything else within their reach. So was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet Joel : ' That which the locust hath left hath the rust eaten ; and that which the rust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten ; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the blight eaten.' [3] In all that was done at this time, it was as if the storm levelled what the hoar-frost left, the drought burned up what the storm left, the foe carried off what remained after the drought.

33 (46). While these men pursued their way with all this plunder, Chilperic, the Nero and Herod of our time, proceeded to the domain of Chelles, about a hundred stadia [4] from Paris, and went a-hunting. One day, on his return from the chase as the night drew on, he was alighting from his horse, with one hand resting on a servant's shoulder, when some man unknown * came up and first struck him under the armpit, then with a second blow stabbed him in the stomach. At once

[1] Cf. Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 14. [2] Cf. V. 3, *47* ; VI. 11 (18).
[3] Joel i. 4. The order of the words differs from that in the Vulgate.
[4] Between 11 and 12 miles.

blood streamed both from his mouth and from the gaping wound, and so he breathed out his wicked soul.

The evil which he did is set forth in the earlier part of this History. Many a region did he lay waste and burn again and again ; whereat he felt no grief, but rather pleasure, like Nero, who of old sang play-verses amid the flames of his palace. Many a time did he unjustly punish men, to confiscate their goods. In his days few priests were raised to bishoprics.* He gave himself over to gluttony, and his god was his belly. No man, he would declare, was cleverer than he. He wrote two books in verse, taking Sedulius as his model ; * but as, in his ignorance, he put short syllables for long and long for short, his feeble lines had no feet to stand on. He wrote other short pieces, hymns and chants for the Mass ; but by no possibility could they have been used. He hated the cause of the poor. Ever he spoke evil of the priests of the Lord ; [1] and in his private hours no men were more often the butt of his ridicule and his jests than the bishops. To one he imputed levity, to a second arrogance, to a third excess, to a fourth loose living ; one bishop he would call a vain fool, another pompous. He hated nothing so much as the churches. He would often say : ' See how poor our treasury always is ! Look how the churches have drained our riches away ! Of a verity, none ruleth at all, save only the bishops. Our royal office is lost and gone ; it hath passed to the bishops in their cities.' So thinking, he ever made it his habit to tear up all wills made in favour of churches ; often he would trample upon the diplomas of his own father,[2] thinking that there was left no man to carry out that king's intentions. The mind can conceive no lust or debauchery that this man did not practise. He was ever on the watch for new ways of torturing the people ; when he found a man guilty, he ordered the eyes to be torn out of his head. The instructions which he issued to the judges in his own affairs he would close with this sentence : ' If any shall disregard our decrees, let him be punished by the tearing out of his eyes.' Never a soul did he love in singleness of heart ; by none was he himself beloved. And so when he breathed his last all men abandoned him. Only Mallulf, bishop of Senlis,

[1] *Sacerdotes Domini*, meaning the bishops.
[2] Lothar I.

remained, who for three days had camped in his tent,* waiting there for an audience. He came at news of the murder, and washed the body, putting upon it seemlier garments. He passed the night chanting hymns ; on the next day, embarking the corpse in a vessel, he buried it in Paris, in the church of the holy Vincent.[1] But Fredegund the queen remained in the cathedral church.*

HERE ENDS THE SIXTH BOOK OF GEORGIUS FLORENTIUS, OR GREGORY, BISHOP OF TOURS

TO GOD BE THANKS GIVEN

[1] Afterwards Saint-Germain-des-Près. Cf. above, IV. 13 (20).

BOOK VII

[BOOK THE SEVENTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK

I. Of the death of the holy bishop Salvius.

II. Of the conflict between the men of Chartres and the men of Orleans.

III. Of the death of Vedast, surnamed Avius.

IV. How Fredegund took refuge in the church, and concerning the treasures conveyed to Childebert.

V. How King Guntram came to Paris.

VI. How the same king subdued the territory that once was Charibert's.

VII. How the envoys of Childebert demanded the surrender of Fredegund.

VIII. How the king besought the people that he might not be slain like his brothers.

IX. How Rigunth was robbed of her treasures and kept in durance by Duke Desiderius.

X. How Gundovald was raised on the shield, and concerning Rigunth, daughter of King Chilperic.

XI. Of portents that appeared.

XII. Of the fire in a quarter of Tours, and of the miracles of the holy Martin.

XIII. Of fire and sack at Poitiers.

XIV. Of the embassy sent by King Childebert to King Guntram.

XV. Of the wickedness of Fredegund.

XVI. Of the return of Bishop Praetextatus.

XVII. Of Bishop Promotus.

XVIII. How the king was told to beware of being slain.

XIX. How the queen was commanded to withdraw to a country estate.

XX. How she sent an emissary to kill Brunhild.

XXI. Of the flight and guarding of Eberulf.

XXII. Of this man's wickedness.

XXIII. Of a Jew slain with his companions.

XXIV. Of the plundering of the city of Poitiers.
XXV. How Marileif was despoiled.
XXVI. How Gundovald made a progress through the cities.
XXVII. Of the outrage to Bishop Magnulf.
XXVIII. How the army advanced.
XXIX. Of Eberulf's death.
XXX. Of the envoys sent by Gundovald.
XXXI. Of the relics of the holy Sergius the martyr.
XXXII. Of other envoys from Gundovald.
XXXIII. How Childebert came to his uncle Guntram.
XXXIV. How Gundovald went to Convenae.
XXXV. Of the church of the holy Vincent the martyr, plundered by men of Agen.
XXXVI. Of the parley of Gundovald with the army.
XXXVII. Of the attack upon the city.
XXXVIII. Of the slaying of Gundovald.
XXXIX. Of the death of Bishop Sagittarius and of Mummolus.
XL. Of the treasures of Mummolus.
XLI. Concerning a giant.
XLII. Of the miraculous power of the holy Martin.
XLIII. Of Desiderius and Waddo.
XLIV. Of the woman possessed by a spirit of prophecy.
XLV. Concerning the famine of this year.
XLVI. Of the death of Christopher.
XLVII. Of the civil strife between citizens of Tours.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 584 to 585.]

NOTE.—In the above List the numbers of the chapters have been altered so as to accord with those in the text.

HERE BEGINS THE SEVENTH BOOK

ALTHOUGH I am fain to continue this History from the point reached in the foregoing books, a feeling of veneration bids me first say somewhat on the death of the holy Salvius, who died, as is well known, in this year.[1] As he himself used to relate, he remained long a layman, pursuing worldly affairs, yet never enslaved by the passions wont to snare the mind of youth. But when the sweet breath of the Spirit had touched his heart, he abandoned the world's service and entered a monastery. Now, in his maturity, given wholly to divine things, he knew it better to bear poverty in the fear of God, than to follow after the gains of this transient world. He dwelled long in his monastery under the rule instituted by the Fathers.* But on the death of the abbot presiding over that house, he accepted the charge of feeding the flock, being then in the full force of his age and his powers. But just when, as abbot, he ought to have gone more among the brethren than before for their admonishment, he in fact became more distant. He sought out a more secret cell, though even in the former one, as he himself used to declare, he had been so consumed by excess of fasting that his skin had been renewed more than nine times. Despite his new dignity, he remained content with this frugality, ever occupied with prayer and reading of the Scriptures; but the thought kept coming into his mind that it were better for him to live wholly hidden among his monks, than to bear the title of abbot in the sight of men. Enough said. He became an anchorite, bidding the brothers farewell, and himself receiving their last greetings. In this utter seclusion he lived in greater abstinence than ever; but was careful, in obedience to the law of charity, to give all guests from without his prayers, and with readiest kindliness to offer them bread of oblation,* by which many a time sick men were made whole.

Upon a day, when he lay upon his bed exhausted by much

[1] 10th September 584.

fever and gasping for breath, lo! the cell shone with a great light, and was shaken. But he stretched forth his hands to heaven, and in the act of giving thanks breathed forth his spirit. The monks and his own mother, blending their lamentations, bore out his body, washed it, robed it, and placed it on the bier; then, chanting psalms and shedding tears, they watched out the livelong night. But at dawn, when all was made ready for the burying, the body stirred upon the bier. And behold, colour came back to his cheeks; he roused himself as one startled from a deep sleep, and opening his eyes and lifting up his hands, he cried: 'O Lord of mercy, what hast Thou done to me, suffering me to return to this dark place of our earthly habitation, when it were better for me to know Thy compassion in heaven than the worthless life of this world.' While all stood amazed, asking what so great a miracle should mean, he answered them nothing, but rose up from the bier, feeling no ill trace of the malady from which he had suffered, and remained three days without food or drink. On the third day he called to him the monks and his mother, and spoke thus: 'Hearken, beloved, and understand that the things which ye behold in this world are naught; they are even as Solomon the prophet sang: "All things are vanity."[1] Happy is he who hath so wrought in the world as to behold the glory of God in heaven.' Having said this, he hesitated whether he should continue, or keep silence. And as he held his peace, the brothers prayed him urgently to describe what he had seen, so he went on as follows: * 'When, four days ago, the cell shook, and ye saw me lifeless, two angels took me up, and bore me to the height of heaven until I seemed to have beneath my feet, not this squalid earth alone, but the sun and moon, the clouds and the stars also. Then was I led through a gate that shone more brightly than this daylight, into an abode whose floor gleamed like gold and silver, where was light ineffable, and spaciousness beyond all telling. It was filled with such a throng of spirits without sex that the eye was all unable to embrace the multitude of them in its length and breadth. And when the angels who guided me had made a way for us through the press of them, we came out to a place upon which we had gazed from the distance, where there hung

[1] Eccles. i. 2.

a cloud more luminous than all light, where neither sun nor moon nor star was to be seen, but it shone more splendid than natural light ; and a voice proceeded from the cloud like the voice of many waters.[1] There I, sinner that I am, was greeted in lowly wise by men in priestly and lay apparel ; these my guides declared to be martyrs and confessors, whom here on earth we honour with the humblest worship. As I stood on the spot where I was bidden, there came over me a fragrance of such exceeding sweetness, that after the refreshment of it I needed neither food nor drink. And I heard a voice saying : ' Let this man go back into the world, since our churches have need of him.' The voice indeed was heard, but He who spake might in no wise be seen. Then I prostrated myself upon the pavement, and cried with tears : ' Alas, Lord, alas ! wherefore hast Thou shown me these things to take them from me ? For behold Thou dost cast me out to-day from before Thy face to return to the perishable world without power to come hither again. O Lord, take not from me Thy mercy, I entreat Thee, but suffer me, I beseech Thee, here to abide, lest, falling to earth again, I perish.' And the voice which spake to me said : ' Go in peace. For I shall be thy guardian until I bring thee back into this place.' Thereupon, forsaken by my companions, and descending with tears through the gate by which I had entered, I came hither once again.' As he said these words, all present were amazed, but the holy man of God wept and proceeded thus : ' Woe is me that I have dared to reveal so great a mystery. For behold the sweet fragrance which I drew from that holy place, by which I was sustained three days without food and drink, is gone back from me. Moreover my tongue is covered with sores, and so swollen that it seemeth to fill all my mouth. And I know that it was not well pleasing to the Lord my God that these mysteries should be revealed. But thou knowest, Lord, that from singleness of heart and not from vainglory I did this thing. But I pray Thee to have mercy and not to forsake me, according to Thy promise.' After these words he said no more, and received food and drink. Now, as I write down these things, I fear that they may seem beyond belief to some who read ; as Sallust, the historian, says : that when we record the virtue or the glory of good men, the

[1] Cf. Rev. xiv. 2.

reader will readily approve such things as he deems that he himself might do, but such things as are beyond these he holds untrue.[1] Now I call Almighty God to witness that everything here related I myself heard from the lips of Salvius.

A long time after these events, this holy man was dragged from his cell, elected bishop, and consecrated against his will. It was, I think, after he had been bishop ten years that the plague raged at Albi,[2] and the majority of the inhabitants had died of it. But though only a few citizens were left, the holy man, like a good shepherd, refused to stir from the town, but remained there exhorting those who were left to be earnest in prayer, to persevere in vigils without ceasing, and in thought and deed to follow after that which is good, saying: 'So act, that if God will you to leave this present world, ye may enter not into His Judgement, but into His peace.' And when, as my faith is by divine revelation, he knew that the hour was come for him to be called, he himself prepared his own coffin, washed his body, and put on his shroud; even so, his mind ever fixed upon heaven, did he render up that blessed spirit. He was a man of great holiness and without greed, never willing to have gold; if he was compelled to take any, he straightway distributed it among the poor. In his time Mummolus the patrician[3] led many away into captivity from the city,* but Salvius followed, and redeemed them all. And the Lord granted him such influence with those people, that even the captors remitted him some part of the ransom and made him presents as well. In this manner he restored his captive countrymen to their former liberty. Many other good deeds have I heard tell of this man; but I must now once more take up the thread of my history, and therefore I pass the greater part of them by.

2. Now when Chilperic was no more, having at last met the death which he had so long called down on himself, the men of Orleans and Blois joined forces and fell upon those of Châteaudun, overwhelming them by a surprise attack. Houses, stores of corn, and all that could not readily be moved, they burned; the flocks and herds they drove off, and they took with them everything which they could carry. When they

[1] *Catiline*, ch. 3.
[2] *Morbus inguinarius*. Cf. VI. 24 (33).
[3] Cf. IV. 29 (42), 30 (44).

were departed, the men of Châteaudun, with the other inhabitants of the territory of Chartres, followed them up and requited them in the same measure with which they had meted, leaving nothing within their houses or without, yea, nothing of the very houses themselves. But as the feud raged on, fanned by new quarrels, and the men of Orleans began threatening war for a new attack, the counts interposed, and there was truce until the case could be properly heard; they were to keep the peace until the day when judgement could be given, and the side convicted of unjustly starting the affray should pay a composition in due course of justice. So was an end made to this fighting.

3. Vedast, surnamed Avius, was now committing many crimes in the territory of Poitiers. Some years ere this [1] he had murdered Lupus and Ambrosius for love of the latter's wife, and had married this woman, who was said to be his own cousin. There was a casual encounter between him and Childeric [2] the Saxon * in a certain place, when each had provoked the other with taunts, and a follower of Childeric ran Avius through with a spear. Forthwith he fell to the ground, stricken with many wounds, and from loss of blood rendered up his wicked soul; thus did the divine Majesty avenge the innocent blood which this man had shed with his own hand. This wretch was guilty of many robberies, murders, and adulteries, on which I deem it best to be silent. Notwithstanding, the Saxon compounded with his sons for his death.

4. In the meantime the widowed queen Fredegund arrived in Paris and took refuge in the cathedral [3] under protection of Bishop Ragnemod, with the treasure which had been safely deposited for her within the city walls. Her remaining treasures had been left at Chelles, and included the large gold salver which Chilperic had recently caused to be made; [4] they were now removed by officials of the treasury,* who at once went off to King Childebert, then sojourning in Meaux.

5. Queen Fredegund, as her friends advised her, sent envoys to King Guntram with this message: 'Let my lord come and take the kingdom of his brother. I have', she said, 'a tender infant, whom I long to place in his arms; myself, too, I would

[1] Cf. VI. 13. [2] Cf. VIII. 18; X. 22. [3] *Ecclesia.*
[4] Cf. VI. 2.

submit to his governance.' When Guntram received news of his brother's death, he wept most bitterly. But when his lamentation was stilled he levied an army and marched to Paris. He had already been received within the walls, when King Childebert, his nephew, arrived from another quarter.

6. But the people of Paris being unwilling to receive him, that king sent envoys to Guntram bearing this message: 'I know, dearest of fathers, that it is not hidden from thy goodness, how until now we have both suffered under the wrong of a hostile party,* so that neither of us might have justice in the matter of that which was his due. Therefore I now entreat thee that the agreement [1] binding us since the death of my father may be maintained.' But King Guntram gave the reply: 'O miserable and ever false, having nothing of truth in you, and abiding by no promise, see how ye had abandoned every pledge made to me, and drawn up a new agreement with King Chilperic to expel me from my realm and to divide my cities between these kings.* Behold the pacts themselves, behold your own signatures confirming the agreement. With what face can ye now ask it of me as a duty to receive with favour my nephew Childebert, whom, in your perversity, ye wished to make my enemy.' The envoys answered: 'If anger so master thy soul that thou wilt yield thy nephew none of the things which thou hast promised, cease, at least, to withhold from him the portion of Charibert's kingdom which falleth to him.' The king made answer: 'Here are the agreements made between us to the effect that whichever of us should enter Paris without consent of his brothers should thereby forfeit his share; and that the martyr Polyeuctes, with the confessors Hilary and Martin, should be judges and avengers of transgression.* Yet after this pact my brother Sigibert entered the city, and died by the judgement of God, forfeiting his portion.[2] Chilperic acted in like manner.[3] Both of them by these transgressions forfeited their shares. Since, therefore, they have suffered God's doom, and the curse threatened in the pact, I intend, as the law alloweth, to take under my jurisdiction the whole kingdom of Charibert and all his treasures; nor will I make any grant of them, save as a free act of

[1] Cf. VI. 19 (27). [2] Cf. IV. 35 (50). [3] Cf. VI. 19 (27).

grace. Depart from me, therefore, O ye liars and traitors, and bear my answer to your king.'

7. The envoys having departed, other ambassadors came from Childebert to the aforesaid king, demanding the surrender of Queen Fredegund in these words: 'Give up to me this murderess, who suffocated my aunt,[1] who did to death my father[2] and my uncle,[3] and put my cousins to the sword.'[4] But Guntram replied: 'We will decide all in the assembly which we shall hold, after discussing what is proper to be done.' For he had taken Fredegund under his protection, many times inviting her to his table, and promising her to be her chief defender. Now on a certain day, when they feasted at the board together, the queen rose and took her leave, but he sought to detain her, calling upon her to partake of something more. She answered: 'Suffer me to rise, my lord, I pray thee of thy grace; * it is that I have conceived; it hath befallen me according to the manner of women.' When the king heard this he was amazed, knowing that it was but the fourth month since she had borne a son; but he granted her his permission to withdraw.

The chief men of the kingdom, Ansovald and the rest, rallied round the son of Chilperic, now, as I have said, four months old, and hailed him under the name of Lothar.* They exacted from all the cities which had acknowledged the rule of Chilperic an oath of loyalty to Guntram and his nephew Lothar. King Guntram, by exercise of justice, restored to divers persons all that the companions of King Chilperic had wrongly taken from them, himself making large gifts to the churches. Moreover, he restored the validity of the wills containing bequests to the Church which had been suppressed by Chilperic. He showed graciousness to many, and made large gifts to the poor.

8. But as he had no trust in the men among whom he was now come,[5] he surrounded himself with an armed guard, and never went to church or to any other place that he wished to visit without a large escort. And so it befell that on a certain Sunday, after the deacon had imposed silence on the people during the celebration of Mass, the king turned to the congrega-

[1] Galswinth; cf. IV. 21 (28).
[2] Sigibert; cf. IV. 36 (51).
[3] Chilperic; cf. VI. 46 *n.*
[4] Merovech and Chlodovech, sons of Chilperic; cf. V. 12 (18) and 29 (39).
[5] The people of Paris.

tion and said : ' I adjure you, men and women here present, that ye keep your loyalty to me inviolate, and not to slay me, as late ye slew my brothers ; * may it be granted me, at least for three years, to bring up the nephews whom I have made my adopted sons,* lest haply, which everlasting God forbid, after my death ye perish together with these boys, when there shall remain no strong man of our line for your defence.' As he uttered these words all the people uttered a prayer to the Lord for the king.

9. Meanwhile, Rigunth, daughter of King Chilperic, had arrived at Toulouse with the treasures of which I have above written.[1] Seeing that she was now close to the Gothic territory,* she began to make delays ; moreover, her companions declared that she ought to make a halt at this place, as they were themselves travel-worn ; their clothes were neglected, their shoes rent ; the furnishings for the horses and carriages, which were behind in wagons, had yet to be put together. It would be better first to get all in perfect order and then proceed, that they might appear before the bridegroom in their best array, for, if they showed themselves in this neglected state, the Goths might greet them with mockery and laughter. While they were thus detained, a whisper of the death of King Chilperic reached the ears of Duke Desiderius, who collected a force of picked men and entered the city of Toulouse. He took the treasure from the control of the queen[2] and transferred it to a certain house. Here he had it placed under seals and guarded by armed men, allowing the queen herself nothing but a scanty subsistence until such time as he should return to the city.

10. He himself made all haste to Mummolus, with whom he had entered into alliance two years before.* Mummolus was at this time dwelling in the town of Avignon, with Gundovald, of whom I have spoken in an earlier book.[3] Gundovald, accompanied by the two dukes,[4] now set forth for the territory of Limoges, reached Brives-la-Gaillarde,* where is the tomb of a holy man named Martin, a disciple, as they say, of our own Martin, and was there raised as king upon a shield.[5] But when they turned to bear him round for the third time it is said that

[1] VI. 32 (45).
[2] i. e. the princess Rigunth ; cf. V. 49.
[3] VI. 16 (24), 18 (26)
[4] Mummolus and Desiderius.
[5] Cf. II. 29 (40) ; IV. 36 (51).

he was like to fall, and scarce might be held up by the hands of those standing about him. Thereafter he made a progress through the surrounding cities.*

Rigunth had taken up her abode in the church of the blessed Mary at Toulouse,* whither the wife of the aforesaid Ragnovald [1] had fled from fear of Chilperic. Ragnovald now returned from Spain, and recovered his wife and property; he had gone into that country on an embassy by direction of King Guntram.

At this time the church of the above-named Martin at Brives was burned in so great a fire by the advancing enemy * that the altar and the columns, made of different kinds of marble, were split and shattered in the flames: afterwards this church was restored by Bishop Ferreolus,[2] so that it seemed never to have suffered damage. The inhabitants hold this holy Martin in the utmost wonder and veneration, for again and again they have proved his miraculous power.

11. It was the tenth month of the year [3] when these things were done. At this time fresh shoots appeared on the vine-stocks with misshapen grapes formed, blossoms were seen on the trees, and a great light like a beacon traversed the heavens, illuminating the earth far and wide before the dawn. Rays also appeared in the sky; in the north a column of fire was seen for the space of two hours, as it were hanging from the heaven, with a great star above it. In the territory of Angers there was an earthquake; and many other signs appeared, foreboding, as I believe, the death of Gundovald.

12. King Guntram now sent his counts to take the cities which Sigibert had formerly received as his share of the kingdom of his brother Charibert; [4] they were to exact an oath of loyalty, and subject all to his authority. The people of Tours and Poitiers wished to pass under the lordship of Sigibert's son, Childebert; but the men of Bourges were called out,* and prepared to march against them; they began carrying fire into the territory of Tours. They next burned down the church of Mareuil * in that territory, where relics of the holy Martin were preserved. But the power of the saint was a present help; for even in so fierce a fire, the altar-cloths were

[1] Cf. VI. 7 (12). [2] Bishop of Limoges; cf. V. 21 (28).
[3] i. e. December, the year beginning on the 1st of March.

not consumed by the flame, and the very herbs,* gathered long ago and placed upon the altar, were in no part burned. At sight of these fires the people of Tours sent an embassy, declaring that it was better for them for the present to submit to King Guntram than to behold all things laid waste by fire or sword.

13. No sooner was Chilperic dead than Duke Gararic came to Limoges and received oaths of allegiance to Childebert. Thence he proceeded to Poitiers, where he was admitted, and where he remained. When he heard what the people of Tours had to undergo, he sent a message adjuring us, if we wished to protect our interests, not to go over to Guntram, but rather remember Sigibert, of whom Childebert was the son. We, however, sent back the following reply to the bishop and citizens: that unless for the present they submitted to Guntram, they would be treated even as we. For Guntram now stood in the place of a father to the two sons of Sigibert and Chilperic, whom he had adopted; therefore he held the whole kingdom under his rule, as his father Lothar had done before him.* They did not agree, and Gararic quitted the town, as it seemed, to bring up an army, leaving behind him Ebero, treasurer of Childebert.* But Sichar,[1] with Willachar, count of Orleans, now made count of Tours, levied an army against the men of Poitiers, that the peoples of Tours and Bourges might move to the attack from two sides, and the whole territory might be laid waste. But when they had approached the territory, and had begun to burn houses, the people of Poitiers sent envoys to say: 'We pray you to stay your hands until the conference between the kings Guntram and Childebert. If it is there agreed that the good King Guntram have these districts,* we make no resistance; if not, we are prepared to recognize that king as our lord, to whom we owe obedience in all things.' To this they replied: 'All this is nothing to us; we have only to fulfil the commands of our prince. If ye refuse, we shall go on as we have begun, and lay all waste.' Seeing that there was no alternative but general ruin by fire, pillage, and leading into captivity, the men of Poitiers drove Childebert's men from the city, and took the oath of allegiance to King Guntram, though they were not destined to keep it long.[2]

[1] Cf. ch. 47, below, and IX. 19. [2] Cf. ch. 31, below.

14. When the time came for the assembly, King Childebert sent to King Guntram Bishop Egidius, Guntram Boso, Sigivald, and many others. And when they came into his presence the bishop said: 'We render thanks to Almighty God, most pious king, that after all these thy labours He hath restored thee to thy territories and thy kingdom.' The king replied: 'To Him indeed are thanks meetly to be rendered, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, who of His mercy hath deigned to bring these things to pass; but to thee none, through whose traitorous counsel and perjuries my lands last year were ravaged by fire,[1] who hast never kept whole faith with any man, whose plots are at work upon all sides, who standest confessed as no true bishop, but a declared enemy of my realm.' At these words the bishop kept angry silence; but one of the envoys said: 'Thy nephew Childebert maketh petition that thou command the cities held aforetime by his father to be restored.' Whereto the king made answer: 'I have already told you that by the terms of the agreement between us these towns fall to me, and therefore I am not minded to give them up.' Another of the envoys then said: 'Thy nephew asketh thee to order the surrender of Fredegund, the sorceress * through whom many of the royal blood have lost their lives, that the deaths of his father, his uncle, and his cousins may be avenged.' To this the king rejoined: 'She cannot be surrendered into his hands, because she is the mother of a king. Moreover, the charges which ye make against her I deem untrue.' Thereupon Guntram Boso approached the king, as if he would speak to him. But as it had been bruited abroad that Gundovald had been publicly raised on the shield as king, the king cut him short, crying: 'O thou enemy of my country and my kingdom, who in these last years didst go into the East for no other end than to bring in upon my realm a *Ballomer*',* for so he styled Gundovald; 'thou traitor, ever false to thy word!' The other replied: 'Thou art lord, and sittest as king upon a royal throne, and none dareth make answer to that which thou sayest: yet do I declare myself innocent on this account. But if any man of my own rank hath brought this charge against me, keeping safe out of sight, let him come forth and speak openly. Do thou, most pious king,

[1] Cf. VI. (22) 31.

submit the issue to the judgement of God, that He alone may decide, when He seeth us do battle alone together upon one field.' At this, all were silent, and the king proceeded: 'All of us should now have one cause at heart, to drive out from our borders an adventurer whose father managed a mill; if the truth must be told, he also sat over the reeds and wove wool.' Although, of course, it is plain that one man may practise both kinds of work, one of the envoys scoffingly answered: 'Thou sayest then, that this man had two fathers, both a weaver and a miller? Be it far from thee, O king, to speak so simply. For who ever heard of a man having a second father, unless it were in the spiritual sense?'[1] At this many burst out laughing, and another envoy said: 'We take our leave of thee, O king, since thou hast refused to restore the cities of thy nephew; but we know that the axe is still prepared which clave the heads of thy brothers; soon shall it sink in thine and cleave thy brain.' * With this they angrily withdrew. Then the king, enraged at what they said, commanded putrid horse-dung to be flung upon their heads as they departed, with rotten wood-chips and mouldy hay, and even the foul mud from the road. Sorely defiled with these things, they went their way, beyond measure outraged and affronted.

15. While Queen Fredegund was still in the great church[2] at Paris, the ex-domestic Leunard came to her on his return from Toulouse, and began to tell her of the contumely and the wrongs endured by her daughter.[3] 'According to thy orders,' he said, 'I accompanied the princess Rigunth; * I was witness of her humiliation and of the manner in which she was despoiled of her treasure and all her possessions; but I made my escape, and I am come to announce these deeds to my sovereign lady.' Maddened at his account, the queen commanded him to be despoiled in the very church where they were; and when he had been stripped of his garments * and of a baldric which Chilperic had given him, she ordered him forth from her presence. The cooks and bakers, too, and any of the princess's retinue, of whose return from that journey she was informed, she caused to be beaten, stripped, and put in handcuffs. Moreover, she sought, by making abominable charges, to destroy the

[1] i. e. the man might have a godfather, as well as his natural father.
[2] *Ecclesia*; the cathedral.
[3] Cf. above, ch. 9.

influence at court of Nectarius, brother of Bishop Baudegisil,[1] asserting that he had stolen many things from the treasure of the late king. She declared that he had carried off quantities of hides and much wine from the storehouses, and demanded that he should be cast in chains into the darkness of the prison. But the king's tolerance and the aid of Baudegisil prevented it. Many vain deeds did she now commit, having no fear of that God in whose church she was finding refuge. She had with her at this time the judge Audo, who during the life of Chilperic had been her accomplice in much wickedness. This man, together with the prefect Mummolus,[2] had taxed many Franks who had been free men under King Childebert the elder. After that king's death these men despoiled and stripped Audo of his goods, leaving him only the clothes in which he stood. They burned his houses ; and had he not fled to join the queen in the church, they would have taken his life.

16. Bishop Praetextatus, whom the citizens of Rouen had recalled from banishment after the king's death, returned to his bishopric, and was restored to the city [3] in triumph. After his return he came to Paris and presented himself to King Guntram, entreating him to make a thorough investigation of his case. The queen, on her side, maintained that he ought not to be taken back, since he had been removed from his episcopal office at Rouen by the sentence of forty-five bishops. The king would have summoned a council to deal with the matter ; but Ragnemod, bishop of Paris, made answer in the name of all : ' Know that the bishops sentenced him to do penance, but by no means removed him from his bishopric.' The king therefore received him, and admitted him to his board ; after which he returned to his own city.

17. Promotus had been installed as bishop at Châteaudun by command of King Sigibert, but after that king's decease * had been deprived of his rank on the ground that this place was in the diocese of Chartres. It was decided against him that henceforth he must serve as a simple priest. He now came before the king with the prayer that he might be replaced in the bishopric of Châteaudun. But Pappolus, bishop of Chartres, opposed the petition. He maintained that Châteaudun belonged to his diocese, and produced judge-

[1] Of Le Mans ; cf. VI. 9. [2] Cf. VI. 25 (35). [3] Of Rouen.

ment delivered by the bishops.[1] Promotus, therefore, gained nothing of the king but permission to recover his private property within the territory of Châteaudun, and to dwell there with his mother, who was still living.

18. During the king's stay in Paris a certain poor man came to him and said : ' Hearken, O king, to the words of my mouth. Thou knowest that Faraulf, aforetime chamberlain of thy brother, seeketh to take thy life. I have heard that he designeth to attack thee with a knife or pierce thee with a spear on thy way to church for matins.' The king was shocked, and sent for Faraulf, who denied all. Nevertheless the king was afraid, and surrounded himself with a strong guard. He never went to the holy places, or anywhere else, without armed men and guards about his person. Faraulf died a short time afterwards.

19. A great outcry was raised against those who had been powerful by favour of King Chilperic ; they were accused of having stolen estates and various possessions belonging to others. The king now ordered the restoration of all that had been unjustly taken, as I have above described.[2] He further bade Queen Fredegund withdraw to the estate[3] of Rueil in the territory of Rouen. She was escorted thither by all the chief men of Chilperic's kingdom, and left with Bishop Melanius, who had been removed from the see of Rouen.[4] They then betook themselves to her son, promising her that they would bring him up with the very greatest care.*

20. When Queen Fredegund was thus withdrawn to the aforesaid domain she was very sad at heart, because much of her power was now taken from her. Yet did she deem herself the better woman than Brunhild, and secretly dispatched a cleric of her household to ensnare and slay that queen. He was to introduce himself by craft into her household, obtain her trust, and strike her down by stealth. The cleric went, and won favour in the queen's eyes, saying : ' I come, flying from before the face of Queen Fredegund, and seek thy protection.' He began by showing himself humble to all, endearing himself as the obedient and trusty servant of the queen.

[1] At the Council of Paris, A. D. 573.
[2] Above, ch. 7.
[3] *Villa.*
[4] Through the reinstatement of Praetextatus.

But not long afterwards they detected him as one sent on a treacherous errand. He was bound and flogged till he confessed the whole matter, then permitted to return to his patroness. But when he revealed to her how things had fallen out, and how he had failed to do her will, Fredegund punished him by having his hands and feet cut off.*

21. After these events King Guntram returned to Chalon to make inquiry into the death of his brother. The queen [1] sought to throw the burden of the crime on Eberulf, the treasurer.* After her lord's decease she had invited this man to abide with her, but he would not be persuaded. Whereof a bitter enmity was rife between them ; and the queen declared that he it was who had murdered the king, and that afterwards he had made away with much of the royal treasure, going off with it to the territory of Tours. If, therefore, the king wished to avenge his brother's death, here was the ringleader in the crime.* Then the king swore to all the chief men of the kingdom that he would wipe out from the face of the earth, not only Eberulf himself, but also his offspring to the ninth generation, in order that by the example of their death an end should be made of an abominable custom, and no more kings be slain. As soon as Eberulf heard of this, he made haste to gain the church of the holy Martin, the property of which he had often despoiled. It was thought well to keep him under watch, and the men of Orleans and Blois took turns to mount guard, but after fifteen days they went home with great booty, carrying off beasts of burden, cattle, and whatever else they could lay hands upon. But the thieves who had taken the holy Martin's beasts quarrelled among themselves, and thrust each other through with their own spears. Two, who were driving off mules, went into a neighbouring house to demand drink. When the master of the house declared that he had none to give, and they had raised their spears to run him through, he drew his sword and pierced them both, so that they fell dead, and the beasts of the holy Martin were restored. So great were the ill deeds done there on this occasion by the men of Orleans, that they may not all be told.

22. While these things befell, the possessions of Eberulf were handed over to various persons ; the gold, the silver, or

[1] Fredegund.

other more precious effects which were his private property were publicly sold. The lands granted him by the king * were confiscated by the State ; * his horses, swine, and beasts of burden were plundered. A house within the city walls which he had taken from the church, now filled with corn, wine, and hides, was so thoroughly pillaged that there was left nothing but the bare walls. The blame for this he chiefly threw on me, whereas I had always bestirred myself right loyally in his affairs ; he threatened that if ever he regained the royal favour he would be revenged on me for all that he now underwent. But God, to whom the secrets of all hearts are open, knoweth that I gave him aid in singleness of heart and to the utmost of my power. And though he had often in time previous dealt treacherously with me in the matter of things belonging to the holy Martin, yet, as I had received his son from the sacred water at his baptism, I had ever a reason to overlook his misdeeds. I think that the chief cause which undid the life of this unhappy man was this, that he refused to show any reverence for the holy bishop.[1] He often committed man-slaughter even in his *atrium*, as it were at his very feet, and was for ever guilty of wanton and drunken acts. A priest, for refusing to give him wine when he was already drunken, was flung upon a bench, beaten with blows of the fist, and belaboured until he almost ceased to breathe ; he would have died if the doctors had not come to his aid and bled him.

In fear of the king, Eberulf had taken up his abode in the sacristy of the holy church. But when the priest who had the keys of the door had shut all the rest, girls and other servants of Eberulf would come in by this sacristy door, admire the paintings on the walls, and pry into the ornaments of the blessed tomb, which was a crime against religious feeling. When this came to the knowledge of the priest he nailed up the door and put on bolts. Eberulf discovered the change after supper, when he was sodden with wine, and came up to me in a frenzy while I was singing psalms in the church at the service held at the beginning of the night. He began to attack me with curses and abuse, reproaching me amid his railings with having sought to keep him from the covering places on the

[1] St. Martin.

holy bishop's tomb.* Amazed at this madness, I tried to appease him with soothing words, but when I found myself unable to overcome his fury by gentle speech I determined to keep silence. Seeing that I meant to say no more, he turned on the priest, and poured forth a flood of abuse, assailing him with wanton insults and reviling me in every possible way. But as we perceived that he was, so to speak, driven of devils, we left the holy church, making an end of the scandal by stopping the service. The most shameful thing of all we felt to be his lack of reverence for the holy bishop shown in brawling thus before his very tomb. In these days I saw a vision in a dream, which I set forth to him in the holy church, as follows : 'I seemed to myself to be celebrating the sacred rite of the Mass in this very building ; and when the altar, with the sacrifice upon it, was already covered with a silken cloth, suddenly I saw King Guntram enter, and heard him cry with a loud voice : "Drag forth the enemy of our race ! tear the manslayer from God's sacred altar !" When I heard that, I turned to thee and said : "Lay hold, unhappy wretch, of the cloth upon the altar which covers the sacred offering, lest thou be cast out hence." But when thou didst lay hold, it was loosely and not with a firm grasp. Then did I spread forth my hands and set my breast against the king's breast, saying : "Cast not this man forth from this holy church on peril of thy life, lest the holy bishop by his power strike thee to death. Slay not thyself with thine own weapon ; for if thou dost, thou shalt lose this present life and the life to come." But the king resisted me, while thou didst let fall the cloth and camest behind me. And I was exceeding wrath with thee. Then didst thou return to the altar and again grasp the cloth, but once again didst let it go. And while thou heldest it thus feebly, and I manfully opposed the king, I awoke in fear and trembling, not knowing what the dream should mean.' When, therefore, I had related all to him, he said : 'The vision which thou hast seen is true, for it agreeth wholly with my own thought.' Then said I : 'What then is thy thought and thine intent ?' And he : 'I have determined, if the king command that I be dragged forth from this place, with one hand to hold the cloth upon the altar, and with the other to unsheath my sword and slay thee first, and afterwards to lay dead as many clerics as I may

come at. Nor were it then grievous to me to perish, were I but once revenged upon the clergy of the holy Martin.' When I heard that, I stood amazed, marvelling that such a thing could be, for the Devil spake by his mouth. Never, indeed, was there any fear of God in him. For when he lived in freedom he let loose his horses and herds among the crops and vines of the poor; and if any, the fruit of whose toil was thus ruined, drove them out, they were forthwith cut down by his retainers. Even in the straits in which he now was, he would often recall how he had wrongfully taken that which belonged to the holy bishop. In the previous year he had stirred up a certain light fellow among the citizens to molest the bailiffs of the church estates.* Then, setting justice at naught, he got possession by a false purchase of property which the church had long owned, rewarding with part of the gold ornamenting his baldric. To the last day of his life, which I will later recount,[1] he went on committing many such deeds of wicked perversity.

23. In this same year[2] a Jew named Armentarius, with a follower of his own sect and two Christians, came to Tours to obtain payment of bonds given him by the ex-vicarius Injuriosus * and the ex-count Eunomius on the security of receipts from the public taxes.* When he made his demand they promised repayment of the advances with interest, saying that they would precede him to their house, adding: 'If thou comest to our house, we will pay thee all that we owe, and reward thee with other gifts as thou deservest.' He went, and was received by Injuriosus, and placed at his board. At the end of the feast, as night drew on, they rose up and left the place, removing to another. It is said that the Jews and the two Christians with them were then slain by the followers of Injuriosus, and cast down a well near his house. Hearing what had been done, their kinsmen came to Tours, and upon a clue given by certain persons discovered the well and dragged out the bodies, Injuriosus all the time loudly protesting his innocence. He was prosecuted; but since, as I have said, he strenuously denied his guilt, and the plaintiffs had no evidence on which he could be convicted, he was sentenced to clear himself by oath.* They would not rest satisfied with this

[1] Ch. 29, below. [2] 584.

decision, and demanded that the case should be brought before King Childebert's court; neither the money nor the bonds held by the dead Jew could be found. It was then asserted by many that the tribune Medard was involved in this affair,* as he too had borrowed from the Jew. Injuriosus attended the court before King Childebert, and three whole days waited until sunset. But as the plaintiffs did not appear, and no one prosecuted, he returned home.

24. In the tenth year of Childebert's reign, King Guntram levied a great army of men liable to serve from all the peoples of his realm. The larger number, with the men of Orleans and Bourges, marched on Poitiers, which had broken the oath of allegiance to the king.[1] They sent envoys before them to discover whether the army would be peacefully admitted or not; but Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, received the envoys harshly. The troops then entered the territory of the city and began to pillage, burn, and slay. On their return across the territory of Tours with their plunder they did likewise, though the people had sworn the oath of allegiance; they even set churches on fire and carried off everything they could seize. This invasion was repeated several times, until the men of Poitiers were at last persuaded to recognize the king. When the army drew near to the city, and it was known that the greater part of their territory had been ravaged, they sent messengers to declare their loyalty to King Guntram. The troops were admitted into the town, and immediately fell upon the bishop, accusing him of disloyalty. But he, seeing himself in sore straits, broke a gold chalice used in the service of the altar, had it made into coins,* and so ransomed the people and himself.

25. Marileif, who had been the chief physician * in the household of Chilperic,[2] was also hard beset by them, and though already once robbed by Duke Gararic,[1] was now stripped a second time, so that a clean sweep was made of all that he had. They carried off his horses, his gold and silver, and any other precious things, and subjected him to the authority of the Church.* His father had in his time the care of the church mills, while his brothers, cousins, and other kinsmen had been employed in the royal kitchens and the bakery

[1] Cf. ch. 13, above. [2] Cf. V. 8.

26. Gundovald now wished to come to Poitiers, but was afraid; he had heard that an army had been levied against him. He required of all cities which had belonged to King Sigibert an oath in the name of King Childebert; * the others, which had belonged to Guntram or Chilperic, had to swear allegiance in his own name. He then proceeded to Angoulême, received the oath there, and rewarded the chief citizens; after this he went to Périgueux, where he did no small injury to the bishop [1] for not having consented to receive him with due honour.

27. Hence he moved south to Toulouse, sending messengers asking Magnulf,[2] bishop of the city, to receive him. But the bishop, mindful of what he had formerly suffered at the hands of Sigulf, who had in like manner pretended to the throne,* said to the citizens: 'We know that Guntram and Childebert his nephew be kings; but as to this man we know not whence he cometh. Be therefore on your guard; and if it is the will of Duke Desiderius * to bring this calamity upon us, let him die the death of Sigulf, and let him be an example to all, that no foreigner dare to profane the throne of the Franks.' But while they were talking of resistance and preparing for war, Gundovald arrived with a large army; they saw that they could not stand against him, and therefore admitted him to the town.

After this, when the bishop was seated at table in the church house * with Gundovald, he said to him: 'Thou declarest thyself son of King Lothar; but whether this be true or not, we cannot tell. We cannot believe that it is in thy power to carry through thine enterprise.' The other replied: 'I am verily the son of King Lothar, and I am minded forthwith to take possession of my share of his kingdom; I shall proceed with all speed to Paris, and there establish the seat of my dominion.' The bishop said: 'It were indeed true that there remaineth no prince of the royal Frankish race, if thou art left free to fulfil what thou sayest.' Mummolus, hearing the dispute, now lifted his hand and gave the bishop several buffets, saying: 'Art thou not ashamed that one debased and foolish like thyself should speak like this to a great king?' But when Desiderius understood from the discussion what

[1] Charterius; cf. VI. *22*. [2] Cf. ch. *32*, below.

the bishop's mind was, he also was enraged and laid hands upon him. Thereupon they both struck him with their spears, hit him with their fists and kicked him, then bound him with a rope, and condemned him to banishment. His own property was all seized, as well as that belonging to the Church. Waddo, former mayor of the house to the princess Rigunth,[1] now joined them, but the rest of those who had left Paris with him dispersed themselves in flight.

28. After these things, the army,[2] moving out of Poitiers, advanced in pursuit of Gundovald. Many inhabitants of Tours had followed it in hope of plunder; but the men of Poitiers fell upon them; some of them were slain, and the greater part went home stripped of all that they had. Those of the same city who had previously accompanied the army now also withdrew. The host then moving forward to the river Dordogne, awaited news of Gundovald, who, as I have said above, was now joined by Duke Desiderius, Bladast,* and Waddo, mayor of the palace to the princess Rigunth. First in his esteem were Bishop Sagittarius[3] and Mummolus; he had promised Sagittarius the see of Toulouse.

29. While these things befell, King Guntram dispatched a certain Claudius with these instructions: 'If', he said, 'thou goest hence, and having cast forth Eberulf from the church,[4] dost slay him with the sword, or bind him in chains, I will enrich thee with great largess; but above all I warn thee to do no outrage to the hallowed church.' * Claudius, a reckless and rapacious fellow, flew to Paris, his wife being a native of the territory of Meaux. He turned the question over in his mind, whether he should see Queen Fredegund: 'If I see her,' thought he, 'I may get some reward of her, for I know that she hateth the man against whom I am sent.' He did go to see her, and forthwith received great rewards, together with many promises, if he should succeed in dragging Eberulf from the church and slaying him, or if he should ensnare and bind him, or even cut him down in the very atrium. Returning now to Châteaudun,[5] he required the count to furnish him with three hundred men, as if to guard the

[1] Cf. VI. 32 (45).
[2] Guntram's army; cf. ch. 24 above.
[3] Bishop of Gap; cf. V. 20.
[4] Of St. Martin, at Tours; cf. above, ch. 22.
[5] Cf. ch. 17 above.

gates of Tours, but in reality that on his arrival there he might use them to kill Eberulf. While the count was warning the men for service, Claudius himself went to Tours. Upon his way, after the custom of the barbarians,[1] he began to take notice of omens, and to find them unfavourable.* At the same time he inquired of many whether the power of the holy Martin had of late been made manifest against breakers of oaths; and, especially, whether instant vengeance followed a wrong done to such as had put their trust in him. Then, in advance of the men who were to have afforded him support, he went in person to the church. There he at once accosted the unhappy Eberulf, gave him his oath, and swore by all that he held sacred, by the power of the holy bishop present with them,[2] that none could be more faithful to his cause than he; none could represent his cause so well before the king. For the wretch had thus determined with himself: 'Unless I can deceive him by false oaths, I shall not have the better of him.' When Eberulf heard him make these promises upon oath both within the walls of the church and in the porticoes and the other venerated spots of the forecourt, the wretched man believed the perjurer. The next day, while I was staying at a country estate some thirty miles out of the city, he was invited to a dinner at the holy church * with Claudius and certain of the citizens. Claudius would have struck him down with his sword then and there, if only his servants had not been standing too near; but Eberulf, light and vain as ever, noticed nothing. At the close of the meal he and Claudius strolled together about the forecourt of the church house,* swearing to each other faith and brotherhood with mutual exchange of oaths. While they were talking thus, Claudius said to Eberulf: 'I should delight to drain a cup at thy lodging,* if the wine were mixed with spice, or if thy mightiness* would ask for a draught of stronger wine for me.' Eberulf was overjoyed at these words, and answered that he had what was desired: 'And all that thou wouldst have thou shalt find at my lodging, let but my lord deign to enter the humble place of my abode.' And he sent his servants, one after the other, to get stronger wines, those of Latium and those of Gaza.* As

[1] i.e. the Franks. Gregory speaks as a Gallo-Roman.
[2] Through their neighbourhood to his tomb.

soon as the servants were gone and his victim was left alone, Claudius lifted up his hand towards the church and said: 'Most blessed Martin, grant me right soon to see once more my wife and my kinsmen.' For he was now on the point of hazard: the villain purposed to do murder in the forecourt, but at the same time feared the power of the holy bishop. Then one of the servants of Claudius, who was stronger than the rest, seized Eberulf from behind, grappled him close with his powerful arms, and forced his breast upward, so that it lay open to a deadly blow. Claudius drew his sword from his baldric and made at him. But Eberulf in his turn, hampered though he was, pulled a dagger from his belt and held it ready to strike. Claudius, raising his hand high, thrust his blade into Eberulf's breast. But the latter instantly planted his dagger below his adversary's armpit, then withdrawing it, with a second blow cut off his thumb. Thereupon the servants of Claudius ran up from all sides with their swords, and wounded Eberulf in several places. He slipped out of their hands and, though more dead than alive, tried to flee; but they took his drawn sword, and gave him a deep wound upon the head; his brains were scattered, and he fell dead. Nor did he deserve to be saved by the saint whom he never knew to implore with a true heart. Claudius, filled with terror, betook himself to the abbot's cell, seeking protection from one whose patron he had not been wise enough to reverence. He said to the abbot, who was there present: 'A great crime hath been committed; unless thou help we shall perish.' While he was still speaking, the followers of Eberulf rushed in with swords and spears, and finding the door barred, broke the glass panes, hurled their spears through the window in the wall, and transfixed Claudius, who was already more dead than alive: his own followers were hidden behind the door and under the beds.* Two of the clergy took hold of the abbot and brought him away at risk of his life through the drawn swords, and the door being now open, the whole crowd of armed men entered. Some of the almsmen attached to the church, with other of the poor, angered at the crime, tried to pull down the roof of the cell. Moreover, sundry possessed men and beggars with stones and clubs came to avenge the outrage to the church, indignant that it should be the scene

of deeds never before attempted. What need of further words? The fugitives were dragged from their hiding-places and cruelly slain, so that the floor of the cell was stained with gore. Their dead bodies were then dragged out and left lying stark on the cold ground; the slayers collected the spoils and fled away the following night. Thus did the vengeance of God straightway fall on those who had defiled the blessed atrium with human blood; but none can deem the guilt of that man * small whom the holy bishop suffered to endure such things.[1] The king was exceeding wroth at these events, but when all was explained to him he was soon calm again. All the property, personal and real, of the unhappy Eberulf, and all that he had inherited from his ancestors, he distributed among his chief adherents, who left the dead man's wife despoiled of all in the holy church. The bodies of Claudius and the others were borne by their nearest relatives into their own country, and buried there.

30. Now Gundovald dispatched two messengers, both of the clergy, to his partisans. One of these, the abbot of Cahors, carried a letter hidden under the wax of sunk wooden tablets.* He was taken by King Guntram's men, and the letter discovered. Brought before the king, he was severely beaten and thrust into prison.

31. At this time Gundovald was at Bordeaux, for Bishop Bertram * showed him friendship. Seeking every means of helping forward his cause, he was told by some one that a certain king in the East had possessed himself of a thumb of the holy Sergius * the martyr, that he had inserted it in his right arm,[2] and that whenever he was in straits how to drive back his enemies, putting his trust in this protection, he lifted up his right arm, and the multitude of his adversaries fled away, as though vanquished by the power of the martyr. Hearing this, Gundovald began diligently to inquire if there were any one in that place who had succeeded in getting relics of Sergius the martyr. Thereupon the bishop Bertram told him of one Eufronius, a merchant, because he had a grudge against this man. He had once caused him to be tonsured against his will, because he coveted his possessions; * but Eufronius, disdaining the act, migrated to another city, and

[1] Eberulf. [2] The words are: *in dextro brachio corporis sui* [*in*] *seruisset.*

when his hair had grown again, he returned. The bishop therefore said: 'There is here a Syrian, Eufronius by name, who hath made his house a church, and placed there relics of this saint, and by the saving virtue of the martyr he hath been witness of many miracles. Once the city of Bordeaux burned with a great fire, but his house, surrounded though it was by flames, was nowise touched of them.' At these words, Mummolus at once hurried to the Syrian's house, accompanied by Bishop Bertram; they pressed upon the man, and bade him show the sacred relics. He refused; but reflecting that a trap was perhaps being laid for him through some grudge, he added: 'Trouble not an old man, nor do wrong to the saint, but take these hundred gold pieces to depart.' When Mummolus still insisted on seeing the relics, he offered two hundred pieces; but even so he could not obtain his withdrawal unless the relics were displayed. Mummolus now ordered a ladder to be set against the wall (for they were hidden in a casket in the upper part of the wall over against the altar), and commanded his deacon [1] to go up. He mounted the steps and grasped the casket, but was shaken with such trembling that none thought he would reach the ground again alive. But, as I have said, he laid hold of the casket, which was hanging from the wall, and took it down. Mummolus searched the contents, and found a bone from the saint's finger, which he did not fear to strike with a knife; first he hacked it on the upper side, then on the lower. After many fruitless blows, the small bones remained unbroken; at length it split into three parts, which vanished in different directions; methinks it little pleased the martyr that such treatment befell it. Eufronius now wept bitterly, and all prostrated themselves in prayer, beseeching God of His grace to restore to them that which had been removed from their mortal sight. After the prayer, the fragments were found, and Mummolus, taking one of them, departed, though not with the favour of the martyr, as the sequel shall declare.

While Gundovald and Mummolus were at Bordeaux, they ordered that Faustianus, a priest, should be consecrated as bishop of Dax.[2] The bishop of this city had recently died;

[1] *Diaconum suum.* Probably a mistake for Bishop Bertram's deacon.
[2] *Urbs Aquensis.* The variant Ax was known as late as the eighteenth century.

and Nicetius, count of the place, and brother of Rusticus, bishop of Aire,[1] had obtained the diploma from Chilperic,* permitting him to receive the tonsure and become bishop of the town. Gundovald, intent on annulling all that king's decrees, convoked the bishops, and bade them give him the blessing. But Bishop Bertram, though he was metropolitan,* had misgivings as to the consequences, and enjoined Palladius of Saintes to give the blessing; it is true that his eyes at this time were sore. Orestes, bishop of Bazas, was also present at the consecration, but afterwards denied it before the king.

32. After these things Gundovald again sent two envoys to the king, bearing consecrated rods according to the custom of the Franks,* that they might not be touched by any man, but, after setting forth the object of their mission, return with their answer. These men were heedless enough to reveal to many persons, before they were given audience of the king, what they were instructed to ask. The king soon heard talk of this, and they were brought into his presence in chains. They did not dare to deny the object of their mission, or who sent them and to whom, but delivered their message: 'Gundovald, who of late is come from the East, declareth himself the son of thy father King Lothar. We are sent to demand the portion of the kingdom which is his due. If this be not yielded up by thee, know that he will come into these regions with an army, for all the most powerful men in the parts of Gaul beyond the Dordogne have joined him. And thus speaketh he: "God's judgement will decide, when we twain encounter in a single field, whether I am Lothar's son or not."' Thereat the king, inflamed with wrath, ordered them to be stretched by the pulleys and severely flogged, that if they spoke sooth they might give yet more evident proof, or, if the depths of their hearts held further secrets, the frightful pain might drag the truth from them in their own despite. It was done, and as the agony increased, they declared that the king's niece, King Chilperic's daughter,[2] had been banished with Magnulf, bishop of Toulouse,[3] and that her whole treasure had been seized by Gundovald,* who had been asked to take the throne by all the chief men of King Childebert; the request had been the special object of the visit made to Constantinople a few years

[1] *Vicus Iulii.* [2] Rigunth. [3] Cf. chs. 9 and 27 above.

before by Guntram Boso, who had brought him the invitation to enter Gaul.

33. After the envoys had been thus flogged and cast into prison, the king summoned his nephew Childebert, thinking it well that they should hear the evidence of these men together. The two kings therefore questioned the prisoners, who repeated in their joint presence all that King Guntram had heard alone. They steadily asserted that the matter, as I have said above, was common knowledge to all the chief men in Childebert's kingdom. This was the reason why some of them were afraid to attend the present conference; they were suspected of being parties to the affair. After this, King Guntram placed his spear in the hand of King Childebert,* saying: 'This is the sign that I have bestowed all my kingdom on thee. By virtue of this, take under thy dominion all my cities as if they were thine own. For by reason of my sins, no male of my line remaineth, save only thou, who art my brother's son. I shut out all others from my succession; do thou succeed as heir in all my realm.' Then, dismissing all the rest and taking the boy apart, he privily spoke with him, first earnestly adjuring him to reveal to no man the secrets of their conversation. He then indicated to him the men whom he should admit as his advisers and those whom he should keep from his counsels; those whom he might trust, and those whom he should avoid; those whom he should distinguish by rewards, and those whom he should degrade from their offices: enjoining him above all on no account to trust or have about him Egidius, bishop of Reims, who had ever been his enemy and had many a time sworn falsely both to his father and himself.[1] Later, when they appeared together at the banquet, King Guntram exhorted all his people * in these words: 'Behold, O comrades, how my son Childebert is now grown up to manhood; behold, and give heed that ye take him no more for a child. Forsake now your frowardness and your presumption; for he is now a king to whom ye owe your service.' These words he said and others like to them; and having for three whole days feasted and made merry together, exchanging many and rich gifts, the kings separated in peace. It was on this occasion that King Guntram restored to his nephew all that had belonged to

[1] Cf. ch. 14 above.

Sigibert his father, adjuring him not to visit his mother, that no opening should be given her for writing to Gundovald or receiving letters from him in return.*

34. Now when Gundovald heard that an army [1] was approaching, he crossed the Garonne and made for Convenae * with Bishop Sagittarius and the dukes Mummolus and Bladast ; Waddo was also with him, but Duke Desiderius had abandoned his cause.* The city crowns an isolated height, with no other mountain near. A great spring issuing from the foot of the hill is enclosed by a very strong tower ; men go down to it by a covered way and thus draw water without being exposed to view. Gundovald entered the city at the beginning of Lent, and addressed the people of the town in these words : ' Ye know that I am chosen king by all men in the realm of Childebert, and that I have with me no small power. But since my brother, King Guntram, hath sent a huge army against me, ye must bring within the walls all your provisions and all your gear, that ye perish not for want before the divine goodness bringeth me increased support.' They believed his words, and collecting within the walls all that they could lay hands upon, prepared to make resistance. At this juncture King Guntram sent a letter to Gundovald in the name of Queen Brunhild,* advising him to forsake and disband his army, himself keeping out of sight and passing the winter at Bordeaux : he wrote this with cunning intent, in order that he might learn of him more fully what he meant to do. But Gundovald remained at Comminges, and spoke to the people, saying : ' Behold, the army draweth nigh ; sally forth now, and make resistance.' They sallied forth ; but his men seized and closed the gates, shutting out the bishop [2] and all the people, and took possession of everything which they found in the town. They discovered such quantity of corn and wine that if they had stood fast like men, provision had not failed them for the space of many years.

35. By this time news had reached King Guntram's dukes that Gundovald was on the farther bank of the Garonne with a great multitude of their enemies, and that he had possession of the treasures which Rigunth had taken with her. They pressed forward, and their cavalry swam the Garonne, some

[1] i.e. King Guntram's. It was March 585. [2] Rufinus.

being drowned in the river. The rest, on reaching the far bank, went in search of Gundovald, and found camels * laden with a great weight of gold and silver, and exhausted horses which he had left behind along the roads. Hearing later that Gundovald and his men were now within the walls of Convenae, they left behind their wagons and baggage with the less able-bodied, and dispatched the more active men, as they were already across the river, to follow up the enemy. Moving forward with all speed, they came to the church of the holy Vincent near the boundary of the city of Agen, where the martyr is said to have finished his fight for the name of Christ. They found it filled with all manner of treasure belonging to the inhabitants of the place,* who hoped that the church of so great a martyr would never be violated by Christian men. The doors were most carefully fastened. But when the approaching troops were unable to break them open, they lit a fire and burned them down, whereupon they carried off all the property and gear that they found, and all the church plate as well. But the divine vengeance then and there filled many of them with affright. For the hands of some were supernaturally burned, and sent forth a great smoke, like that which rises above a fire. Others were seized by an evil spirit ; thus possessed, they shouted in their frenzy the martyr's name. A great number began brawling * and wounded each other with their own spears. The remainder of their body proceeded on their march, not without great alarm. To cut the story short, they all came together again at Convenae [1] (that, as I have written, was the name of the place) ; the whole force now pitched tents in the country about the city, and there remained encamped. They ravaged all the surrounding region ; some of the soldiers, goaded more deeply than the rest by avarice, strayed too far from their comrades and were put to death by the peasants.

36. Many of their number would often go up the hill and speak with Gundovald, reviling him and saying : 'Art thou that painter fellow who in the days of King Lothar used to daub the walls and vaults of oratories ? Art thou he whom the people of Gaul used often to call *Ballomer* ? [2] Art thou he who several times wast shorn and banished by the kings of

[1] *Convenitur ad Convenas*, a play upon words. [2] Cf. ch. 14 above.

the Franks for these very pretensions which thou makest to-day? Tell us plainly, most miserable of men, who was it that brought thee hither? Who gave thee the heart to set foot within the frontiers of our lords and kings? If any man invited thee, declare it with a loud voice. Behold, death standeth plain before thine eyes; look on the pit of thy destruction which so long thou hast sought, and into which thou shalt be cast headlong! Tell us, man by man, the names of thine abettors, and make those known to us by whom thou wert invited.' When he had listened to what they said, Gundovald drew nearer, and taking up his position above the gate, replied: 'No man is ignorant that my father Lothar ever detested me, or that my hair was cut short first by him, and later by my brothers. This was why I joined Narses, prefect of Italy, in which country I took a wife and begat two sons.[1] Upon her death, I took my sons with me and withdrew to Constantinople. I was received right graciously by the emperors, and lived there down to the present time. Some years ago, Guntram Boso came to Constantinople, and I eagerly questioned him how it fared with my brothers; from him I learned that our royal house was grievously minished, and that of our line no males remained but Guntram and Childebert, a brother and a brother's son; for the sons of King Chilperic had perished with him, and there was left only one young child.* My brother Guntram had no sons; my nephew Childebert was without power. Guntram Boso having set these things forth at length, gave me an invitation to return, saying: 'Come; all the chief men of King Childebert's realm call for thee, and not one hath dared mutter a word against thee. It is known to us all that thou art Lothar's son. An thou come not, there is none left in Gaul to rule his kingdom.' I gave him many gifts, and in twelve sacred places received his oath * that I might enter this realm in safety. I therefore came to Marseilles, where the bishop [2] received me with the greatest kindness, for he had letters written by the chief men of my nephew's kingdom.[3] I then went to Avignon, according to the wish of the patrician Mummolus. But Guntram Boso, regardless of his oath and promise, stole from

[1] Cf. VI. 16 (24).
[2] Theodore.
[3] Representatives of the aristocratic party hostile to Brunhild.

me my treasures and took them for himself. Learn, therefore, that I am a king, even as is my brother Guntram. But if too great a hatred rageth in your minds, at least conduct me to your king, and if he knoweth me for his brother, I will do according to his will. If ye will not do this, then let me return to the place whence I set out. For I will go away, and do no harm to any man. If ye would know the truth of what I say, make inquiry of Radegund at Poitiers and Ingitrude at Tours,* for they will confirm my words as true.' While he made this harangue many men followed his words with reviling and with taunts.

37. The fifteenth day of the siege had dawned, and Leudegisel * was preparing new engines for the destruction of the city. There were wagons fitted with rams covered with wattle-work and planks, under which troops could go forward to destroy the walls. But as soon as they came near they were overwhelmed with such showers of stones that all fell who approached the wall. The defenders threw down on them vessels of burning pitch and grease, and others filled with stones. When night forbade further fighting, the assailants returned to their camp.

With Gundovald was Chariulf, a citizen passing rich and powerful, who had many stores and repositories in the city, and from whose substance the garrison was for the most part fed. But Bladast, seeing the trend of events, feared that if Leudegisel captured the place he would put them all to death. He therefore set fire to the church house, and when all the besieged crowded to put out the flames, took to flight and got away. The next morning the enemy attacked again, and made fascines to fill up the deep valley which lies on the eastern side ; but this device did the enemy no damage. All the time Bishop Sagittarius was going round the ramparts in arms, and with his own hand hurling stones from the walls.

38. When the besiegers saw that their efforts availed nothing, they sent messengers to Mummolus in secret, saying : ' Acknowledge thy true lord, and desist even at this late hour from thy frowardness. What madness constraineth thee, that thou servest a man unknown ? Thy wife and thy children are taken captive ; thy sons are surely slain. Whither rushest thou ? To what canst thou look forward but thy ruin ? ' On

receipt of this message he replied : ' I see that our dominion draweth already to its end, and our power declineth. But one course remaineth ; and had I surety that my life should be safe, I might spare you many toils.' When the messengers were gone, Bishop Sagittarius, with Mummolus, Chariulf, and Waddo, proceeded to the church, and there they made mutual oaths that if they were assured of their lives, they would renounce their loyalty to Gundovald, and surrender his person to the enemy. The messengers came back with a promise that their lives should be spared. Mummolus said : ' Grant but that, and I will surrender this man into your hands ; I will acknowledge my lord and king, and straightway seek his presence.' Thereupon they promised that if he would keep his word, they would receive him with kindliness, and if they failed to obtain his pardon from the king, they would place him in a church that he might escape punishment of death. They promised this under oath, and took their departure.

Then Mummolus, with Sagittarius and Waddo, went to Gundovald and said : ' Thou knowest, thou that standest here before us, what oaths of fealty we took to thee. But hear now a wholesome counsel. Depart from this city and present thyself before thy brother, as thou hast often wished to do. For we have already held conference with these men, and they have told us that the king desireth not to lose thy support, since of the royal line so few remain alive.' Gundovald saw through their treachery, and said with many tears : ' It was by your invitation that I was brought to Gaul, and of my treasures, including an immense weight of gold, silver, and divers precious things, part is kept back in Avignon, and part was plundered by Guntram Boso. All my hope was placed in you, next to God's aid ; I gave you all my confidence ; by your help I ever hoped to reign. If ye now have spoken to me falsely, lay your account with God, for He shall judge my cause.' To this Mummolus made answer : ' We have said nothing with treacherous intent ; and, behold, already there stand at the gate stout men of war awaiting thy coming forth. Now therefore put off my golden baldric which thou wearest, that thou seem not to go forth in a bravery ; gird on thy own sword, and restore me mine.' He replied : ' I see well enough the double purport of these words : that these things of thine which I have worn till now

as symbols of our friendship are now to be taken from me.' Mummolus then solemnly swore that no evil should be done him.

So they went out from the gate, and Gundovald was received by Ullo, count of Bourges, and by Boso ; * but Mummolus and his followers drew back within the city and made the gate fast behind them. When Gundovald saw that he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he lifted up his hands and his eyes to heaven and cried : ' O Eternal Judge, and true avenger of the innocent, Thou God from whom all justice proceedeth, who hatest a lie, in whom is no guile nor craft of malice, to Thee do I commend my cause, that Thou avenge me swiftly on those who have betrayed me, innocent of all offence, into the hands of mine enemies.' Having said these words, and made the sign of the Lord's Cross, he went away with the men of whom I have written. When they had gone some distance from the gate, the city being surrounded by a valley with precipitous sides, Ullo pushed him down,* shouting as he did so, ' Behold your *Ballomer*[1] who declareth himself son and brother of kings ! ' He then thrust at him with his spear, wishing to run him through, but the rings of his hauberk turned the blow, and made it harmless. Gundovald then rose and tried to go back up the hill, but Boso hurled a stone and struck his head so that he fell and breathed his last. A crowd of men came up and pierced the body with their spears. They then bound his feet with a rope and dragged him through the whole camp ; the hair of his head and his beard were plucked out, and he was left unburied on the spot where he was slain.

On the following night the chief men in the town secretly removed all the treasures which they could find, including the church plate. The next morning the gates were opened and the besieging army was admitted. All the common people within were put to the sword, and the priests of the Lord, with those who served them, were massacred before the altars. When all were dead, so that there remained not one that pisseth against a wall,[2] they set fire to the city with all its churches and other buildings. They left nothing but the naked ground.

[1] Cf. ch. 14, above.

[2] 1 Kings xvi. 11.

39. Now when Leudegisel returned to the camp with Mummolus and Sagittarius, Chariulf and Waddo, he sent messengers to King Guntram secretly, to ask what he would have done to these men. The king commanded that they should receive sentence of death. But Waddo and Chariulf left their sons as hostages and got away. The word ran that they had been slain, and when Mummolus heard it he girded on his arms and went off to the hut of Leudegisel, who cried on his appearance: 'Why comest thou thus as if bent on flight?' The other replied: 'I perceive that the faith plighted to me is in nothing observed; I see myself in peril of death.' Leudegisel answered: 'I will come forth, and assuage all.' Going out, he forthwith ordered the house to be surrounded that Mummolus might be slain. But Mummolus, having long and stubbornly resisted his assailants, at last came to the door. No sooner had he set foot outside, than he was pierced from right and left by two lances; thus he fell and died.* At this sight the bishop [1] was afeared and in dismay, but one who stood by said to him: 'Behold with thine own eyes, O bishop, what things are done. Cover thy head, make for the forest, and hide thee awhile; haply when this fury abateth, thou mayst escape.' The bishop followed his advice, and strove to flee with veiled head; but one drew a sword and cut off his head, hood and all. Thereafter every man of the army returned to his own place, plundering and man-slaying as they went.

At this time Queen Fredegund dispatched Chuppa [2] to the territory of Toulouse to bring her daughter thence in whatever manner he could. There were many who declared that he was really sent to entice Gundovald,* if he still lived, with many promises, and so bring him to the queen. But as he could not now do this, he took Rigunth, humbled and put to shame as she was, and brought her away from that region.

40. Duke Leudegisel came to the king with the treasures aforesaid,[3] which the king afterwards distributed among the poor and among the churches. He caused the wife of Mummolus * to be arrested, and inquired what had become of the treasures which she and her husband had amassed. And

[1] Sagittarius.
[2] Formerly Chilperic's count of the stables; cf. V. 29 (39); X. 5.
[3] Cf. above, chs. 35, 38.

when she heard that her lord was slain, and that all their pride of place was utterly brought down to the dust, she revealed all, and said that in Avignon there was still much gold and silver of which the king had no knowledge. Straightway the king sent men to fetch it, with a trusted servant of Mummolus, to whose charge it had been committed. They went on their errand, and took everything which had been left in that city. It was said that there were two hundred and fifty talents of silver, and more than thirty of gold,* reported to have been taken by Mummolus from an ancient treasure which had been discovered. The king divided the money with his nephew Childebert, giving away the greater part of his own share to the poor. He left the widow nothing but what she had inherited from her kinsfolk.

41. Then also one of the servants of Mummolus was brought to the king, a very giant, so big that he was accounted two or three feet higher than the tallest men yet known. He was a carpenter, and died soon afterwards.

42. After this the judges[1] issued an order that all who had been slow in joining the late expedition should be punished. The count of Bourges sent his servants to collect the fine from such delinquents in a house belonging to the blessed Martin,* situated in that territory. But the overseer of this property resisted stoutly, saying: 'These be Martin's men; do them no injury, since it is not customary for them to serve upon such occasions.' They answered: 'What care we for this Martin, of whom thou ever idly pratest in such affairs? But thou and these men shall pay the fine for neglecting the king's command.' So saying, one entered the court of the house. And straightway he was stricken with great anguish, and fell down, and was in evil case. Then, turning towards the overseer, he said in a tearful voice: 'I pray thee make over me the sign of our Lord's Cross, and call on the name of the blessed Martin. Now know I how great is his power; for as I came into the court of the house, I saw an aged man hold out a tree in his hand, whose boughs spread and covered all the court. One branch thereof touched me, and smote me so that I was confounded and fell.' Then the overseer made sign to his followers to put him forth from the court. And when he was without, he began to call fervently

[1] i. e. the counts in various cities.

on the name of the blessed Martin. And thereby he had ease of his pain, and was healed.

43. Desiderius sought safety for himself and his possessions within fortified places of his own. Waddo,[1] former mayor of the household to Rigunth, went over to Queen Brunhild, who received him well, and dismissed him with favour and with gifts. Chariulf betook himself to the church of the holy Martin.

44. At this time there was a woman possessed with a spirit of prophecy[2] who brought much gain to her masters by divination; she so won their favour that they set her free, and she now lived as she desired. If any one was robbed or suffered misfortune, she at once proclaimed whither the thief had fled, to whom he had handed over the spoil, or what he had done with it. Every day she was amassing gold and silver, and went abroad bejewelled and bedizened till the people held her a kind of goddess. These things came to the ears of Ageric, bishop of Verdun,* who sent to have her arrested. She was seized and brought before him; when, according as we read in the Acts of the Apostles,[3] he perceived that she had an unclean spirit that prophesied through her. When he had recited over her a formula of exorcism and anointed her brow with holy oil, the demon cried aloud, and revealed to the bishop what he was. But he could not be driven forth from the woman, who was therefore suffered to depart. But when she saw that she could no longer live in that place, she departed to Queen Fredegund, and there remained concealed.

45. In this year almost all Gaul was oppressed by famine. Multitudes were reduced to making a kind of bread by drying and pounding grape-seeds or hazel blossom, and adding a little flour, while others did the same with fern roots. There were many who cut the green corn-stalks and treated them in like manner; many others, who had no flour at all, plucked and ate various kinds of grass, whereupon their bodies swelled and they died. Great numbers languished and were starved to death. Then the merchants grievously robbed the people, so that a bushel of corn or half a measure of wine was hardly sold for a *triens*.[4] The poor sold themselves into slavery for the sake of a morsel of food.

[1] Cf. ch. 39 above.
[2] *Spiritum phitonis habens.*
[3] Acts xvi. 16.
[4] One-third of a gold piece, or *solidus*.

46. In those days a merchant, Christopher by name, journeyed to Orleans, having heard that a large quantity of wine had been brought there. He went, bought the wine, and had it transported in boats; he himself with two Saxon servants travelled on horseback; he had on him a large sum of money received from his father-in-law. These servants had long loathed their master, and many times had run away from him, because he often had them cruelly flogged. After they had entered into a certain wood, one of them hurled his lance with all his force, and pierced his master, who was riding ahead. He fell to earth, and the other servant cut him about the head with spear-thrusts; so, hacked to pieces by them both, he was left lying dead, while they made off in flight with the money. The brother of Christopher buried the body, and sent his men after the servants. The younger was caught and bound; the elder, who had the money, got away. On their way back the captive, whose bonds had been left too loose, seized a spear and killed one of his guards. But the others brought him into Tours, where he underwent divers tortures and mutilation. When he was already dead, he was hanged upon a gibbet.

47. A cruel feud now arose between citizens of Tours.* While Sichar, the son of one John, deceased, was celebrating the feast of Christmas in the village of Manthelan,* with Austregisel and other people of the district, the local priest sent a servant to invite several persons to drink wine with him at his house. When the servant came, one of the invited drew his sword and was brutal enough to strike, so that the man fell dead upon the spot. Sichar was bound by ties of friendship to the priest; and as soon as he heard of the servant's murder he seized his weapons and went to the church to wait for Austregisel. He in his turn, hearing of this, took up his arms and equipment and went out against him. There was an encounter between the two parties; in the general confusion Sichar was brought safely away by some clerics, and escaped to his country estate, leaving behind in the priest's house money and raiment, with four wounded servants. After his flight, Austregisel burst into the house, slew the servants, and carried off the gold and silver and other property. The two parties afterwards appeared before a tribunal of citizens,* who found

Austregisel guilty as a homicide who had murdered the servants, and without any right or sanction seized the property. A few days after the case had been before the court, Sichar heard that the stolen effects were in the hands of Auno, his son, and his brother Eberulf. He set the tribunal at naught, and taking Audinus with him, lawlessly attacked these men by night with an armed party. The house where they were sleeping was forced open, the father, brother, and son were slain, the slaves murdered, and the movable property and herds carried off. The matter coming to my ears, I was sore troubled, and acting in conjunction with the judge,* sent messengers bidding them come before us to see if the matter could be reasonably settled so that the parties might separate in amity and the quarrel go no farther. They came, and the citizens assembled, whereupon I said: 'Desist, O men, from further crime, lest the evil spread more widely. We have already lost sons of the Church, and now we fear that by this same feud we may be reft of others. Be ye peacemakers, I beseech you; let him who did the wrong make composition for the sake of brotherly love, that ye be children of peace, and worthy, by the Lord's grace, to possess the kingdom of heaven. For He Himself hath said: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."[1] And behold, now, if he who is liable to the penalty have not the means of paying, the Church shall redeem the debt from her own moneys;* meanwhile let no man's soul perish.' Saying thus, I offered money belonging to the Church. But the party of Chramnesind,[2] who demanded justice for the death of his father and his uncle, refused to accept it. When they were gone, Sichar made preparations for a journey, intending to proceed to the king, and with this in mind set out for Poitiers[3] to see his wife first. But while he was there admonishing a slave to work, he struck him several times with a rod, whereupon the man drew the sword from his master's baldric * and did not fear to wound him with it. He fell to the ground; but friends ran up and caught the slave, whom they first beat cruelly; then they cut off his hands and feet and condemned him to the gibbet. Meanwhile the rumour reached Tours that Sichar was dead. As soon as Chramnesind heard it, he warned his relations and friends, and went with

[1] Matt. v. 9. [2] Son of the murdered Auno. [3] Cf. IX. 19.

all speed to Sichar's house. He plundered it and slew some of the slaves, burned down all the houses, not only that of Sichar, but also those belonging to other landholders on the estate.* He then took off with him the cattle, and all the movable effects. The parties were now summoned by the count to the city, and pleaded their own causes. The judges decided that he who had already refused a composition [1] and then burned houses down should forfeit half of the sum formerly awarded to him, wherein they acted illegally, to ensure the restoration of peace ; they further ordered that Sichar should pay the other moiety of the composition. The Church then provided the sum named in the judgement ; the parties gave security, and the composition was paid, both sides promising each other upon oath that they would never make further trouble against each other. So the feud came to an end.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTH BOOK

[1] i.e. Chramnesind.

BOOK VIII

[BOOK THE EIGHTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE EIGHTH BOOK

I. Of the king's coming to Orleans.

II. How the bishops were presented to him, and how he made ready a banquet.

III. Of the singers there, and of the silver plate of Mummolus.

IV. The praise of King Childebert.

V. Of the visions which the king and I saw of Chilperic.

VI. Of those whom we presented to the king.

VII. Of Bishop Palladius ; how he said Mass.

VIII. Of portents which were seen.

IX. Of the oath concerning Chilperic's son.

X. Of the bodies of Merovech and Chlodovech

XI. Of the door-keepers, and the death of Boantus.

XII. Of Bishop Theodore, and of the misfortune befalling Rathar.

XIII. Of the embassy sent by Guntram to Childebert.

XIV. Of our peril on the river.

XV. Of the conversion of the deacon Vulfolaic.

XVI. And of that which he told of the miracles of the holy Martin.

XVII. Of signs which appeared.

XVIII. How Childebert sent an army to Italy ; and of the dukes and counts appointed or removed.

XIX. Of the death of Abbot Daulf.

XX. Of the transactions at the Council of Mâcon.

XXI. Of the tribunal at Beslingen, and the violation of a tomb.

XXII. Of the death of certain bishops and of Wandalen.

XXIII. Of great floods.

XXIV. Of islands in the sea.[1]

XXV. Of the island in which blood appeared.

XXVI. Of Berulf, once duke.

XXVII. How Desiderius went to the king.

XXVIII. Of Hermangild and Ingund, and of the Spanish envoys sent privily to Fredegund.

[1] The numeration of this and the two following chapters has been adopted in the text instead of 22 (24), 23 (25), 24 (26) occurring in the MS.

XXIX. How Fredegund sent assassins to murder Childebert.
XXX. How the army marched to Septimania.
XXXI. Of the murder of Bishop Praetextatus.
XXXII. Of the death of Domnola, wife of Nectarius.
XXXIII. Of the fire in the city of Paris.
XXXIV. Of the anchorites who were tempted.
XXXV. Of the envoys from Spain.
XXXVI. Of the death of Magnovald.
XXXVII. How a son was born to Childebert.
XXXVIII. How they of Spain broke into Gaul.
XXXIX. Of the death of certain bishops.
XL. Of Pelagius of Tours.
XLI. Of the men who murdered Praetextatus.
XLII. How Beppolen was given a dukedom.
XLIII. How Nicetius was appointed governor of Provence.
XLIV. And of all that Antestius did.[1]
XLV. (44) Of a man who would have murdered King Guntram.
XLVI. (45) Of the death of Duke Desiderius.
XLVII. (46) Of King Leuvigild's death.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS OF THE EIGHTH BOOK
TO GOD BE THANKS

[The period covered by this Book is from A. D. 585 to 586.]

[1] This should not have formed a separate heading; it really belongs to XLIII. The total number of chapters is forty-six, as in the text.

IN CHRIST'S NAME BEGINS THE EIGHTH BOOK *

NOW in the twenty-fourth year of his reign [1] King Guntram set out from Chalon and came to Nevers. He was on his way to Paris, having been invited thither to receive from the sacred font of regeneration the son of Chilperic, whom men already called Lothar. From Nevers he turned aside to Orleans, where he demeaned himself right graciously among the citizens. For he accepted invitations to their houses, and enjoyed the repasts which they offered him, receiving gifts from them, and in return making largess with lavish generosity. The day of his entry into Orleans was the feast of the blessed Martin, the fourth day of Nones in the fifth month,[2] and immense crowds came out to meet him with standards and banners, singing songs in his praise. Here was heard the tongue of the Syrians,* there that of the Latins,[3] there, again, even that of Jews, all harshly mingling in various acclamation as the crowds shouted: 'Long live the king! and may his dominion endure over the peoples throughout uncounted years!' The Jews, who seemed to share in these greetings, kept crying: 'Let all peoples adore thee and bow the knee, and be in subjection under thee.' But all they effected was that after Mass, when the king sat at table, he said: 'Woe to the race of the Jews, ever evil and faithless and crafty of heart. They acclaimed me this day with praise and flattery, protesting that all peoples should adore me as their lord, simply in the hope that I might order the rebuilding, at public cost, of their synagogue, which the Christians some time ago destroyed. The Lord forbiddeth any such deed, and I will never do it.' O glorious king, and admirable in wisdom! He saw through all the cunning of the unbelievers, so that they utterly failed to snatch advantage from the request which they afterwards came to make. As the meal approached its end, the king said to the bishops present: 'I beg that I may receive your blessing in my house to-morrow, and at your coming in your salutation,

[1] A.D. 585.
[2] i.e. 4th July.
[3] i.e. Italians, or perhaps even Gallo-Romans.

that thereby I may be saved when ye have poured forth upon me the words of your benediction, all lowly that I am.' After this speech we all gave him thanks; and, as the meal was over, we rose up from the board.[1]

2. In the morning the king went to visit the holy places of the saints, there to offer his prayers, and came also to my lodging. It was hard by the church of the holy abbot Avitus,* of whom I have made mention in the book of Miracles.[2] I, of course, rose with delight to greet him, and after offering prayer, begged his condescension to receive within the walls bread of oblation from the church of the blessed Martin.[3] He did not decline, but entered in a friendly spirit, drained a cup, invited me to his table, and departed in a happy mood.

At this time Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux, and Palladius of Saintes had aroused the king's deep wrath for having received Gundovald, as I have told above.[4] But most of the two Palladius had incurred the king's anger, because he had often dealt deceitfully with him on other occasions. They had both been examined a short time before by their brother bishops and the notables of the kingdom as to their conduct, first of all in receiving Gundovald, and then in consecrating Faustianus as bishop of Dax, at the frivolous order of this pretender. The blame of this consecration Palladius sought to transfer from his metropolitan Bertram to himself, saying: 'The eyes of my metropolitan were almost closed with suffering, and I, derided and despoiled, was dragged to the place against my will. I could not but obey the command of one who declared himself the acknowledged ruler of all Gaul.' When these words were repeated to the king, he was enraged, and hardly might be brought to invite them to his table, especially as he had not yet received either of them. And so, as Bertram came in, the king asked: 'Who is this man?' for it was very long since he had last seen him. They told him: 'It is Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux.' 'We thank thee', he then said, 'for the loyalty to thy house which thou hast so well observed. Thou shouldst have remembered, very dear father, that thou wert my kinsman * by my mother's side; thou shouldst not, therefore, have brought a foreign pest upon thy family.' Bertram

[1] These words give the first indication that Gregory was at Orleans.
[2] G. C. 97. [3] *Eulogiae beati Martini*; cf. note to IV. 35. [4] Cf. VII. 31.

had to listen to much more of this kind ; then the king turned to Palladius with the words : ' Small thanks I owe thee either, Bishop Palladius. For thrice, by sending me statements full of deceit, thou wert forsworn against me, an evil thing to be said of a bishop ; thou didst write letters of excuse to me, while with other letters thou wert calling in my brother.[1] But God hath judged my cause. It was ever my care to advance you, as fathers of the Church, but ye have dealt craftily with me always.' To the bishops Nicasius [2] and Antidius [3] he said : ' Tell me now, most holy fathers, what have ye done for the benefit of your country or for the safety of my kingdom ? ' When they held their peace, the king washed his hands, received a benediction from the bishops, and sat down to the board with a smiling face and merry look, as if he had never said a word about the indignities which he had suffered.

3. When the meal was more than half-way through, the king bade me order my deacon, who had sung the *responsorium* * at yesterday's Mass, to sing. While he was doing so, the king gave me a second command : I must call on each bishop present to bid a cleric belonging to his church sing in his turn before the king.* I told them the king's wish, and each man sang the *responsorium* before the king to the best of his ability.

When certain dishes were served, the king said : ' All the plate which you see belonged to the perjured Mummolus ; [4] now, by God's grace, it hath passed into my possession. I have caused to be broken up fifteen dishes as large as the bigger one before you, reserving out of the whole service only this and another piece of a hundred and seventy pounds weight.* What was the object of keeping more than is needed for daily use ? It is sad that I have no son of my own, but only Childebert,[5] who must be content with the treasures left him by his own father and what I have now sent him out of the effects of that miserable man found at Avignon. All the rest shall be expended for the benefit of the churches and the poor.'

4. ' One thing only would I beg of you, bishops of the Lord, that ye pray for the Lord's mercy on Childebert my son. He

[1] Chilperic, who, however, sent his son Chlodovech ; cf. V. 7 (13).
[2] Bishop of Angoulême ; cf. IX. 41.
[3] Bishop of Agen. [4] Cf. VII. 40. [5] His adopted son.

is a man so capable and of such good sense, that for many a long year past his like for energy and prudence should scarce be found. If God should deign to grant him rule over our Gaul, haply there shall be hope that through him our race, now sorely consumed away, may arise again. That this shall be brought to pass through His mercy, I am right sure ; such was the presage at the child's birth. For on the holy day of Easter, while my brother Sigibert stood in the church, and the deacon advanced with the holy book of the Gospels, a messenger came to the king, and he who read the lection from the Gospel and the messenger spoke as it were with a single voice the words : " Unto thee a son is born." And so the whole people made response to a twofold message of glad tidings, saying : " Glory be to God Almighty." The infant was baptized on the holy day of Pentecost, and also was raised to the throne on the holy day of our Lord's Nativity.[1] If therefore your prayers attend him, by God's grace he shall rule the land.' When the king spoke thus, all uttered their prayer to the Lord that of His mercy He would preserve both kings. And the king added : ' It is true that Brunhild his mother threateneth to take my life ;[2] but this is no cause of fear to me. For the Lord, who hath snatched me from the hands of my enemies, shall also deliver me from her snares.'

5. At the same time he made many accusations against Bishop Theodore,[3] protesting that if he came to the Council, he should once more be driven forth into banishment, and saying : ' For I know that in the interest of those ye wot of he had my brother Chilperic slain.* And I should no longer count as a man, were I not able to revenge his murder this very year.' I answered him : ' And who slew Chilperic, but his own wickedness and thy prayer ? For he spread many a snare for thee unjustly, which brought his death on his own head. Let me tell thee that I clearly saw all in a vision. For I beheld him tonsured and, as it seemed, consecrated bishop ; then I marked him borne on a chair which was all bare and covered with simple black ; lighted lamps and tapers were borne before him.' When I had related this dream, the king said : ' I too had another vision, announcing his death. Three bishops led

[1] Cf. V. 1. [2] Cf. VII. 34.
[3] Of Marseilles ; cf. VI. 16 (24).

him into my presence bound with chains ; they were Tetricus,[1] Agricola,[2] and Nicetius of Lyons.[3] And two of them said : " Unbind him, we pray thee, chastise him, and let him go." But Bishop Tetricus bitterly opposed them, and thus made answer : " So shall it not be ; but he shall be cast into the flames for his sins." And while they disputed long and earnestly after this wise, I beheld far off a cauldron set on the fire, and boiling fiercely. Then, while I wept at the sight, they seized the unhappy Chilperic, and brake his limbs, and cast him into the cauldron. And straightway he was dissolved and liquefied in the steaming water so that not one trace of him remained.' We marvelled at these words of the king ; and the meal being ended, rose from the board.

6. Now on the following day[4] the king went hunting. On his return, I brought into his presence Garachar, count of Bordeaux, and Bladast, who, as I have above related,[5] had taken refuge in the church of the holy Martin because they had joined the party of Gundovald. At first I could gain nothing by my intercession on their behalf, yet I went on as follows : ' Let thy mightiness hearken, O king. Behold, I am sent to thee, a messenger from my lord. What answer shall I return to him who sent me, since thou wilt make me no reply ? ' At this he was astonished, and said : ' And who is this thy lord, who hath sent thee ? ' I answered with a smile : ' The blessed Martin ; he it is who hath sent me.' Thereupon he commanded the men to be brought before him. But no sooner did they come within his sight than he reproached them with their many acts of perjury and treason, calling them over and over again ' cunning foxes '. Yet he restored them to his favour, and gave them back all that had been taken from them.

7. When Sunday came round, the king went to church to hear Mass. Our brethren and fellow bishops gave Palladius the honour of saying the office. He was beginning the *Prophetia*,* when the king demanded who he was. When they told him that it was Bishop Palladius who had begun the service, the king was at once provoked to wrath,

[1] Bishop of Langres ; cf. IV. 10 (16) ; V. 5.
[2] Bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône ; cf. V. 45. [3] Cf. V. 5. [4] 6th July.
[5] VII. 37, though nothing is there said of Garachar. It is only said that Bladast escaped from Convenae.

and cried: 'What? Shall he who was ever faithless and perjured now pronounce the sacred word before me? I will go straightway forth from this church, that I may not hear mine enemy set forth the word.' As he so said, he started to leave the church. Then the bishops, perturbed at the humiliation of their brother, said to the king: 'We have seen him seated at thy board, and seen thee receive the benediction from his hand; and wherefore should the king spurn him now? For if we had known that he was hated of thee, our choice should have fallen upon another to perform this service. But let him now finish that which he hath begun; thereafter, if thou have aught against him, let it be decided by a judgement according to the canons.' Meanwhile Bishop Palladius, deeply humiliated, had already withdrawn into the sacristy. The king now ordered him to be recalled, and he then completed the interrupted service. But when Palladius and Bertram were invited again to the royal board, they fell out, reproaching each other in turn with many adulteries * and fornications, and with perjuries not a few. Many laughed; but others, swifter of understanding, lamented that the Devil's tares should spring thus rankly among the bishops of the Lord. On leaving the king, they gave bond and surety that they would both attend the council on the tenth day of the kalends of the ninth month.[1]

8. At this time there appeared signs, fiery rays in the northern sky, such as frequently appear. A brilliant light was seen to cross the heavens, and flowers blossomed upon the trees. It was the fifth month of the year.

9. Thereafter the king came to Paris, and began to speak in the presence of all, saying: 'My brother Chilperic is said to have left a son behind him when he died. The child's governors, at the mother's request, besought me to receive him from the holy font at the feast of the Lord's Nativity; but they never came. They next asked that the infant should be baptized at the holy Paschal feast; but on that occasion also he was not brought. A third time they prayed that he might be presented on St. John's Day; once again he came not. And now they have forced me from home in this hot season; here I am, and behold! the boy is kept hidden, and is not shown

[1] 23rd October.

to me. This leadeth me to think that they made an empty promise, and it is my present belief that one of our *leudes* * is the real father of the boy; if the child had been of my race, surely they had brought him to me. Know, therefore, that I shall not acknowledge him unless I recognize certain proofs of his descent.' When Queen Fredegund heard this, she assembled the principal men of the kingdom,[1] three bishops and three hundred laymen of the highest birth, and all took solemn oath with her * that the boy was the lawfully begotten child of Chilperic. In this way suspicion was removed from the mind of the king.

10. The king would still oft-times bewail the death of Merovech and Chlodovech,[2] not knowing where their bodies had been cast after they were slain. Now there came to him one who said: 'If in future it be not turned to my disadvantage, I will show the spot where the body of Chlodovech lies.' The king swore that no harm should come to him, but that, instead, he should be enriched with gifts. The man then said: 'The tale of the events shall prove that I speak the truth. When Chlodovech had been slain, he was laid in ground beneath the eaves of a certain oratory. But the queen feared that some day the remains might be discovered and receive honourable burial; she therefore commanded them to be thrown into the bed of the Marne. Thus I found them in the weir which I had myself prepared for catching fish.* At first I did not know who the dead man was. Then I recognized Chlodovech by his long hair,* and took him on my shoulders, and bore him to the bank, and buried him under a heap of sods. Behold, his limbs are unharmed; do now that which seemeth good to thee.' On hearing this, the king set out as if for the chase, discovered the grave, and found the body in it whole and unharmed, save only that a part of the hair which lay underneath had fallen away; the rest, with all its long locks, was preserved intact. It was seen that this was indeed he whom the king had sought with so much zeal. So the king summoned the bishop of the city, and caused the body to be borne to burial in the church of the holy Vincent,[3] accompanied by the clergy and people, with pomp of innumer-

[1] i. e. of Chilperic. Cf. V. 12 (18), 29 (39).
[3] Afterwards Saint-Germain-des-Près; cf. IV. 13 (20); VI. 33 (46).

able tapers; the king mourned no whit less for his dead nephews than for those sons of his own whom he had already seen laid to rest. And afterwards he sent Pappolus,[1] bishop of Chartres, to ask the body of Merovech, which he now caused to be buried near the grave of Chlodovech.

11. A certain door-keeper* denounced another in these words: 'My lord king, this man hath taken a bribe, consenting to thy destruction.' The door-keeper whom he had accused was arrested, flogged, and subjected to many kinds of torture, but disclosed nothing of the matter on which he was being examined. It was freely said that this accusation was the work of envy and foul play, because the door-keeper against whom the charge was brought was a favourite with the king.

Ansovald,* nourishing some suspicion, I know not what, departed from the king without taking leave. But the king returned to Chalon, and ordered Boantus,[2] who had ever been faithless to him, to be put to the sword. He was surrounded in his house, and perished at the hands of the king's men; his property was confiscated.

12. King Guntram again sought with all his might to persecute Bishop Theodore.[3] As the city of Marseilles had been already restored to his dominion, King Childebert sent thither Rathar, in the quality of duke,* to investigate the matter. But Rathar, disregarding the method of action enjoined upon him by the king, besieged the bishop, demanded sureties, and sent him to King Guntram that he might be sentenced by the bishops at the Council to be held at Mâcon. But the vengeance of God failed not, who ever defendeth His servants from the jaws of rabid dogs. For after the bishop's departure from the city, Rathar pillaged the effects of the church, claiming some things for himself, and locking up others under seal. But no sooner was this done, than a dangerous disease attacked his servants, who perished, worn down by fever; his own son succumbed to this sickness, and he himself buried him in a suburb of Marseilles with bitter lamentation. And such disaster fell upon his house, that when he left that city men hardly deemed he should see his own country again.

Bishop Theodore was detained by King Guntram, but received no harm. He is a man of surpassing holiness, and

[1] VII. 17. [2] Nothing is known of this man. [3] Cf. ch. 5 above.

untiring in prayer. Magneric, bishop of Trèves,[1] told me the following story of him. 'Some years since,' he said, 'Theodore was being conveyed to the presence of King Childebert under so close a guard that when he came to any city he was not suffered to see either the bishop or any of the citizens. When he came to Trèves, the bishop of that city was informed that Theodore was already embarked in a ship, and was on the point of being secretly carried farther. He rose in much sadness, and following with all speed, found him by the river bank. He reasoned with the guards, asking why such impiety should be, which forbade brother to meet brother face to face; at length he was suffered to see him, when he embraced him, gave him some raiment, and so departed. Then he went into the church of the holy Maximinus,* and prostrating himself before the tomb of the saint, remembered the words of the apostle St. James: "Pray ye one for another that ye may be healed."[2] And having wept and prayed long that the Lord might vouchsafe to succour his brother, he went out. And lo! a woman possessed by a spirit of error began crying out against him and saying: "O thou, grown old in evil, thou that pourest forth thy prayers to God for Theodore, our enemy, behold, we seek daily how he may be thrust forth from Gaul, he who day by day fanneth up the flames that burn us. And here art thou, who ceasest not to pray for him! Better were it for thee to look well to the goods of thy church, that the poor suffer no loss, than thus earnestly to make supplication for this man." And she went on to say: "Woe unto us, who avail not to overcome him."' And though we should not believe that which is uttered by devils, yet from the loud lament of this spirit that exclaimed against him, it was made manifest what manner of man this bishop was. I will now return to my task.

13. Guntram sent envoys to his nephew Childebert, who at that time was sojourning in the town of Coblentz,[3] so named because in that spot the rivers Moselle and Rhine flow together and unite. It had before been agreed that bishops of either kingdom should assemble at Troyes in Champagne; but this

[1] Cf. ch. 37, below, and IX. 10. Magneric is praised by Fortunatus (*Carm.* iii. 13). He died in 597.

[2] James v. 16.

[3] *Confluentes.*

had not suited the bishops of Childebert's kingdom. The chief envoy, Felix, having first made salutation, produced a letter and spoke as follows: 'Thine uncle, O king, asketh thee earnestly who hath caused thee to withdraw from thy promise, so that the bishops of thy kingdom will not attend the council which thou and he together did appoint. Can it be that evil men have made some root of discord to spring up between you?' As the king remained silent, I made answer: * 'It is no marvel if tares be sown between the peoples, for among the kings are found none that should be able to take root. All men know that King Childebert hath no father save his uncle, nor King Guntram any son but Childebert; have we not heard him say it this very year? Heaven, therefore, forbid that any root of discord grow between them, seeing that each should equally defend and love the other.' Then King Childebert called aside the envoy, Felix, and entrusted to him the following request: 'I entreat my lord and father to do no harm to Bishop Theodore. For doth he so, trouble must needs forthwith spring up between us, and by this hindering discord we shall be sundered, whose duty it is to preserve mutual love and live in peace.' The envoy departed, having received an answer on other matters also.

14. While I was staying with the king in the above town, I was one day kept at his board till it was dark. When the meal was over, I rose, and went down to the river, finding on the bank a boat ready for us. I went on board, and thereupon a motley crowd swarmed in. The boat began to fill, not only with men, but with water also. But the power of the Lord was present with us, working a great miracle; for though it filled to the gunwale, it could not sink. I had with me relics of the blessed Martin and other saints, by the miraculous power of which I believe that we were saved. The boat put back to the bank from which we started, and was voided alike of the passengers and the water. The strangers were now kept out, and we crossed without further obstacle. The next morning I said farewell to the king, and took my departure.

15. Proceeding on my journey, I reached the town of Yvois,* where I was kindly welcomed by the deacon Vulfolaic* and conducted to his monastery. This is situated about eight miles from the above-mentioned place, on the summit of a hill; here

he had built a great church which he made famous through relics of the blessed Martin and other saints. During my stay there, I begged him to tell me something about the happy event of his conversion, and how he, a Lombard by birth, had entered the service of the Church. At first he could not bring himself to tell the story, desiring with his whole heart to avoid all vainglory. But I adjured him with dread oaths, and urged him not to keep back any of these things that I asked, promising not to reveal to any man that which he should relate For a long time he resisted ; but at last he was overcome by prayers and entreaties, and told me the following story :

' I was still a little boy when I heard the name of the blessed Martin ; and though I knew no whit whether he was martyr or confessor, what good he had done in the world, or what region had the glory of receiving his blessed limbs in the tomb, I already used to keep vigils in his honour, and whenever a piece of money came into my hands, I gave alms. As I grew older, I eagerly learned my letters, and was able to copy them, before I understood them in their order as written words. Later I attached myself to the abbot Aredius,[1] under whose guidance I visited the church of the blessed Martin. When we were starting back, he gathered a little dust of the holy tomb for a blessing, which he placed in a small box and hung about my neck. On our arrival at his monastery in the territory of Limoges, he took the box to place it in his oratory ; and the dust increased so much that it filled not only the whole box, but pressed through at any joint where it could find a way out. From the light shed by this miracle, my heart more than ever burned to stay all its hope on the wonder-working power of the saint. I sought the territory of Trèves, and on this mountain where now thou standest I built by my own toil the dwelling which thou seest. I found here an image of Diana * which the heathen people worshipped as a god. I also set up a column, on which I stood suffering great torture, with no covering for my feet. And so, when winter came, in its due course, I was in such wise pinched with the icy cold that often the severe frost made the nails drop from my toes, while frozen water hung from my beard like melted wax of candles. For this district had a name for its many hard

[1] Of Limoges ; cf. ch. 27, below ; X. 29.

winters.' I then asked him, being very curious to know, what kind of food or drink he had, and how he had cast down the idols of that mountain ; and he continued thus : ' My drink and my food consisted of a little bread and green vegetables, with a small measure of water. But when crowds began to flock to me from the neighbouring estates, I proclaimed without ceasing that Diana was naught, the images naught, and naught the rites which they practised ; I said that the songs which they sang amidst their cups and their rank debauches were their shame. Rather let them pay worthy sacrifice of praise to Almighty God, who made heaven and earth. Moreover, I would often pray that the Lord would vouchsafe to cast down the image and shake this people from their heathenry. And the mercy of the Lord turned the heart of their rude minds, that they might incline their ears to the words of my mouth, and leave their idols, and follow the Lord. Then I called together certain of their number, with whose aid it was given me to cast down that huge image which my sole strength could not overthrow : smaller idols, easier to destroy, I had already with my own hands broken in pieces. So a great throng assembled before the statue of Diana, and they set ropes about it and began to haul, but all their labour nothing availed. Then I hasted to the church, and prostrate on the ground with many tears besought the divine compassion, that God's power might destroy that which human efforts could not overturn. After this prayer I came out, and returned to the workmen, and laid hands on the rope, and at the first pull which we gave straightway the image crashed to earth ; there I caused it to be broken up with iron hammers and reduced to dust. But at the hour when I came home to eat, my whole body from my head to the soles of my feet was so covered with pustules, that there might not be found void of them even the space that a finger-tip would cover. Then I went into the church alone, and stripped myself before the holy altar. For I had there a flask full of oil, which I had brought from the church of the holy Martin ; and therefrom with my own hands I anointed well my every limb ; and soon I was laid in a deep sleep. But about midnight I awoke ; and as I rose up to recite the appointed prayers I found all my body sound, as if never a sore had been seen upon me.

I knew that those sores were not otherwise sent than by the malice of the Enemy. And as ever in his spite he striveth to harm those who seek God, there came now to me bishops whose duty it rather was to exhort me wisely to complete the work that I had begun. But they said: "The way which thou followest is not the right way; nor shalt thou, in thine obscurity, be compared to Simeon of Antioch, the Stylite.* The situation of this place will not suffer thee to endure this torment. Come down rather, and dwell among the brethren whom thou hast gathered round thee." At these words, because it is imputed as a sin not to render obedience to bishops, I of course came down, went with them, and likewise ate. But on a certain day a bishop induced me to go out to an estate at some distance; he then sent workmen with crowbars,* hammers, and axes, and they dashed to pieces the column on which I was wont to stand. On the next day I returned, and found all shattered, and wept sore. But I might not set up again that which they had destroyed, for fear that I might be called refractory to the orders of the bishops. Thereafter I have been content to dwell among the brethren, as now I do.'

16. And when I besought him to narrate some of the miracles which the blessed Martin had wrought in that place, he told me the following story: 'A certain Frank of very noble family among that people had a son who was deaf and dumb. The boy was brought by his parents to this church, and I bade him lie down within the sacred walls upon a bed, near my deacon and another servant of the church. By day he applied himself to prayer; by night, as I say, he slept in the church itself. And at length God took compassion, and the blessed Martin appeared to me in a vision and said: "Put forth thy lamb from the church, for he is made whole." In the morning, as I was thinking upon this dream, the boy came to me, and spoke. He began to give thanks to God, then, turning to me, he said: "I give thanks to Almighty God who hath restored to me both speech and hearing." Thereafter he was wholly cured, and returned home. Another man who was often implicated in thefts and divers other crimes, but cleared himself by swearing falsely, was once accused of theft by certain persons. Whereon he said: "I will go to the church of the

blessed Martin, and clear myself by oaths, and so be proven innocent." But upon his entering in, his axe slipped from his hand, and he fell upon the threshold, stricken with sharp pain at the heart. Thereupon the wretch confessed with his own lips the very thing of which he had come to absolve himself by a false oath. Another, in like manner, accused of burning his neighbour's house, said : " I will go to the church of Saint Martin, attest my good faith, and return free from the charge." Now it was most plain that he had set fire to that house. As he went to take oath, I turned to him and said : " Thy neighbours declare that thou wilt not prove innocent of this ill deed. But God is present everywhere, and His power is the same here without doors as within. If the vain trust possess thee that God or His saints take not vengeance on the perjurer, behold His holy temple before thee ; swear here if thou wilt, but thou shalt not be suffered to tread the hallowed threshold." Then he lifted up his hands and said : " By Almighty God, and by the power of the blessed Martin His bishop, I deny that I caused this fire." Having thus sworn, he withdrew ; but he seemed to himself to be as it were girt with fire, and straightway he fell to earth, and began to cry aloud that the holy bishop burned him with fierce flame. And the miserable wretch kept repeating : " I call God to witness that I saw fire fall from heaven which now surroundeth me and burneth me with mighty vapours." As he spoke thus, he gave up the ghost. And this was a lesson to many, that thereafter they should not swear falsely in this place.' This deacon told me of very many other miracles, which to recount I deem too long a task.

17. During our sojourn in this place, we beheld for two nights signs in the heaven, namely rays in the north so clear and splendid, that none such were ever seen before ; on both sides, east and west, were blood-red clouds. On the third night, about the second hour,[1] these rays appeared again ; and while we gazed in wonder at them, lo ! from the four quarters of the earth there rose others like them, and we saw them covering the whole sky. In the middle of the heavens was a gleaming cloud to which these rays gathered themselves as it were into a pavilion, the stripes of which, beginning broad

[1] Between 7 and 8 o'clock, after sunset.

at the bottom, narrow as they rise, and meet as it were in a hood at the top. In the midst of the rays were other clouds, flashing vividly as lightning.[1] This was a great sign, and filled us with fear. For we looked that some disaster should be sent upon us out of heaven.

18. King Childebert, pressed by imperial envoys to surrender the gold given him the preceding year,[2] sent an army into Italy.* It was also rumoured that his sister Ingund had been removed to Constantinople.[3] But the commanders quarrelled among themselves, and returned without winning any advantage. Duke Wintrio[4] was driven out by the people of his district, and lost his dukedom; he would have likewise lost his life, had he not saved himself by flight. Later, when the people were appeased, he recovered the dukedom. Nicetius, who was replaced as count of Clermont by the dispatch thither of Eulalius, asked a dukedom of the king, offering immense presents to obtain it.* In this manner he was appointed duke of Clermont, Rodez, and Uzès. Though young in years, he was a man of acute insight, and established peace in Auvergne and in the other places under his administration.

Childeric the Saxon,[5] who had fallen into disgrace with King Guntram for a reason which had caused the flight of others, as I have above related,[6] sought the church of the holy Martin, leaving his wife in Guntram's dominions. The king had adjured her not to presume to see her husband until such time as he should be restored to the royal favour; but at length, after dispatch of many messengers on Childeric's behalf, I obtained permission for her to join him, and for both to dwell south of the Loire on the understanding that he should not venture to go over to King Childebert. This notwithstanding, after he had got back his wife, he did pass over privily to that king; and receiving from him the appointment of duke over his cities beyond the Garonne, he betook himself thither.

King Guntram, desiring to govern on his own account the kingdom of his nephew Lothar, son of Chilperic, appointed Theodulf count of Angers. He entered the city, but was

[1] Cf. VI. 8 (14), 24 (33).
[2] Cf. VI. 28 (42).
[3] Cf. VI. 26 (40), 29 (43).
[4] Probably duke of Champagne; cf. X. 3.
[5] Cf. VII. 3.
[6] Cf. above, ch. 6. Childeric must have been concerned in Gundovald's adventure.

ignominiously driven out by the citizens, Domigisel taking a leading part.* Upon this, he hastened back to the king, received a second mandate, and after being inducted by Duke Sigulf, exercised his authority as count. Gundovald, named count of Meaux in place of Werpin,[1] made his entry, and commenced the business of his jurisdiction. But later, while on his official progress through the territory of the city, he was slain by Werpin on a certain estate. His kinsmen assembled and fell upon the murderer, whom they shut up in the bath chamber of his house.* Thus did both of them lose the countship by sudden death.

19. The abbot Dagulf had been many times convicted of crimes, for he committed frequent robberies and murders, and in his adulteries knew no bounds. He once lusted after the wife of a neighbour, and had commerce with her; he then sought various occasions to kill the husband, who lived on land belonging to the monastery. At last the husband swore that if he came near his wife he should rue it. One day he left his dwelling, and at night Dagulf, attended by a single cleric, came to the woman's house. They drank long till they were drunken, and lay down in a single bed. But while they slept, the husband returned, lit a fire of straw,[2] and slew them both with strokes of his axe. Let this example be a lesson to all clergy to avoid the company of strange women, since the canon law and all the holy scriptures forbid them that of any women save those on whose account they cannot be reproached.*

20. Meanwhile the day of the council came round, and by command of King Guntram the bishops assembled in the city of Mâcon. Faustianus, who had been consecrated bishop of Dax by order of Gundovald,[3] was deprived of his see on the condition that Bertram, Orestes, and Palladius, who had given him the benediction, should in turn support him, paying him a hundred pieces of gold a year. But Nicetius,[4] who, though a layman, had induced King Chilperic to give him his diploma, now took possession of his bishopric in the city. Ursicinus, bishop of Cahors,[5] was excommunicated because he openly

[1] The text has Verpinus, but the name is probably Teutonic.
[2] To give him light for a few moments.
[3] Cf. VII. 31.
[4] *Ibid.* He was the count.
[5] Cf. V. *42*.

confessed to having received Gundovald. Sentence was passed that he should do penance for three years, leave head and beard unshorn, and abstain from flesh and wine. Further, he must never presume to celebrate Mass, or ordain clergy, bless churches and the holy chrism, or present consecrated bread.* He might, however, manage the external business of the Church in the usual manner.

At this council there was a certain bishop who defended the opinion that women could not be included under the general description 'man'; but he accepted the reasoning of his brethren, and said no more. Their arguments were as follows: The holy book of the Old Testament teaches that in the beginning, when God created man, He created them male and female, and called their name Adam,[1] which, being interpreted, means earthly man; even so He called the woman Eve; of both He used the word 'man'. And the Lord Jesus Christ is therefore called Son of man, because He was the Virgin's son, which is to say, the son of a woman. To her He said, when He was about to change the water into wine: 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?'[2] and that which follows. They brought other convincing testimony, and there this matter rested. Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen,[3] recited before his brethren some prayers which he had written when in exile. Some approved of them; but others criticized, on the ground that he had too little observed the rules of art. The style, however, was in places appropriate and worthy of a true son of the Church.

There was at this time a great brawl between the servants of Bishop Priscus[4] and those of Duke Leudegisel,[5] and Bishop Priscus offered a large sum to buy his peace. In these days also, King Guntram fell into so sore a sickness that some believed he could never recover. To my thinking, this was an act of God's providence; for the king had it in his mind to drive a number of bishops into banishment.* Bishop Theodore[6] returned to his see, and was received with the goodwill of the whole people and with their acclamations.

21. While this council was being held, King Childebert met the chief men of his kingdom at his domain of Beslingen,*

[1] Gen. v. 2. [2] John ii. 4. [3] Cf. V. 12 (18). [4] Of Lyons.
[5] Cf. VII. 37, 39. [6] Of Marseilles; cf. above, ch. 12.

which lies in the midst of the forest of the Ardennes. There Queen Brunhild made plaint to all the notables on behalf of Ingund her daughter, who was still detained in Africa ;[1] but scant sympathy did she receive.* Then they considered a case against Guntram Boso. A few days before, a female relative of his wife died without issue, and was buried in a church at Metz with jewels of great size and much gold. This was a few days before the festival of the blessed Remigius,[2] which is celebrated on the first of October. Many inhabitants went out of the city[3] with the bishop, and especially the chief personages, with the duke. The servants of Guntram Boso now came to the church where this lady was buried, and went in. They fastened the doors behind them, and opened the tomb, stripping off and removing all the jewels which they could find upon the body. The monks attached to the church heard them, and came to the doors, but were not allowed to enter. Finding their efforts vain, they sent messages to the bishop and the duke. Meanwhile the servants had taken the things, mounted their horses, and actually begun their flight. But a fear came on them that they might be caught on the road and subjected to divers punishments. They therefore returned to the church and laid the stolen jewels on the altar, but they did not dare leave the building, and kept crying out : ' We were sent by Guntram Boso.' When Childebert and his nobles met at the assembly convoked at the aforesaid domain, Guntram was questioned on this matter, but he could make no reply ; later, he fled away by stealth. All the property which he had held in Auvergne by gift from the domain was afterwards taken from him. He had to leave behind him, in his hurry, many things which he had unjustly taken from divers persons.

22. In this year died Laban, bishop of Eauze. He was succeeded by Desiderius, a layman, though the king had promised never to appoint a layman bishop ;* but to what will not the cursed thirst of gold persuade the hearts of men ?[4] Bertram,[5] on his return home from the council, was attacked by a fever. He summoned the deacon Waldo, who had also received in baptism the name of Bertram, transmitted to him

[1] Cf. ch. 18, above.
[2] The text has Remedius.
[3] The church (*basilica*) of S. Remi lying outside the walls.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 56, Gregory's favourite quotation ; cf. p. 155, above.
[5] Bishop of Bordeaux.

the authority of his episcopal office, and entrusted him with the execution of the terms of his will and his charitable bequests. No sooner was Waldo departed from him, than he gave up the ghost. Waldo returned, and made haste to the king with gifts and the formal consent of the citizens. But it availed him nothing. For the king sent a diploma ordering the consecration of Gundegisel, count of Saintes, surnamed Dodo ; which now took place. Before the council, many of the clergy of Saintes, with the connivance of Bishop Bertram, had written an attack against their bishop Palladius in order to humiliate him. After Bertram's death, the bishop arrested them, and had them severely flogged and mulcted.

Wadelen,[1] governor of King Childebert, died at this time,* but no one was appointed in his place, because the queen-mother desired herself to have charge of her son. All that Wadelen had received from the domain now returned to the administration of the royal treasury. Duke Bodigisil also died, full of days, and his sons inherited his estate without diminution. Saius replaced Faustus, bishop of Auch. The same year, on the death of the holy Salvius, the people of Albi received Desideratus as their bishop.

23. This year there were great rains, and the rivers were swollen to such a height that many boats were wrecked. They overflowed their banks, and covering the near fields and crops, wrought much destruction. The spring and summer time was so wet that it seemed less a summer than a winter.

24. In the same year two islands in the sea were burned by fire from heaven. For seven days they were consumed, even to destruction, with all the inhabitants and herds of cattle then upon them. For those who took refuge in the sea, and flung themselves into the deep, were drowned beneath the waters into which they had plunged ; and all on shore who did not meet instant death were burned in yet greater torment. All was reduced to ashes, and the sea covered everything. There were many who said that the fiery signs of which I told above, seen in the month of October, and making the heavens seem aflame, were the reflection of this conflagration.[2]

25. In another island, near the city of Vannes, there was a large pond full of fish, which was changed into blood to

[1] Or Wandelen ; cf. VI. 1.

[2] Above, chs. 8, 17.

the depth of an ell ; for many days countless dogs and birds congregated there and drank the blood, returning sated in the evening

26. Ennodius[1] was made duke of Tours and Poitiers. Berulf,[2] who had previously been set over these cities, together with his associate Arnegisel, was regarded with suspicion for having secretly conveyed away the treasures of King Sigibert. On his way to take up his dukedom over these two cities, he was taken by a stratagem of Duke Rauching[3] and set in bonds, together with his accomplice. Men were at once sent to their houses, who dragged forth the whole contents ; they found much property of his own, but also some[4] from the aforesaid treasures ; all of it was taken to King Childebert. The two prisoners were on the point of being put to the sword, when the bishop intervened, obtained grace for their lives, and won them their release. But they got nothing back of all that had been taken from them.

27. The duke Desiderius,[5] taking with him certain bishops, the abbot Aredius,[6] and Antestius,[7] made haste to King Guntram. The king was scarce minded to receive him, but was conquered by the entreaties of the bishops and took him into favour. Eulalius[8] was also there, with intent to bring forward a plaint on account of his wife, who had scorned him for Desiderius, to whom she had flown ; but he was shamed and laughed down, so that he held his peace.

28. Ingund, as I have written above,[9] had been left by her consort[10] with the imperial army. While she was being conducted to the emperor with her little son, she died in Africa,[11] and was there buried.* Her lord Hermangild was slain by his father Leuvigild. King Guntram, enraged by these events, proposed to send an army into Spain ; it was first to subject to his dominion Septimania, which lies within Gaulish territory,[12] and having done that, to advance farther. While this army

[1] Cf. V. 17 (24).
[2] In the text, Berulius ; cf. V. *49* ; VI. 7 (12), 22 (31).
[3] Cf. V. 3 ; IX. 9.
[4] The text has *nulla* ; but probably *nonnulla* should be read.
[5] Cf. VII. 27–8, 34, 43. [6] Cf. ch. 15, above ; X. 29.
[7] Cf. IX. 31. He was a distinguished man in Guntram's kingdom.
[8] Count of Auvergne ; cf. ch. 45, below, and X. 8.
[9] Cf. VI. 26 (40), 29 (43). [10] Hermangild. [11] At Carthage.
[12] And should politically be part of Gaul. For Septimania, see Introduction, pp. 145–6.

was being levied, a letter of instruction was found in the possession of certain unknown countrymen. It was sent for perusal to King Guntram, as purporting to be written by Leuvigild to Fredegund, enjoining her, by any trick she could, to prevent the army from marching to Spain. It ran thus: 'Be thou quick to slay our enemies, which is to say, Childebert and his mother; and make peace with King Guntram; buy it at any price you will. If perchance money be lacking to thee, we will send it thee in secret; do only that which we ask. But when once we are avenged upon our enemies, then recompense Bishop Amelius [1] and the lady Leuba, by whose good offices the way of approach hath been opened to thy presence.' Now Leuba was mother-in-law of Duke Bladast.[2]

29. Notwithstanding that this message had been taken to King Guntram, and by him brought to the notice of his nephew Childebert, yet Fredegund bade make two knives of iron to be cut with deep channels and smeared with poison, that even if no deadly thrust should sever the vital nerves, the infection of the poison would as swiftly wrest the life away. These knives she entrusted to two clerics with the following orders: 'Take these blades and hie you with all speed to King Childebert, feigning to be beggars. Cast yourselves at his feet, as if ye asked an alms, then pierce him from both sides,* that so at last Brunhild, whose arrogance is fed through his power, may be brought down with his fall and set beneath my feet But if the boy be so well guarded that ye may not reach his person, then slay her, that woman whom I hate. If ye die about this business, your kin shall be rewarded at my hands; I will enrich them with gifts and make them the first in my kingdom. Do ye therefore put from you all fear; let there be no dread of death in your breasts, for ye know that death is the common fate of man. Arm your hearts with manhood, and remember that oft-times before have brave men fallen in war, but that their families are thereby ennobled; they rise high above the rest by their great riches, and have precedence of all.' When this woman spoke thus, the clerics began to tremble, for they deemed her bidding right hard in the fulfilment. But when she saw them doubting, she drugged them with a draught, and sent them forth whither she would have

[1] Of Bigorra (Cieutat); cf. IX. 6.

[2] Cf. ch. 6, above.

them go. Straightway their hearts grew stout, and they swore to carry out all her behest. But she told them to take with them a small vessel filled with the same potion, and said: 'On the day when ye work my will, drink this draught in the morning before ye begin the work, and ye shall have great constancy to carry all through to the end.' With these instructions she dismissed them. They set out, and came to Soissons. But there they were taken prisoners by Duke Rauching, and under examination revealed everything; whereupon they were bound and cast into prison. After a few days, Fredegund, uncertain whether or not her behest had been fulfilled, sent a servant to find out if there were any rumour abroad, or haply to hear from some man's lips that Childebert was killed. After leaving her presence, the servant went to Soissons. There he heard that the clerics were in the prison, and came to the gate; but when he began talking with the warders at the gate, he was himself seized and placed under guard. All the three were then together sent to King Childebert, and questioned. They revealed the truth, admitting that they had been dispatched by Fredegund to murder him, and adding: 'We were ordered by the queen to disguise ourselves as beggars; we were to throw ourselves at thy feet asking an alms, and then to pierce thee with these blades. And if the thrust were not hard enough, the poison smeared upon the blades would soon reach the source of thy life.' Upon this declaration they were subjected to divers tortures; their hands, ears, and noses were cut off, and they were put to different kinds of death.

30. Now King Guntram ordered his army to march against Spain, and said: 'Subdue first the province of Septimania [1] to our dominion, as lying so near to Gaul; for it is shameful that the territory of the horrible Goth should extend into Gaul.' Thereupon the whole armed force of his kingdom was levied and sent thither. The peoples dwelling beyond the Saône, Rhône, and Seine joined the Burgundians and ravaged the banks of the Saône and Rhône, destroying the produce and the herds. In King Guntram's own territory they were guilty on all sides of murder, arson, and rapine; they even stripped the churches, slaying the clergy, with the bishops, as

[1] Cf. Introduction, pp. 145–6.

well as the lay people, even before the altars consecrated to God ; in such wise did they advance to Nîmes.[1] The men of Bourges, Saintes, Périgueux, and Angoulême, with the people of other cities then under Guntram's dominion, wrought the like wrongs, pushing forward to Carcassonne. Reaching that city, they found the gates opened for them by the inhabitants, and entered without resistance. But a quarrel arising between them and the people, they left the town. Terentiolus, former count of Limoges, was struck by a stone thrown from the walls, and killed ; the enemy revenged themselves upon him by cutting off his head, and taking it within the city. Thereupon the whole army was stricken with panic, and intent on returning home ; they left everything behind them, not only all that they had seized on the expedition, but all that they had originally brought with them. The Goths despoiled and slew many of them by taking them in ambush. The rest fell into the hands of the people of Toulouse, to whom they had done much injury during their advance ; they were now robbed and so roughly handled that they hardly reached their homes. Those who had attacked Nîmes devastated the whole country, setting houses and crops afire, felling olive-groves, and cutting down vines, but were unable to harm the citizens, who shut themselves within their walls ; they therefore marched on to other towns. These also were strongly fortified, and well stored with provisions and all other necessaries ; so they ravaged the surrounding territory, but failed to make their way into the towns themselves. Duke Nicetius, who had started on this expedition with the people of Auvergne,[2] beleaguered the cities with the other leaders. But seeing that he won no advantage, he came to a certain walled town [3] and gave his word that no harm should be done ; the people believed him, opened the gates of their free will, and received him and his men as if they came in peace. But when once they were let in, they disregarded their oath, plundered all the stores, and made the people prisoners. They then took counsel together, and returned home, committing on the way so many crimes, murdering, pillaging, and destroying even in their own king's country, that it were too long a task to recount them. But

[1] Nîmes, like Carcassonne, belonged to Septimania, and was therefore Visigothic. [2] Cf. above, ch. 18. [3] *Castrum.*

the result of their aforesaid burning of the crops throughout Provence was that they themselves now perished of hunger and want, and their dead were left behind along the roads; some of them were drowned in the rivers, many slain in uprisings of the people. It was related that more than five thousand perished in these disasters. But their fate did not restrain those that remained. The churches in Auvergne which were near the roads were stripped of their plate, and there was no end of these ill deeds until the last man of them had reached home. On their return great bitterness of heart possessed King Guntram, and the leaders of the aforesaid army took refuge in the church of the holy martyr Symphorian.[1]

When the king came to be present at the saint's festival,[2] they were admitted before him on condition that they should give him an account of their doings at a later time. And four days later he summoned the bishops and chief men of the laity, and began to arraign his commanders. 'How', said he, 'are we to win victory in our day when we no longer keep the observances of our fathers? They built churches, placing all their hope in God; they honoured the martyrs, and venerated the bishops; so they gained victories, and often by God's aid subdued hostile peoples with sword and shield. But as for us, not only have we no fear of God, but we lay waste His holy places and slay His ministers; the very relics of the saints we break and scatter in contempt. Victory cannot be ours when such deeds are done; therefore are our hands weak, our swords grow cold, nor do our shields, as in old days, defend and protect us. If therefore this evil be ascribed to my sin, on my head may God bring it again. But if it is ye who spurn your king's commands and delay to fulfil my behests, it is time that the axe were buried in your heads. For it shall be an example to all the host, if one of its leaders be slain: and we ought now to search out what is to be done. Let him who purposeth to follow justice follow; if any spurn it, let the vengeance of the law fall upon his head. For better is it that a few of the disobedient perish than that the wrath of God come upon the whole innocent land.' To this speech the leaders of the army replied: 'No easy task were it, most excellent king, to recount thy magnanimity and goodness, how

[1] Cf. II. 15.

[2] 22nd August, 585.

great thy fear of God, thy love of the Church and reverence for her bishops, thy pity for the poor, and thy generous care for the needy. All that thou utterest, glorious lord, we hold to be right and true; but what can we do, when the whole people is fallen into corruption, and all joy to do iniquity? No man feareth the king, none respecteth duke or count; and if haply any one misliketh this wickedness, and to preserve thy length of days striveth to amend it, forthwith ariseth sedition and riot among the people, and all rage so furiously against their officer, that should he be unwilling any longer to hold his peace hardly may he hope to escape with his life.' To this the king made reply: 'If any man follow justice, let him live; if he reject the law and our commands, let him straightway perish, that we bring this shame on our heads no longer.' *

After he had thus spoken, there arrived a messenger with this report: 'Recared, son of Leuvigild, is come up out of Spain;[1] he hath seized the strong place of Cabaret, ravaged the greater part of the territory of Toulouse, and carried off people captive. In the district of Arles he hath fallen upon the fortress of Beaucaire,* carrying off the men and gear within, and hath shut himself up within the walls of Nîmes.' On receiving this news, the king appointed Leudegisel[2] duke in place of Calumniosus, surnamed Egilan,* and distributed posts of more than four thousand men to guard the threatened territory. Nicetius, duke of Auvergne,[3] likewise advanced with a protecting force and patrolled the border.

31. During these events Fredegund was living at Rouen. There were words of bitterness between her and Bishop Praetextatus, she telling him that the time would come when he should return to his former exile,[4] he retorting in the following words: 'Whether in exile or out of exile, I have been, am, and shall remain a bishop; but as for thee, thou shalt not for ever enjoy royal power. By God's grace am I come forth from exile to my kingdom; but thou from thy kingdom shalt be plunged into the abyss.[5] It were better for thee to leave

[1] Septimania, which being politically under the Visigoths is sometimes described by Gregory as 'Spain'.
[2] Leudegisel had captured Gundovald at Comminges (cf. VII. 37–40).
[3] Cf. above, ch. 18. [4] Cf. V. 12 (18); VII. 16.
[5] *In abyssum.* He means, 'into hell'.

thy foolishness and thy malice and turn thee betimes to better things; to rid thee of the boastful pride that gloweth ever within thee, that so thou mayst for thyself attain eternal life, and be able to bring up to manhood * the young child whom thou hast borne.' The queen took these words ill, and left his presence seething with bitter wrath.[1]

The day of our Lord's Resurrection came, and the bishop went early to the church to perform the office. According to the use, he began the singing of the antiphons in their order, and during the chanting reclined upon a seat. While he was thus resting, behold a cruel assassin, who drew a dagger from his belt and stabbed him beneath the armpit. He cried out for help to the clergy who were present, but of all the number of those who stood near, not a man came to his aid Then, after holding forth over the altar his blood-stained hands, uttering prayers and giving thanks to God, he was carried by his trusty servants into his chamber and laid upon his bed. Forthwith appeared Fredegund, with Duke Beppolen[2] and Ansovald,[3] and said: 'Such a thing should never have befallen ourselves, or thy people, O holy bishop, that a deed like this should be done to thee while performing thy holy office. May the villain be pointed out to us who hath dared do this thing, that we may inflict on him a punishment according to his crime' The bishop well knew that she said this treacherously, and answered: 'And who hath done these things, if not that person who hath slain kings, so often shed the innocent blood, and done so many deeds of evil in this kingdom?' The queen replied: 'In our household are very skilled physicians, able to heal this wound. Permit it, that they visit thee.' He rejoined: 'Now know I that it is God's will to call me from this world. But thou, who art found the chief in these crimes, shalt in this world be accursed, and God shall avenge my blood upon thy head.' And when she was gone forth, the bishop set his house in order and gave up the ghost.

Romachar, bishop of Coutances, came thereafter to bury him, and great grief overcame all the citizens of Rouen, above all the chief men of the Franks in that place. One of these came to Fredegund and said: 'Much evil hast thou wrought

[1] *Felle fervens.*
[2] Cf. V. 22 (29) and ch. 42 below.
[3] Cf. ch. 11, above.

in this world, but no worse deed than this, that thou hast caused one of the Lord's bishops to be put to death. May God right soon avenge the innocent blood! All of us will search out this crime, that thou be no longer free to do such ruthless deeds.' After this rebuke, he went forth from the queen's presence, but she sent a messenger after him to invite him to her board. He refused. She then begged that, if he would not eat at her table, he would at least drink a cup and not go fasting from the royal dwelling. He waited, and they brought a cup from which he drank wormwood mixed with wine and honey,[1] after the manner of the barbarians.[2] But the draught was poisoned, and no sooner had he drunk it than he felt great pain rise in his breast, as if he were being all cut within. He called to his companions: 'Fly, O ye that are in peril, fly this monster, that ye all perish not with me.' They would not drink, but hastened to be gone. As for him, a blindness came over him; and though he mounted his horse, he fell dead three stadia[3] along the road. Bishop Leudovald[4] sent a letter to all the bishops, and having heard their opinion, closed the churches at Rouen, so that the people might attend no divine service until through the general indignation the doer of this vile deed should be discovered. Certain persons were arrested, from whom torture dragged the truth that these things were done at the prompting of Fredegund. But as she denied the charge, she could not be punished. It was reported that assassins were on the track of Bishop Leudovald because he was shrewdly resolved to get at the truth; but he was closely guarded by his people, and they were unable to do him a mischief.

When news of these events reached King Guntram, and the suspicion was thrown on Fredegund, he sent to the alleged son of Chilperic,[5] named Lothar, as I have said above, three bishops, to wit, Arthemius of Sens,[6] Veranus of Cavaillon,[7] and Agricius of Troyes, with orders, in concert with the child's governors,* to discover the author of the crime and bring him into his presence. These bishops explained their orders to these notables, who thus replied: 'To us such deeds are abominable; we desire

[1] *Absencium cum vino et melle mixtum.*
[2] The Franks.
[3] About a third of a mile.
[4] Of Bayeux; cf. VI. 3; IX. 13.
[5] Cf. ch. 1 above.
[6] 579–609. *Acta SS., Bolland,* 3rd April 578 or 584.
[7] Cf. IX. 4, 41.

their punishment ever more and more. But we cannot admit that if the guilty man be found among us, he should be taken before your king, since we are able, with the royal sanction, to put down the crimes of our own folk ourselves.' The bishops answered : ' Know that if he who did the crime be not given up, our king will come hither with an army and lay waste all this region with fire and sword ; for it is manifest that she who commanded the murder of the Frank by her ill practices caused also the bishop to be put to the sword.' With these words they went away without obtaining any proper answer, protesting formally that Melantius,[1] who had already been appointed to succeed Praetextatus, could never legally perform the functions of a bishop in that cathedral.

32. Many wicked deeds were done in these days.[2] Domnola, daughter of Victorius, bishop of Rennes,[3] widow of Burgolen,[4] and afterwards wife of Nectarius,[5] had a dispute about a vineyard with Bobolen, referendary of Fredegund.[6] When this man heard that she had come to the vineyard, he sent messengers, warning her not to presume to enter the estate. She treated the warning with contempt, and went in, declaring that the vines had been the property of her father. He then started a brawl, fell upon her with his armed retainers, and caused her death. He laid formal claim to the vineyard, and plundered all movable property ; all those who had been with Domnola, women as well as men, were put to the sword ; none remained alive but those who had managed to escape.

33. In these days there dwelled in Paris a woman who said to the inhabitants : ' Fly from the city, for know that it shall be utterly destroyed by fire.' Many mocked her words, declaring that she spoke thus because she had consulted the lots, or had dreamed dreams, or been possessed by the demon of noon ; * but she answered them : ' It is in no wise as ye say ; for I speak sooth, having seen in a dream a man radiant with light, coming forth from the church of the holy Vincent [7] with a taper in his hand, and setting on fire the houses of the merchants one after the other.' The third night after the woman's warning, as evening set in, a certain citizen took

[1] Cf. VII. 19. Otherwise called Melanius. [2] In 585. [3] Cf. IX. 39.
[4] V. 18 (25). [5] Cf. VII. 15. [6] Cf. ch. 43, below.
[7] Later, Saint-Germain-des-Près, and containing royal tombs. Cf. IV. 13 (20) ; V. (5) 8, and p. 512, below.

a light and went into a storehouse to fetch oil and other things that he needed ; when he went away, he left the light behind him, near the oil-cask. The house was that nearest the southern gate of the town. It caught fire from this light, and was burned down, firing in its turn the neighbouring houses. The flames spread to the jail, whereupon the holy Germanus appeared to the prisoners, broke the beam and chains which held them, and flinging open the door, suffered them to go forth unscathed. They betook themselves to the church of the holy Vincent, where is the tomb of the blessed bishop.[1] The flames were carried by a veering wind in all directions through the city, and the fire, now in its full fury, was master of the town. So it drew near another gate, where there was an oratory of the blessed Martin, once erected there because at this spot he had cured a leper's skin by a kiss.* The man who had constructed it of wattle-work, raising it to some height, now put his trust in the Lord, and nothing doubting of the power of the holy Martin, took refuge within its walls with all his goods, saying : ' I believe, and hold firm faith, that he who many a time commanded fires to cease,* and here with a healing kiss cured the leper's skin, even he will now drive back the flames from this place.' The fire came near, great globes of flame swept on, but straightway, as they struck the sides of the oratory, lost their heat. The people cried out to the man and his wife : ' Fly, poor victims, while yet ye may ! See how the mass of flame cometh rushing down upon you ; see how the sparks and coals of fire, like a mighty storm, spread even unto the place where ye are ! Come forth from the oratory, lest with it ye also be consumed.' But they two prayed without ceasing, unmoved by all these voices, the woman never stirring from the window through which from time to time the flames now entered, so strongly was she armed with firm faith in the holy bishop. And such was his power, that not only did it preserve the oratory and the dwelling of his servant, but also the houses round about, for it never suffered these to be harmed by the victorious flames. Here therefore ceased the fire which had begun to rage on one side of the bridge.* On the other side it swallowed up all so fiercely that only the river stayed its course, though

[1] i.e. Germanus.

the churches with the houses belonging to them were not burned.

It used to be said that this town was, as it were, a hallowed place from of old, and that no fire might have mastery over it and neither snake nor rat might there appear. But not long before, when they were cleaning out a drain by the bridge and removing the mud that choked it, they had discovered a brazen serpent and a brazen rat.* They took both away ; and ever afterwards serpents and rats innumerable were seen, and the city began to suffer from fires.

34. Since the prince of darkness hath a thousand harmful arts, I will relate what recently befell certain hermits and persons dedicated to God. I have mentioned in an earlier book[1] Winnoch the Breton, who, after he was ordained priest, vowed himself to such abstinence that he used only skins for clothing, and, for food, uncooked herbs of the field ; while he would do no more than set the winecup to his mouth, seeming rather to touch it with his lips than to drink. But the pious were free-handed ; he was too often given brimming cups of wine, and learned, alas ! to drink beyond measure, being so overcome by his potations that he was often seen drunken. The end whereof was that, his intemperance growing upon him as time passed, he was possessed by a demon and driven to such madness that he would take a knife or any other weapon, whether a stone or a club, upon which he could lay hands, and rush after people in an insane fury, till at last he had to be bound with chains and imprisoned in a cell. Two years he passed raging in this punishment, and then gave up the ghost. Another hermit was Anatolius of Bordeaux, described as a boy of twelve. He was in the service of a merchant, and asked permission to lead the life of a recluse. His master for a long time refused, believing that the boy would but grow lukewarm, and in such tender years could never reach the goal set before him. But at last he was overcome by his servant's entreaties, and gave him leave to do what he asked. There was in the town an ancient crypt vaulted by the ancients and finely wrought, in a corner of which was a small cell walled with hewn stones, which might scarce hold a man standing erect. The boy entered this cell, remaining in it for eight years or

[1] V. 14 (21).

more, content with the scantiest food and drink, and passing all his time in prayers and vigils. But he was then seized with a great terror, and began to cry out that he was tortured by inward pains. Whence it befell that, aided, as I think, by some of the Devil's host, he removed some of the squared stones of his prison, and flung down the wall, clapping his hands together, and shouting that the saints of God were burning him through and through. For a very long time he remained a prey to this madness; and as he often shouted the name of the holy Martin, declaring that this saint tormented him more than all others, he was brought to Tours. But the evil spirit, repressed, as I believe, by the power and greatness of the holy Martin, could in no wise maim him. He remained in Tours for the space of a year without suffering further evil, and returned home. But afterwards he fell once more into that evil from which he had been freed.

35. Envoys came from Spain to King Guntram with many gifts, seeking peace; but they received no certain answer. For in the foregoing year,[1] when his army had carried war into Septimania, some vessels sailing from Gaul to Galicia had been plundered by order of King Leuvigild, their cargoes carried off, the crews wounded or slain, and some men taken captive, of whom a few managed to escape in boats and bring the news to their own country.

36. At the court of Childebert, for some cause unknown, Magnovald was slain by the king's orders in the following way. The king being in his palace at Metz,[2] and looking on at a sport in which a beast was being worried by a pack of dogs on all sides, summoned Magnovald to him. He came, and in ignorance of what was afoot joined freely in the general laughter as he watched the creature. Then a man who had received his orders, as soon as he saw his victim intent upon the sport, swung his axe and cleft his skull. He fell dead, and was thrown out of a window of the house; his own people buried him. His property was seized, and all that was found was taken to the public treasury. Some averred that the reason for his murder was that after his brother died he had done his own wife to death, after cruelly ill-treating her, and then taken his brother's wife to his bed.

[1] 585.

[2] *Infra Metensis urbis palacium.*

37. After these events a son was born to King Childebert and received from the sacred font by Magneric, bishop of Trèves.[1] The boy was named Theudebert.* King Guntram had such joy of the event that then and there he sent envoys bearing many gifts and this message: 'Through this child God, by the loving-kindness of His divine majesty, shall raise up the kingdom of the Franks, if but his father will live for him, and he live for his father.'

38. In the eleventh year of King Childebert[2] envoys came once more from Spain, seeking peace; but they also received no definite reply, and returned home. Recared, son of Leuvigild, came as far as Narbonne, and made a raid in Frankish territory, but returned home unobserved.

39. In this year died many bishops, among their number Badegisil[3] of Le Mans, a right savage man to his people, unjustly seizing and carrying off the goods of many. His wife,* worse than himself,[4] enhanced his harsh and merciless temper, ever urging him on to new crimes by the spur of her most wicked counsel. Hardly a day, hardly a moment, passed wherein he did not go about to plunder the citizens and to drag them into new disputes. Daily he would argue cases with the judges, and devote himself to secular affairs, raging against some men, ill-using others, even going so far as to deal blows with his own hands, crying at the same time: 'Because I have turned cleric, am I therefore debarred from avenging my wrongs?' But why should I speak of his conduct to strangers, when he did not spare his own brothers, but rather chose them out for robbery; for they were never able to get justice at his hands in the matter of their paternal and maternal inheritance. After the fifth year of his bishopric, as he was entering upon the sixth, and had prepared a banquet for the townspeople, with promise of huge delights, he caught a fever, and straightway a sudden death cut all too short for him the year in this wise begun. Bertram, archdeacon of Paris, was appointed in his place.[5] He is said to have had many disputes with the widow of the dead man, because she kept back as her own property gifts presented to the church in the time of Badegisil, asserting: 'This property was the acquisition* of my husband.

[1] Cf. above, ch. 12. [2] A.D. 586. [3] Cf. VI. 9.
[4] Magnatrude; cf. X. 5. [5] Cf. IX. 18, 41.

Nevertheless she was compelled, sorely against her will, to make restoration of them all. She was a woman of indescribable wickedness. Often did she cut men's virile members together with the skin of the belly, and burned with red-hot plates the privy parts of women ; and many other iniquities she practised, as to which I deem it better to hold my peace.

Sabaudus, bishop of Arles,[1] also died ; Licerius, referendary of King Guntram,[2] was admitted in his place. Provence was overrun by a grievous pestilence. Evantius, too, bishop of Vienne,[3] ended his days ; Virus, a priest of senatorial family, was chosen by the king to fill his see. Many other bishops passed away in this year ; I have been able to omit mention of them here because all in their several cities have left memorials of themselves.

40. In the city of Tours there was a certain Pelagius, one versed in all manner of evil, fearing no judge, inasmuch as he had under him the keepers of the royal horses.* In consequence of this, he practised without ceasing thefts, covert and open attacks, violent assaults, and divers other crimes, both on land and on the rivers. Many times I summoned him before me, and tried to make him abandon these evil courses by words of threatening or gentle rebuke, but I got from him rather hatred than any fruit of justice, according to the proverb in the Wisdom of Solomon : ' Reprove a fool, and he will hate thee.' [4] This wretch so hated me that many a time he would beat men of our holy Church and leave them for dead, ever seeking some excuse for causing loss both to the cathedral church and the church of the holy Martin.* Once, when our men came along with some sea-urchins in vessels,* he beat them, kicked them, and took the vessels from them. As soon as I heard of it, I excluded him from communion, not to revenge my own wrong, but the better to correct him of such madness. He then chose out twelve men, and brought them with him to swear falsely to his innocence.* I was unwilling to receive his oath ; but, urged by the man himself and by the citizens, I sent the rest away, took his oath alone, and ordered him to be readmitted to communion. This happened

[1] Cf. IV. 23 (30). [2] Cf. IX. 23. [3] From 581.
[4] Prov. ix. 8 : *Argue stultum, adiiciet odire te.* The Vulgate has : *Noli arguere derisorem ne oderit te.*

in the first month of the year.[1] But in the fifth month of the year,[2] when the fields are reaped, he unlawfully seized a meadow of the nuns, which adjoined his own. But the moment he put in his sickle, a fever seized him, and on the third day he breathed his last. He had already placed a tomb for himself in the church of the holy Martin in the village of Candes,* but his people found this broken into fragments ; afterwards he was buried in the porch of this church. The vessels once containing the sea-urchins which had been the cause of his perjury were taken from his storehouse after his death. Thus was made manifest the saving power of the blessed Mary,[3] in whose church this wretch had uttered his false oath.

41. Now when the rumour ran through the whole country that Bishop Praetextatus had been killed by Fredegund, in order to clear herself of the charge she ordered a slave to be seized and severely flogged, crying : ' It is thou who hast brought this impious charge on me, by assailing with the sword Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen.' She then handed him over to the bishop's nephew. But when he was put to the torture he made a clean breast of the whole matter. ' I received from Queen Fredegund ', he said, ' a hundred pieces of gold to commit the crime, from Bishop Melantius[4] fifty, and fifty more from the archdeacon of the city ; they further promised to enfranchise both myself and my wife.' On these words the bishop's nephew unsheathed his sword and cut the accused man to pieces. Fredegund appointed Melantius to his cathedral church[5] at Rouen, having previously given him the bishopric.

42. Duke Beppolen[6] was sorely harassed by Fredegund, and did not receive the treatment due to his position. Seeing himself thus slighted, he went over to King Guntram, who made him duke of the cities which belonged to Lothar, son of King Chilperic.* He set forth for these places with a great array, but the people of Rennes refused to receive him. He next went to Angers, where he did many evil deeds. He spoiled the corn, hay, wine, and everything else in the houses to which he came, breaking open doors without waiting for the keys. Many of the inhabitants he beat and trampled under-

[1] i.e. in March. [2] July. [3] Cf. X. 31.
[4] Cf. ch. 31 above, and VII. 19. [5] *Ecclesia*.
[6] Cf. ch. 31 above.

foot ; he put fear into the heart of Domigisel,[1] though later he made peace with him. When he came into the town, and was feasting with various persons in an upper chamber,* the roof suddenly gave way ; many were injured, and he himself escaped only half alive ; yet he persisted in his evil doing. Fredegund ruined great part of the property which he possessed in the kingdom of her son. He now returned to Rennes, seeking to bring the people under the authority of King Guntram. He therefore left his son among them ; but not long after they fell upon the boy, who was slain, together with many men of great place.*

In this year many signs appeared. Trees blossomed in the seventh month ; [2] many which had already borne fruit now bore again, the fruit remaining on the trees until Christmas. A brilliant light in the form of a serpent was seen to pass across the sky.

43. In the twelfth year of King Childebert,[3] Nicetius of Auvergne was made governor [4] of the province of Marseilles * and of the other cities in the region then under that king's jurisdiction.

Antestius [5] was sent by Guntram to Angers, and severely punished all those implicated in the death of Domnola,[6] wife of Nectarius. He confiscated the goods of Bobolen,[6] as ringleader in this crime. He next came to Nantes and began to harass the bishop Nonnichius.[7] 'Thy son', he said, 'is a party to this villainy, and deserveth to be punished according to his guilt.' The youth, however, dismayed by an accusing conscience, fled to Lothar, son of Chilperic ; and Antestius, obtaining sureties that Nonnichius would appear before the king, went himself to Saintes.

A rumour went abroad about this time that Fredegund had secretly dispatched envoys to Spain, and that Palladius, bishop of Saintes, had privily received them, and sent them forward on their journey. It was now Lent, and the bishop had retired to an island of the sea * to pass the days in prayer. As he was returning, according to his custom, for the commemoration of the Lord's Supper,[8] and the people waited his coming,

[1] Cf. ch. 18 above. [2] September. [3] A.D. 587.
[4] *Rector*. [5] Cf. ch. 27 above. [6] *Ibid.* [7] Cf. VI. *15*.
[8] On Maundy Thursday.

Antestius waylaid and stopped him, then, without troubling to establish the real facts of the case, spoke as follows: 'Thou shalt not pass into the city, but shalt be condemned to banishment, because thou hast received envoys from the enemy of our lord the king.' The bishop replied: 'I know not what thou sayest. But since the holy days are close upon us, let us go into the city, and when the holy solemnities of the feast are over, bring what charge thou wilt against me, and I will give thee an answer; for there is nothing in that which thou deemest.' He answered: 'Not so. Thou shalt not set foot upon the threshold of thy church, for thou art plainly false to our lord the king.' What need for more? The bishop was arrested on the road; an inventory was made in the church house.[1] The citizens could not persuade the duke even to put off the examination till after the Easter festival. They interceded; he refused, but at last laid bare the wound hidden within his breast. 'If', he said, 'the bishop will by legal sale place in my possession the house which he owns in the territory of Bourges, I will do what ye ask; if not, he shall not escape my hands, but shall be driven into banishment.' The bishop dared not refuse; he wrote a deed of sale, signed it, and transferred the piece of land. Thereupon, having found sureties for his appearance before the king, he was given permission to enter the city. When the feast of Easter was past, he proceeded to the king. Antestius was also there, but failed to prove any of his charges against the bishop, who was therefore commanded to return to his city, his case being deferred to a future council on the chance that some of the charges might then be made more certain. Bishop Nonnichius was present too, but after making the king many gifts was dismissed.

44. Fredegund dispatched envoys to King Guntram in the name of her son. They presented their petition, received their answer, and retired after due farewells; but for some cause or other lingered a while in their lodging. At dawn the king, proceeding to matins, a wax taper being borne before him, perceived a man asleep, like one drunken, in a corner of the oratory; he was girded with a sword, and his spear leaned against the wall. At this sight the king cried out that there

[1] The bishop's residence.

was an unnatural thing for a man to be found sleeping in such a place in the dread dark of night. Overpowered and bound with thongs, the man was questioned as to what all this meant, and on being forthwith put to torture, declared that he was dispatched by the envoys to slay the king. The envoys of Fredegund were then arrested, but would not plead guilty to any of the points on which they were examined, saying: 'We were sent for no other purpose than to bring the king the message which we presented.' The man was then severely flogged and committed to prison by the king's command, while the envoys were banished to various places. It was very clear that they were dispatched by Fredegund to take the king's life, which thing the mercy of God did not allow. Baddo was regarded as the chief among them.[1]

45. The Spanish envoys repeated their visits to King Guntram, but were unable to obtain any concession as to peace; far from that, enmity grew more than ever. King Guntram restored the city of Albi to his nephew Childebert.[2] Duke Desiderius had bestowed the greater part of his wealth in the territory of this city; and as soon as he heard of the change, he feared that Childebert might take revenge on him to satisfy an ancient grudge, because in this city he had once dealt no light blow to the army of King Sigibert of glorious memory. He therefore crossed into the territory of Toulouse with his wife Tetradia, whom he had taken from Eulalius, the former count of Auvergne,[3] and all his possessions. There he levied an army, and prepared to march against the Goths, first, they say, dividing his property between his sons and his wife. He took with him Count Austrovald,[4] and advanced on Carcassonne. The citizens of that place had made themselves ready for resistance, on hearing the news, for they had already received warning. But when hostilities began the Goths turned to flee, and Desiderius and Austrovald struck at their rearguard. Their flight continuing, Desiderius approached the city with only a few men, for his men's horses were exhausted. As he came up to the gate, he was surrounded by citizens sallying from within, and was slain with almost all his companions; hardly a man managed to escape to tell what had befallen.

[1] Cf. IX. 13. [2] In 587. [3] Cf. above, ch. 27, and X. 8.
[4] Cf. IX. 7, 31.

When the death of Desiderius was known, Austrovald turned back, and proceeded to the king, who shortly afterwards appointed him duke in the dead man's place.*

46. Leuvigild, king of Spain, now fell ill. Some say that he repented him of his heresy,* and embraced the Catholic faith, commanding that no man henceforth should be found consenting to Arian error ; and that then he was continually in tears for seven days on account of all the evil which he had done against God, after which he gave up the ghost.[1] Recared, his son, reigned in his stead.

[1] Leuvigild really died in the preceding year, 586.

BOOK IX

[BOOK THE NINTH]

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE NINTH BOOK

I. Of Recared and his envoys.
II. Of the death of the blessed Radegund.
III. Of the man who came to King Guntram with a dagger.
IV. How another son was born to Childebert.
V. Of portents.
VI. Of impostors and soothsayers.
VII. Of the removal of Ennodius, and of the Gascons.
VIII. How Guntram Boso was brought into the king's presence.
IX. Of the death of Rauching.
X. Of Guntram Boso's death.
XI. What the kings saw.
XII. Of the slaying of Ursio and Berthefred.
XIII. Of Baddo, who having been on an embassy, was imprisoned, and after a time released ; and concerning the dysentery.
XIV. Of the peace between Bishop Egidius and Duke Lupus.
XV. Of his embassy to our kings.
XVI. Of the conversion of Recared.
XVII. Of the scarcity in this year.
XVIII. Concerning the Bretons and the death of Bishop Namatius.
XIX. Of the murder of Sichar, a citizen of Tours.
XX. Of my mission to King Guntram for the keeping of the peace.
XXI. Of the almsgiving and the goodness of this king.
XXII. Of the pest at Marseilles.
XXIII. Of the death of Bishop Ageric, and concerning his successor.
XXIV. Of the episcopate of Fromius (Pronimius).
XXV. How Childebert's army marched into Italy.
XXVI. Of the death of Queen Ingoberg.
XXVII. Of the death of Amalo.
XXVIII. Of the precious things sent by Brunhild.
XXIX. How the Lombards sought peace of Childebert.
XXX. Of the tax-collectors at Poitiers and Tours.
XXXI. How King Guntram sent an army to Septimania.
XXXII. Of the enmity between Childebert and Guntram.

XXXIII. How Ingitrude the nun went to Childebert to speak against her daughter.
XXXIV. Of the enmity between Fredegund and her daughter.
XXXV. Of the death of Waddo.
XXXVI. How King Childebert sent his son Theudebert to Soissons.
XXXVII. Concerning Bishop Droctigisel.
XXXVIII. Of that which certain men sought to do against Brunhild.
XXXIX. Of the scandal that arose in the monastery at Poitiers through Clotild and Basina.
XL. Concerning the origin of the scandal.
XLI. Of the slaying in the church of Hilary.
XLII. Copy of the letter sent by the holy Radegund to the bishops.
XLIII. How Theudoald [1] the priest came to assuage the scandal.
XLIV. Of the weather during this year.

THE END

[The period covered by this Book is from the year A.D. 587 to 589.]

[1] In the text he is called Theuthar.

IN THE NAME OF CHRIST HERE BEGINS THE NINTH BOOK IN THE TWELFTH YEAR OF KING CHILDEBERT

1. Upon the death of Leuvigild, king of Spain, Recared, his son, made covenant with Goiswinth,* his father's widow, and recognized her as his mother. Goisvinth was the mother of Queen Brunhild, mother of Childebert the Second; Recared was the son of Leuvigild by another queen.[1] After taking counsel with his step-mother, he sent envoys to King Guntram and to Childebert with the following message: 'Let there be peace between us, and let us make a treaty, that ye may lend us the support of your strength, and that if need shall arise, we, through the love that is between us, shall in like manner lend you ours.' The envoys thus sent to King Guntram were ordered to stop at the city of Mâcon. Thither the king sent his representatives to know the object of their mission, but he would not himself give them audience. This action caused such growth of enmity that no subject of Guntram's was suffered to cross the frontier into the cities of Septimania. The envoys sent to King Childebert were welcomed with friendliness; * they offered their gifts, received assurance of peace, and returned with presents from the king.

2. In this year [2] the most blessed Radegund * passed away from this world, leaving behind her great lamentation in the monastery which she had founded; I myself was present at her burying.* She died on the thirteenth day of the sixth month,[3] and was buried three days afterwards. In my book of Miracles I have judged it well to write more fully of the wonders manifested on that day and of the manner of her burial.[4]

3. Meanwhile the feast of the holy Marcellus came round, celebrated at Chalon in the seventh month; [5] King Guntram was present. When Mass was over, and he had approached the altar to receive the sacrament, a man came up as if to say something to him. But as he was moving quickly towards

[1] Cf. IV. 25 (38); V. 28 (38). The mother of Recared was named Theodosia.
[2] A. D. 587. [3] August. [4] *In gloria Confessorum*, c. 104.
[5] 4th September.

the king, a knife slipped out of his hand ; he was straightway seized, and found to be carrying another unsheathed knife. He was forthwith taken out of the holy church, bound, and tortured ; whereupon he confessed that he had been dispatched to murder the king. 'That', he said, 'was the design of the person who sent me.' The king knew well that many were allied in hate against him ; he was suspicious of attack, and had ordered his guards always to keep close about him, that no one might come near him with a sword ; the only place where he might be struck was the church, where he was deemed safe and free to stand without fear. The persons of whom I have spoken were arrested, and many of them put to death. But the man himself was only beaten and set free alive ; for the king held it impious to slay one who had been taken out of a church.

4. This year another son was born to King Childebert. He was received from the font by Veranus,* bishop of Cavaillon,[1] and was given the name of Theuderic.* This bishop was at this time endowed with great power of miracle, and when he made the sign of the Cross over the sick by God's aid they were often restored to health.

5. Many prodigies were now seen. In the houses of various persons vessels were found inscribed with unknown characters which could in no wise be either scraped or rubbed away. This wonder began in the territory of Chartres, and passing by way of Orleans, reached that of Bordeaux, leaving out no single intermediate city. In the eighth month [2] we saw in the vineyards, after the vintage was over, fresh shoots with misformed grapes ; on other kinds of trees new leaves and new fruits appeared. Rays were observed in the northern sky. Certain persons declared that they had seen snakes fall from the clouds ; others affirmed that by a sudden destruction a whole village had vanished from sight, houses, inmates and all. Many other signs appeared, such as usually herald a king's death or the ruin of much country. The vintage in this year was poor, the waters in excess ; there were very heavy rains, and the rivers were greatly swollen.

6. There was at Tours in this year [3] a man named Desiderius, who proclaimed himself one great above the common, asserting

[1] Cf. VIII. 31. [2] October. [3] 587.

his power to work many miracles. He boasted, among other things, that messengers passed between himself and the apostles Peter and Paul. As I was absent, the country people flocked to him in multitudes, bringing with them the blind and the infirm, whom he sought rather to deceive by the false teaching of hellish arts,* than to heal by the power of holiness. Paralytics, or those disabled through other infirmities, he ordered to be stretched to their full length by force, pretending to restore by his own effort those whom he could not make straight by the gift of divine power. Some of his servants would seize a man's hands and feet, others would hold him by other parts, until it seemed as if the sinews must snap ; if no cure was effected, men were sent away half dead. In consequence of this treatment, many lost their lives under this torture. This wretch was so swollen with conceit that he declared the blessed Martin less powerful than he, and ranked himself equal with the apostles. Nor need we wonder that he should liken himself to the apostles, when the author of all evil, from whom such things proceed, shall at the end of the world pretend to be the Christ. What I now relate proves that, as I have said, he was full of hellish arts. Those who saw him declared that if any one had spoken evil of him in secret and at a distance, he would reproach him in public in these words : ' Thou hast said this or that about me, defaming my holiness.' Now by what other means could he have known this save through familiar demons? He wore a tunic and hood of goat's hair, and in public practised abstinence in the matter of food and drink. But in private, at the inn, he gorged himself to such a point that the servant waiting on him could not keep pace with his greed. The imposture was discovered; he was taken by our people, and was expelled from the territory of the city. We never learned whither he went, but he used to call himself a citizen of Bordeaux.

Seven years ago there appeared another great impostor, who deceived many by his wiles. He was clad in a long sleeveless tunic,[1] over which was a fine linen mantle, and wore a cross from which hung a number of little flasks containing, as he said, holy oil. He pretended to come from Spain, and to have brought relics of the most blessed martyrs Vincent the deacon[2]

[1] *Colobium.* [2] Cf. III. 29.

and Felix. He came at nightfall to the church of the holy Martin at Tours, while we were at table, and sent in a message : ' Come forth to greet the sacred relics.' The hour was too late, and we made answer : ' Let the blessed relics remain upon the altar, and in the morning we will go forth to meet them.' But at the break of dawn the man rose, and without waiting for me came with his cross and appeared in my cell. I was astounded, and marvelling at his impudence, asked him what his conduct meant. He answered in a haughty manner, and raising his voice : ' It was thy duty to receive us with more respect. But I shall tell all to King Chilperic ; he will avenge the affront.' He then, quite ignoring me, went into my oratory, took it upon himself to recite first one verse, then another, then a third, began the prayer, and read it all through, and then, taking up his cross again, went his way. He was a man of uncultured speech, and free in the use of low and coarse expressions ; he could not even speak sense. He went as far as Paris, where at this time the public Rogations * commonly held before the holy day of the Lord's Ascension were being celebrated. While Bishop Ragnemod was making the round of the holy places in procession with his flock, this man also came up with his cross, wearing a garment quite unfamiliar to the people, and gathered round him a whole rabble of bad characters and country women, and formed a procession of his own, meaning to go round the holy places with his private following. The bishop, observing this, sent his archdeacon with this message : ' If thou bearest holy relics, place them awhile in the church and celebrate the holy days with us ; then, when the festival is over, go thy way.' But he, caring nothing for what the archdeacon said, fell to cursing and abusing the bishop, who, seeing that the fellow was an impostor, ordered him to be imprisoned in a cell, and made an examination of all that he had with him. There was found on him a large bag full of the roots of various herbs ; there were also in it moles' teeth, bones of mice, and the claws and grease of bears. Seeing that all these things were instruments of witchcraft, the bishop ordered them to be thrown into the river ; he then took away the man's cross and commanded him to be driven forth from the territory of Paris. Then the fellow made a new cross, and began to carry on the same practices as before ; but he was taken

by the archdeacon, bound with chains, and committed to prison. During those days I came to Paris, and was lodged at the church of the holy Julian the martyr.* The following night the wretch, breaking from the prison, rushed to this church with all his chains upon him, fell down upon the paved floor exactly where I usually took my place, and fell asleep, overcome by drowsiness and wine. We knew nothing of what was befallen, but found him sleeping there when we rose in the middle of the night to give thanks to God. Such a foul smell rose from him, that this stench outstank the stenches of all sewers and privies, and made it impossible for us to enter the holy church. One of the clerics [1] went up, and, stopping his own nostrils, tried to rouse him, but failed, so sodden was the miserable creature with his wine. Then four other clerics took him up in their hands and flung him into a corner of the church; after which they brought water, washed the pavement, and strewed it with sweet-smelling herbs; so we came out and performed the office. But our chants never roused him; he did not wake until day was restored to earth and the light of the sun had risen high in the heavens,* when I delivered him to the bishop again, asking that he might be pardoned.* When the bishops assembled in the city of Paris, I related these events at table, and ordered him to be brought before us that we might admonish him. When he was come in, Amelius, bishop of Bigorra,[2] raising his eyes, recognized him as a runaway servant of his own; whereupon he pardoned him and took him back to his own country. Many there be who by the practice of such impostures never cease to lead simple folk astray, of whom, I think, the Lord Himself speaketh in the Gospel, that in the last times 'there shall arise false Christs and false prophets who shall show [3] signs and wonders and lead into error even the elect'.[4] But enough of this matter; let me rather return to my proper subject.

7. Ennodius,[5] who held office as duke of Tours and Poitiers, now received also the government of Aire and Lescar.* But the counts of Tours and Poitiers went to King Childebert and obtained his withdrawal from their cities. The duke, as soon

[1] Probably a cleric of one of the lower grades; perhaps an *ostiarius*.
[2] Cf. VIII. 28.
[3] Lit. 'give'.
[4] Matt. xxiv. 24. The text is in general but not exact agreement with that of the Vulgate.
[5] Cf. VIII. 26.

as he heard that he had been removed, hastened to visit the other cities, but while there received an order to depart. Restored to leisure, he returned home, and devoted himself to private affairs.

The Gascons * now sallied from their mountains and descended into the plains, where they ravaged the fields and vineyards, burned the houses, and carried off many captives with their flocks and herds. Duke Austrovald [1] took the field against them several times, but could wring scant retribution from them. The Goths, in revenge for the devastation wrought during the previous year in Septimania by King Guntram's army,[2] broke into the province of Arles, took much booty, and carried off captives, advancing as far as the tenth milestone out of the city. They sacked the strong place called Ugernum,[3] overcoming those within, and destroying all that they had without meeting resistance. After this they returned home.

8. Guntram Boso,[4] who had incurred the queen's hatred, resorted to the aid of bishops and nobles, seeking in his misfortune to obtain a pardon which hitherto he had scorned to ask. During the minority of King Childebert he had often assailed Queen Brunhild with taunts and abuse ; he had also encouraged her adversaries in the insults which they had heaped upon her. The king, to revenge his mother's wrong, ordered him to be pursued and slain ; and Guntram, finding himself in the utmost peril, took refuge in the cathedral church [5] of Verdun, trusting to obtain pardon through the mediation of Bishop Ageric, who had been sponsor to the king at his baptism. The bishop hastened to intercede for him with the king, who, feeling unable to refuse the petition, said : 'Let him first come before us and give sureties ; thereafter let him go before our uncle ; [6] we will put into execution whatever our uncle shall decide.' The prisoner was therefore brought to the place where the king was, stripped of his arms, and manacled ; in this state he was presented to the king by the bishop. Falling at the king's feet, he said : 'I have sinned against thee and against thy mother, not obeying thy com-

[1] Cf. VIII. 45 ; there count of Toulouse. [2] Cf. VIII. 45.
[3] Cf. VIII. 30. The modern name is Beaucaire.
[4] Cf. VI. 16 (24), (18) 26 ; VIII. 21. [5] *Ecclesia*. [6] King Guntram.

mands, and acting contrary to thy will and to the public good, yet now I beseech thee to forgive the evils which I have done against thee.' The king bade raise him from the ground, and gave him into the hands of the bishop, saying: 'Let him remain in thy charge, holy bishop, until he appear before King Guntram.' He then commanded him to withdraw.

9. Rauching[1] leagued himself with the chief men in the kingdom of Lothar, son of Chilperic,* under the pretext that he acted on behalf of peace, and wished to prevent quarrels and raids across the frontiers of the two kingdoms. It was really a conspiracy to slay Childebert. Rauching was then to rule in Champagne, with control over Theudebert, the king's elder son; Ursio and Berthefred were to get into their hands Theuderic, the younger son born not long since,[2] and hold the rest of the kingdom, excluding King Guntram from power. They murmured against Queen Brunhild, and longed once more to humiliate her, as they had done before in her early widowhood.[3]

Rauching, elated at his great power, and, so to speak, vaunting a regal state to come, now made ready for his journey; it was his purpose to have audience of King Childebert, and then carry out the design which he had planned. But the goodness of God brought the plot first to the ears of King Guntram, who sent envoys in secret to King Childebert to warn him of the conspiracy, and then to say: 'Make speed that we may meet together, for there are urgent matters to be discussed. Childebert made inquiry as to that which was told him, and finding it to be true, sent for Rauching. As soon as he had arrived, and before he had been admitted to the presence, the king issued orders, and dispatched some of his servants with authority to travel in the king's name * and take possession of all Rauching's property wherever it might be found. He then ordered the duke to be admitted to his chamber; and after a talk on various subjects, dismissed him. As he came out, two doorkeepers seized him by the legs, so that he fell upon the threshold, one part of his body lying within, the other without the chamber. Then men appointed for the work fell upon him with swords, and hacked his head so fine that the

[1] Cf. V. 3; VIII. 26, 29. [2] Cf. ch. 4 above [3] Cf. VI. 4.

whole of it looked like a mass of brain ; his death was instantaneous. The body was stripped, flung from a window, and consigned to burial. This man was of a light character, beyond all human measure rapacious and greedy after the goods of others. Moreover, his very riches made him so haughty that at the time of his death he was giving himself out as the son of King Lothar. Much gold was found upon him. As soon as he was slain, one of his servants dashed away at full speed, and told the dead man's wife [1] what had happened. At the time she was riding through a street of Soissons, with an escort of servants before and behind, pranked with fine jewels and precious stones, and covered with flashing gold, bound for the church of the saints Crispin and Crispinianus to hear Mass, for it was the day of the passion of these blessed martyrs.[2] When she saw the messenger, she turned back by another street, cast her jewels to the ground, and took refuge in the church of the holy Médard, trusting to find safety there under the protection of that blessed confessor. The servants sent by the king to sequester the property of Rauching discovered so many precious things among his possessions that their match might not be found even in the royal treasury ; all of them were brought and shown to the king. The day of Rauching's death there were a number of citizens of Tours and Poitiers with the king, of whom the conspirators had intended to make use. If the plot had succeeded, these men were to have been seized and tortured, and the charge would have been brought against them : ' It was one of you who caused the death of our king ; ' thereafter they would have been again tortured and put to a violent death. The conspirators would then have proclaimed themselves the avengers of the king's murder. But Almighty God confounded their designs by reason of their iniquity, and fulfilled that which is written : ' The pit which thou preparest for thy brother, thyself shalt fall therein.' [3] Magnovald was sent as duke in place of Rauching.

Ursio and Berthefred, sure that Rauching would be able to carry out the plan which they had plotted together, had meanwhile collected an army and were on the march. But

[1] Cf. V. 3.
[2] 25th October.
[3] Prov. xxvi. 27. The words do not agree with those of the Vulgate text.

on learning of his death and the manner of it, they added more partisans to their force and, conscious of their guilt, fortified themselves in a strong place, in the Woëvre,* near the estate of Ursio, with all their movable effects, determined to defend themselves with valiance against Childebert's army if he should think fit to take any action against them. Ursio was the head and fount of all the mischief. Queen Brunhild sent a message to Berthefred to this effect: 'Separate thyself from this our enemy, and thou shalt have thy life; if not, thou shalt perish with him.' For the queen had received his daughter from the water of baptism, and for this reason was fain to have compassion on him. But he replied: 'I will never forsake him, until death rend us asunder.'

10. While these things befell, King Guntram sent a second message to his nephew Childebert, in these terms: 'Put aside all delay, and come, that I may see thee. There is utmost need that we meet alike for thine own advantage and for the welfare of our land.' Thereupon Childebert, taking with him his mother, his sister, and his consort,[1] set out to meet his uncle.* There were also present Magneric, bishop of Trèves,[2] and Guntram Boso, for whom Ageric, bishop of Verdun, had made himself surety.[3] But surety though he was, Ageric was not there in person; for it had been decided that Guntram should appear before the king without any advocate, in order that if the king gave sentence that he should die, the bishop should not beg him off; if, on the other hand, the king granted him his life, he was to be set free. The two kings together judged him guilty of various offences and commanded his execution. As soon as news of this reached him, he flew to the dwelling of Bishop Magneric, shut out all the clergy and the servants, fastened the doors, and spoke as follows: 'I know, most blessed bishop, that the kings hold thee in high honour, and now I have fled to thee to escape from them. Behold, they that shall slay me are at the gate; therefore know thou clearly that if thou rescue me not, first will I slay thee, and then go forth to meet my death. Of this be very sure, that one death shall overtake us both, or equality of life preserve us; holy bishop, I know that thou art as a father to the

[1] Brunhild, Chlodosind, and Faileuba.
[2] Cf. VIII. 12, 37.
[3] Ch. 8 above.

king's son,[1] like as he is himself, and that whatsoever thou askest of him shall be granted thee, nor can he refuse thy sanctity anything which thou shalt request. Either, therefore, demand my pardon, or we die together.' While he spoke these words he had his drawn sword in his hand. The bishop was dismayed at this threat, and answered: 'How can I do aught, if I am kept here by thee? Release me, that I may go and entreat the compassion of the king; haply he will have mercy upon thee.' Guntram answered: 'Not so; but send thy abbots and persons in thy confidence to set forth what I have said to thee.' But things were not told the king as they were; the messengers only said that the bishop was protecting Guntram. The king was therefore wroth, and said: 'If the bishop shall refuse to come away, let him too perish with the traitor.' When this was reported to him, the bishop sent other messengers, who related the truth of the matter. But King Guntram cried: 'Fire the house! If the bishop cannot escape, let the pair of them be burned together!' Upon this answer, the clergy broke open the door and dragged the bishop out. The unhappy Guntram, seeing himself on all sides surrounded by raging flames, girded on his sword and went to the door. But the very moment when he crossed the threshold and set foot outside, one of the crowd threw a javelin and pierced his forehead. Dazed and half maddened by the blow, he tried to draw his sword, but was wounded again by the many lances of those who were standing round; they drove the points into his sides, and the shafts held him up, so that his body could not even fall to the ground. His few companions were also slain, and their bodies, like his, exposed in an open place: permission was hardly obtained from the two kings that they should be properly buried. Guntram Boso was a man inconstant in all that he did, and all agape with greed, always beyond measure hungry after other men's goods, swearing to every man and keeping his word with none.[2] His wife and sons were banished and his property confiscated. A mass of gold, silver, and precious things was discovered in his treasure chambers. Not even those things which, under the spur of

[1] Bishop Magneric had baptized Childebert's elder son, Theudebert; cf. VIII. 37.

[2] Cf. V. 14.

his guilty conscience, he had buried underground escaped the searchers. He used often to consult soothsayers and practise sorcery, hoping thereby to know the future; but ever he remained deluded.

11. King Guntram concluded peace with his nephew and the queens;[1] they exchanged gifts, and having settled affairs of state on a firm footing, sat down together at a banquet. And King Guntram praised the Lord, saying: 'I render Thee most hearty thanks, O Almighty God, who hast granted me grace to see the sons of this my son Childebert; therefore I do not deem myself all forsaken of Thy majesty since Thou hast granted me thus to see the sons of my son.' Then Childebert received Dynamius and Duke Lupus, who now returned to him,* and gave back Cahors to Queen Brunhild.* And so they went each to his own city in peace and rejoicing, after signing the treaty,[2] rendering thanks again and again to God, making each other presents, and giving each other the kiss of peace.

12. Now King Childebert assembled an army and commanded it to march upon the place where Ursio and Berthefred had shut themselves up. In the district of the Woëvre there was an estate[3] commanded by a precipitous hill, upon the summit of which a church had been erected in honour of the holy and blessed Martin. Tradition said that in old days it had been fortified, but in the present day it was strong rather by nature than by art. In this church the two men had shut themselves, with their wives, their servants and effects. So Childebert, after levying his army, ordered it to advance upon the place. But the men on their way thither committed to fire and rapine everything belonging to Ursio and Berthefred which they could find, whether houses on his lands or other property. When they reached the spot, they scaled the hill and encircled the church with an armed force; their leader was Godegisel, son-in-law of Duke Lupus. When they failed to get the besieged men out of the church, they tried to set the building on fire. Seeing what they were about, Ursio sallied forth, and made such slaughter of the besiegers that

[1] 28th November 587. By 'the queens', Brunhild, the queen mother, and Faileuba, consort of Childebert, are meant.

[2] The text of the pact is given in ch. 20 below.

[3] It belonged to Ursio; cf. ch. 9 above.

of those who came within his range not a man might defend his life. There fell Trudulf, count of the royal palace,[1] and many soldiers of the army. But when Ursio was seen to be spent by the slaughter, he was himself struck in the thigh, and fell helpless to the ground ; they rushed in upon him, and he was slain. When Godegisel saw it, he cried : ' Let there now be peace, for behold the greatest foe of our lords is fallen ; let Berthefred have his life.' While he was speaking, and the men were all intent on plundering the things amassed in the church, Berthefred mounted his horse and made for Verdun, believing that he would be safe in the oratory of the church house, more especially as Bishop Ageric was living there. When news was brought to King Childebert that Berthefred had escaped, he was sore at heart and said : ' If this man escape alive, then shall not Godegisel escape from my hands ; ' he was unaware that Berthefred had taken refuge in the church house, but thought that he had fled into some other part of the country. Godegisel was alarmed ; he once more moved his force and surrounded the bishop's house with armed men. When the bishop not only declared himself unable to surrender Berthefred, but even sought to protect him, the men climbed upon the roof and did him to death by crushing him with the tiles and materials covering the oratory ; so he died with three of his servants. The bishop was filled with grief, not only because he had been unable to afford protection, but also because he had seen polluted with human blood the place where he was wont to pray and where relics of the saints were gathered together. King Childebert sent him gifts to distract him from his grief, but he would not be comforted. At this time many fled into other regions from fear of the king. Certain dukes were deprived of their dignity, and others were promoted in their room.

13. Baddo, who, as I have above related,[2] had been put in bonds for high treason, was ordered by King Guntram to appear before him and then sent on to Paris. The king said : ' If Fredegund, by the help of men of good repute, can clear him of the charge brought against him,* let him go free, and depart whither he will.' But when Baddo came to Paris, no one was sent by Fredegund able to maintain his innocence.

[1] Cf. note to V. 12 (18)

[2] VIII. 44.

He was then brought back closely guarded to Chalon, bound, and loaded with chains. Afterwards messengers passed between the two kingdoms, chief among whom was Leudovald, bishop of Bayeux,[1] with the result that Baddo was released and permitted to return home.

At this time [2] Metz was cruelly visited by dysentery; and as I was journeying in haste to meet the king, I met on the road, at Reims, Wiliulf, a citizen of Poitiers, in a high fever and grievously ill of this malady. Leaving that city in great feebleness, accompanied by his wife's son, he reached the territory of Paris only to make his will and die at the domain of Rueil.* The boy, who was suffering from the same disease, also died; their bodies were borne together to Poitiers and buried there. The wife of Wiliulf married a third husband, a son of Duke Beppolen;[3] it was notorious that this man had abandoned two wives, both still living. For he was a light man and voluptuous, the slave of carnal desires; he had forsaken his first wife for the commerce of serving-maids, loathing his wedlock and ever seeking other pleasures. He had used his second wife in the same way, and now did likewise with this, his third, not perceiving that corruption shall not inherit the incorruptible.[4]

14. Egidius, bishop of Reims, was under suspicion of complicity in the high treason through which the men above mentioned lost their lives.[5] After these events he came to Childebert, with rich gifts, to entreat his pardon, having first received assurance on oath in the church of the holy Remigius [6] that no harm should come to him upon the way. The king received him, and he departed in peace. He also obtained peace with Duke Lupus, who, as I have told above,[7] had been driven from the dukedom of Champagne at his instigation. Because of this, King Guntram was moved to exceeding bitterness; for Lupus had promised him never to be reconciled with Egidius, as one well known to be the king's enemy.

15. In Spain at this time [8] King Recared, touched by God's pity, convoked the bishops of his own church and said: 'Between you and those bishops who proclaim themselves

[1] VIII. 31. [2] In 588. [3] Cf. VIII. 42. [4] 1 Cor. xv. 50.
[5] Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred.
[6] S. Remy. [7] VI. 4. [8] A.D. 587.

Catholics, wherefore are causes of offence spread without ceasing? why is it that these by their faith perform many miracles, while ye are unable to do as they? Meet together, therefore, I pray you; discuss the doctrines of both parties, and let us discover which are true. Then either must they accept our arguments, and believe what you profess, or you in your turn must recognize the truth of their creed and believe that which they preach.' It was done; and in an assembly of bishops of the two parties the heretics made the profession of faith which I have above several times set down as uttered by them. In like manner the Catholic bishops replied with those arguments by which, in the preceding books, I have shown the Arians to have been so often confuted.[1] The king maintained that the heretic bishops wrought no miracles for the healing of the sick, and recalled how in his father's time one of their bishops, vaunting his power to restore sight to the blind by his false faith, laid his hands on a blind man, but condemned him to perpetual blindness thereby, and so went away confounded; which thing I have recounted in full in my book of Miracles.[2] He then called aside the bishops of the Lord, and having questioned them upon their doctrines, learned that one God is to be worshipped under the distinction of three Persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that the Son was not inferior to the Father or to the Holy Ghost, nor the Holy Ghost inferior to the Father or to the Son; and that we are to confess this Trinity, equal and omnipotent, to be the true God. Having understood this verity, Recared put an end to all dispute, submitted to the Catholic law, and received the sign of the blessed Cross with unction of holy chrism,* believing on our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, equal to the Father with the Holy Ghost, reigning world without end. Amen. He then sent messengers to the province of Narbonne [3] to relate what he had done, that the people in those parts might join with him in the like faith. There was at that time a bishop of the Arian sect named Athaloc.* This man so troubled the churches of God by vain propositions and false interpretation of the Scriptures that he might have been taken for that very Arius whose entrails, according to the

[1] V. 31 (43). [2] G. C. 13.
[3] Septimania, the Visigothic territory embracing the old Gallia Narbonensis.

historian Eusebius,[1] gushed forth in the privy. But when he sought to prevent the people of his sect from believing the truth, and only a few flatterers were upon his side, he was filled with bitterness. He went into his cell, and laying down his head upon his bed, there breathed out his perverse spirit. So the heretical people in that province confessed the Trinity one and indivisible, and departed from their false belief.

16. Recared then sent ambassadors to Guntram and Childebert, seeking peace, on the ground that as they were now, so he asserted, united in one faith, they should also be as one in loving-kindness. But Guntram repelled them, saying: 'What faith can they promise, or how can they look to be believed, when they delivered my niece Ingund into captivity, and treacherously let slay her spouse, while she herself died during her journey?[2] I therefore receive no embassy from Recared until God hath granted me revenge upon my enemies.' When the envoys heard these words they went to Childebert, who received them in friendliness. To him they spoke as follows: 'Recared, thy brother and our lord, is fain to clear himself from the charge brought against him, that he was privy to the death of thy sister.* He is ready to prove his innocence by oath, if thou so desire, or in any other manner. He will then pay to thee, gracious king, ten thousand pieces of gold, desiring thy friendship, that so he may receive aid from thee, and thou thyself, should need arise, mayst have advantage of his help in return.' When they had spoken, King Childebert and his mother pledged themselves to maintain unbroken peace and friendship with Recared. After an exchange of presents, the envoys added: 'Our lord hath also commanded us to whisper a word in your ears concerning Chlodosind, your daughter and sister; he asketh her in marriage, that the promised peace may be the better assured.' They replied: 'As far as we are concerned, the promise should readily be given, but we dare not give it without consulting our kinsman King Guntram; for we have pledged ourselves to do nothing in matters of moment without his counsel.'[3] Receiving this reply, the envoys returned home.

17. In the spring of this year[4] there were heavy rains,

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* x. 4. [2] VIII. 21, 28. [3] Cf. ch. 20 below. [4] 587.

and when the leaves were already out on the trees and on the vines a fall of snow covered all. There followed a frost which withered the vine fronds and all the fruits already formed. Such was the rigour of the season that even swallows and birds coming from foreign parts were killed by the severe cold. And a strange thing it was that the frost ruined everything in those places where it had never done harm before, and did not go where it had usually wrought mischief.

18. The Bretons made an incursion into the territory of Nantes, invaded country estates, plundered and carried off captives. As soon as the news reached King Guntram, he commanded an army to be levied, sending first a herald with a message that they would do well to make reparation for their misdeeds, otherwise let them know for sure that they would fall before the swords of his army. They were affrighted, and promised to make amends for their offence. When he received this answer, the king sent an embassy, consisting of Namatius, bishop of Orleans, and Bertram, bishop of Le Mans, together with various counts and other chief men of the realm. They were accompanied by notables from the kingdom of Lothar, son of King Chilperic, and entered the territory of Nantes, where they delivered the king's commands to Waroch and Vidimael. The Bretons replied: 'We too know that these cities belong to the sons of King Lothar,[1] and that we ourselves should submit to them; for all, therefore, that we have done wrongfully we will make instant composition.' They then appointed sureties and signed a bond, promising to pay to each of the two kings, Guntram and Lothar, a thousand pieces of gold as composition, and pledging themselves never again to attack the territory of those cities.* After arranging this settlement the other envoys returned and explained to the king what had been done. But Bishop Namatius, who had recovered certain lands formerly lost by his family in the territory of Nantes, remained behind there. He was now attacked by a growth of three malignant pustules on his head. Grievously weakened by this trouble, he was anxious to return to his own city,[2] but breathed his last in the territory of Angers. His body was borne to his

[1] i.e. Lothar I, father of Guntram and Chilperic.
[2] Orleans. He had been bishop since 581.

own city and buried in the church of the holy Anianus, the confessor.* Austrinus, son of Pastor, succeeded to his throne.

Waroch, forgetful of his oath and of the pledge which he had given, set at naught all his promises; he seized the vineyards of the people of Nantes, gathered the vintage, and took off the wine to Vannes. In consequence of this, King Guntram, roused to great wrath, ordered an army to be levied; but afterwards he calmed himself.

19. The feud between the citizens of Tours, which I above described as ended,[1] broke out afresh with revived fury. After the murder of the kinsfolk of Chramnesind, Sichar formed a great friendship with him; so fond of one another did they grow that often they shared each other's meals and slept in the same bed. One evening Chramnesind made ready a supper, and invited Sichar. His friend came, and they sat down together to the feast. But Sichar, letting the wine go to his head, kept making boastful remarks against Chramnesind, and is reported at last to have said: 'Sweet brother, thou owest me great thanks for the slaying of thy relations; for the composition made to thee for their death hath caused gold and silver to abound in thy house. But for this cause, which stablished thee not a little, thou wert this day poor and destitute.' Chramnesind heard these words with bitterness of heart, and said within himself: 'If I avenge not the death of my kinsmen, I deserve to lose the name of man, and to be called weak woman.' And straightway he put out the lights and cleft the head of Sichar with his dagger. The man fell and died, uttering but a faint sound as the last breath left him. The servants who had accompanied him fled away. Chramnisind stripped the body of its garments, and hung it from a post of his fence; he then rode away to the king.[2] Entering the church, he prostrated himself at the king's feet, and said: 'I ask of thee my life, most glorious king, for I have slain men who secretly did to death my kinsmen and plundered all their possessions.' He then set forth the whole matter in due order. But Queen Brunhild took it exceeding ill that Sichar, who was under her protection, should have thus been slain, and broke into a fury against Chramnesind, who, seeing that she was set against him, gained the village of Bouges * in the territory

[1] VII. 46 (47)

Childebert.

of Bourges, where his kinsmen lived, because it counted to the kingdom of Guntram. Tranquilla, wife of Sichar, left her children and her husband's property in Tours and Poitiers, and withdrew to her own kinsfolk in the village of Mauriopes, where she married again. Sichar was about twenty years of age when he died. In life he was a light fellow, a wine-bibber and man-slayer, who did violence to many in his drunkenness. Chramnisind sought the king once more, and was sentenced to prove that he had slain Sichar for his honour : * this he was able to do. But Queen Brunhild ordered his property to be confiscated because she had taken Sichar under her protection ; afterwards, however, it was restored by Flavianus, the domestic.[1] Proceeding at the time to Agen, he obtained a safe-conduct from Flavianus, to whom his property had been granted by the queen.

20. In this year, the thirteenth of Childebert, I had journeyed to Metz to meet that king,[2] when I was commanded to proceed as envoy to King Guntram. I found him at Chalon, and spoke as follows : ' Illustrious king, thy most glorious nephew Childebert sendeth thee his fullest greeting, rendering thee thanks beyond measure, for thy perpetual admonishment to do that which is pleasing in God's sight, acceptable to thee, and fitting his people's need. He promiseth to fulfil all that was agreed upon between you, and to break no clauses in the pact signed by you both.' The king answered : ' No like thanks can I return, seeing that the promise made to me is so clearly broken. He withholdeth from me my part in the city of Senlis.* He hath not surrendered enemies of mine, whom, for my safety, I wished to have removed from his kingdom. How say ye, then, that my very dear nephew desireth in no way to transgress the provisions of the pact drawn up between us ? ' To this I replied : ' It is not his will to contravene any provision ; he promiseth to fulfil them all, in such wise that if thou desirest to send with regard to the division of Senlis, thou shalt forthwith receive that which is due to thee. As to the men of whom thou dost complain, let their names be written down and sent to him, and every pledge shall be redeemed.' After this statement of mine, the king commanded the agreement to be read over again before all present.

[1] Cf. X. 5, 15.

[2] Cf. above, ch. 13.

Copy of the Pact.

'When in the name of Christ the most excellent lords King Guntram and King Childebert and the right glorious lady the queen Brunhild met together at Andelot for loving-kindness' sake, that they might take full counsel to end whatsoever causes of offence might arise between them, it was settled, approved, and agreed between them with the concourse of their bishops and chief men, the grace of God being their help and mutual love their care, that as long as Almighty God shall grant them life in this present world they shall preserve mutual faith and loving-kindness in purity and singleness of heart. Likewise that since King Guntram, in accordance with the treaty which he made with King Sigibert of good memory,* claimed all the portion of the said lord Sigibert in the kingdom of Charibert,[1] and since King Childebert sought to recover the whole part which his father had possessed; it is hereby after final deliberation decided between the parties as hereinafter followeth. All that the lord Sigibert obtained by treaty from the kingdom of Charibert, namely, the third part of the city of Paris, with its territory and its inhabitants, the castles of Châteaudun, Vendôme, and all that the said king had possessed in the territory of Étampes towards those regions, and in Chartres, with their territories and their inhabitants, shall remain in perpetuity under the lawful rule and dominion of King Guntram, in addition to all that he previously possessed of the kingdom of Charibert while the lord Sigibert was yet alive. In like manner the lord King Childebert shall from this day forward hold under his dominion the city of Meaux, two-thirds of Senlis, the cities of Tours, Poitiers, Avranches, Aire, Saint-Lizier, Bayonne, and Albi, with their territories; but on this condition, that whichever of the two kings God shall cause to survive the other, if that other pass childless from the light of this present world, shall inherit his kingdom in its entirety and for ever, and by God's aid hand it down to his descendants.

'It is especially determined, and through all things inviolably to be observed, that whatsoever the lord King Guntram hath presented to his daughter Clotild[2] or by God's favour shall

[1] i. e. after Sigibert's death.

[2] Chlodechildis, Chrodechildis: the only surviving child of Guntram.

yet present to her in all kinds of property, or in men, in cities, lands or revenues, shall remain under her power and control; and if she should be fain to dispose of any part of the domain lands assigned to her, or of costly objects, or money, or to bestow them upon any person, these gifts shall with the aid of the Lord be preserved to the possessors for ever, nor shall they at any time or by any man be taken from them; and she herself, under the guardianship and protection of King Childebert, shall hold in undisturbed possession, with all honour and dignity, everything of which she shall stand possessed at the death of her sire. Likewise the lord King Guntram promiseth that if, through the frailty of our human flesh, that should befall which he would fain not live to see, and which he trusteth that God's goodness may forbid, namely, that King Childebert should depart first from the light of this world, leaving him behind, he will receive as a true father under his guardianship and protection the said king's sons, Theudebert and Theuderic as kings, and any other sons which God may have willed to give him, and will see that in all security they possess their father's kingdom; and that he will receive under his guardianship and defence in all spiritual affection the lady Queen Brunhild, mother of the lord King Childebert, and her daughter Chlodosind, sister of the lord King Childebert, as long as she shall remain in the Frankish dominions, and likewise his queen Faileuba,[1] as it were his own dear sister, with her daughters, and shall grant them to possess in all security and quietness, with all honour and dignity, all their goods, their cities, lands, revenues, and rights, all their property, both such as they hold at this present time, and such as, with Christ's guidance, they may lawfully add hereafter, so that if of their free will they shall desire to dispose of any part of that which was given them out of the domain lands, or of their several effects, or of their moneys, or to confer such property on any person, it shall be secured to him in safe possession in perpetuity, and their wish shall at no time and by no man whatsoever be annulled. As to the cities of Bordeaux, Limoges, Cahors, Lescar, and Cieutat, which were given, whether as dowry, or as *morgengabe*,* which is to say morning-gift, to Galswinth, sister of the lady Brunhild, on her coming into

[1] Cf. ch. 38, below.

Francia, and which the lady Brunhild, in the lifetime of kings Chilperic and Sigibert, acquired by decision of the lord King Guntram and of the Franks, it is agreed that the lady Brunhild shall forthwith receive in her own possession the city of Cahors with its territory and all its inhabitants, and that all the other cities named above in this relation shall belong to the lord Guntram during his life, but by God's furthering grace shall revert after his death, undiminished in extent, into the possession of the lady Brunhild and her heirs ; meanwhile, so long as the lord Guntram liveth, they shall at no time and under no pretext be claimed by the lady Brunhild, or by her son King Childebert, or by his sons. It is likewise agreed that the lord Childebert shall hold Senlis in its entirety, and that the said lord Childebert shall compensate the lord Guntram for the third part of it of right belonging to him, by adding to his possessions the third part of Ressons * now in the lord Childebert's possession. It is further agreed that in accordance with the conpacts made between the lord Guntram and the lord Sigibert of blessed memory, those *leudes* [1] who upon the death of King Lothar first took oaths of loyalty to the lord Guntram, and are shown thereafter to have transferred their allegiance elsewhere, shall be brought back from the places where they now dwell. Likewise those who after the death of the lord King Lothar are proved to have first taken oaths of fealty to the lord Sigibert, and then transferred their allegiance elsewhere, shall in like manner be sent back. Likewise whatsoever the above-mentioned kings have conferred upon churches and upon their own trusty adherents,* or may yet by God's propitious grace decide lawfully to confer upon them, shall be preserved to them in security. And whatsoever any trusty subject of the kings in either kingdom shall of law and justice possess, he shall suffer no prejudice, but shall be permitted to hold these things which are his due. And if, during an interregnum,* anything be lost to any man without any fault of his, an inquiry shall be held and it shall be restored. And that which each man hath possessed through the munificence of preceding kings down to the death of the lord King Lothar of glorious memory, let him continue to possess it in security. And that which hath thereafter been taken from

[1] Cf. II. 31 (42) ; III. 23.

our trusty subjects, let it be forthwith returned. And since the aforesaid kings are now united in the name of God in a pure and single concord, it is agreed that at no time shall a free passage through the kingdom of either * be refused to their respective *leudes*, whether a man would travel upon public or upon private affairs. In like manner it is agreed that neither shall invite to him the *leudes* of the other, or receive them if they come to him of their own accord. And if haply, on the ground of some offence, a subject of one king shall deem it well to seek the territory of the other, he shall be delivered up, but treated with such lenience as the nature of the offence allows.

'Further, it was resolved to add this article to the present treaty: if either party shall by any subtle pretext, or at any time, transgress these its provisions, he shall forfeit all the benefits, as well those promised for the future as those straightway conferred, and these benefits shall profit him only who shall have observed all the above conditions; he shall be in all respects absolved from the obligation of keeping his oaths. These points being thus decided, the contracting parties swear by the name of Almighty God and the indivisible Trinity, by all things divine, and by the tremendous day of Judgement, that without any treachery or fraud they will inviolably observe all that is hereinbefore set down.

'This treaty was made on the fourth day of the kalends of December,[1] in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the lord King Guntram, and in the twelfth year of the lord Childebert.'

When therefore it had all been read through,[2] the king said: 'May God's judgement strike me, if I transgress aught of the provisions herein contained.' Then, turning to Felix who had come with us as an envoy, he said: 'Tell me, Felix, hast thou not joined in the fullest friendship my sister Brunhild and Fredegund, the enemy of God and man? Felix denying the charge, I said: 'Let not the king doubt that the same kind of friendship which hath bound them these many years is still maintained. For know of a surety that the hatred which long ago was between them, far from being withered, is still in vigorous growth. Would that thou, most glorious king, wert less kindly disposed towards that queen! For as I have myself

[1] 28th November A.D. 587. [2] In 588.

often perceived, thou dost receive her embassies with greater honour than ours.' To this the king: 'Know, O bishop, that I receive her envoys in such fashion as never to fall short in my affection for King Childebert my nephew. How could I establish friendship with one who hath often sent forth assassins to take my life?' When he had thus spoken, Felix said: 'I suppose that thy majesty hath heard that Recared hath sent an embassy to thy nephew to demand in marriage thy niece Chlodosind, the daughter of thy brother.[1] But King Childebert is not minded to make any promise without thy sanction.' The king answered: 'It is by no means good that my niece should go to the same land where her sister was slain;[2] nor can I accept it as right that the death of my niece Ingund should go unavenged.' Felix replied: 'They of Spain much desire to clear themselves, by taking oaths, or by any other means which thou mayst impose; only give thy consent that Chlodosind be betrothed as they desire.' The king said: 'If my nephew shall fulfil all the conditions written at his own wish in this treaty, then I on my side will gratify his wishes in this matter.' We thereupon promised that he would fulfil them all, and Felix added: 'He further beseecheth thee of loyalty to kin to lend him aid against the Lombards, that they may be driven out of Italy and that the territory which his sire claimed in his lifetime * may come back to him; the remainder he would fain see, by thy aid and his own, restored to the dominions of the emperor.' The king replied: 'Nay, I cannot send my army into Italy, to give it over to destruction without need, for Italy is now devastated by a most grievous pestilence.' Then I said: 'Thou hast made known to thy nephew thy desire that all the bishops in his kingdom be assembled, on the ground that there be many matters calling for investigation. But following our canonical use, thy most glorious nephew preferreth that each metropolitan should meet together with the bishops of his province, and amend by decree of such councils the disorders occurring in his own region. And what reason should there be for assembling such a multitude in a single place? The faith of the Church is unshaken by any peril; no new heresy showeth its head. Where, then, is the

[1] Cf. ch. 16 above.
[2] Not to be literally understood; Ingund died in North Africa.

necessity that all these bishops should meet together?' The king answered: 'There be many points calling for decision: many acts of injustice have been committed; there is much impurity of life; there are also the matters to be discussed between us. First and above all, there is that which concerneth God Himself; ye are to inquire how it befell that Bishop Praetextatus was slain by the sword in his cathedral church.[1] But there should also be discussion with regard to those accused of immorality, that they may either amend their lives after yielding to your sanctions, or else, if proved innocent, be publicly acquitted of a false charge.' He then commanded this council to be put off until the kalends of the fourth month.[2] When he had spoken we proceeded to the church, for that day was the festival of our Lord's Resurrection. After the Mass he summoned us to his table, at which the abundance of the dishes was not greater than our own good cheer. For the king without ceasing talked of God, of building new churches, or of protecting the poor. But at times he would be merry, delighting us with jests harmless to religion, that we too might share in his happy mood. He said this, among other things: 'Heaven grant that my nephew keep his promises, for all that I have is his. But if he take offence because I receive envoys from my nephew Lothar, am I in such wise a fool as not to be able to mediate between them and prevent the cause of dispute from spreading? Well do I know that it is better to end it than allow it to drag a weary length. I shall give Lothar, if I formally recognize him as my nephew, two or three cities in some part of my dominions, that he may not feel himself disinherited; thus may Childebert be easy as to the inheritance which his cousin shall receive.' This he said, with much else; and after using us right lovingly, and loading us with presents, he dismissed us, bidding us ever give King Childebert such counsel as should further his prosperity.

21. King Guntram, as I have often said, was great in charity and disposed to fasting and vigils. At this time[3] it was reported that Marseilles was ravaged by a plague affecting the groin, which had rapidly spread to a village called Octavus * near Lyons. The king, like some good bishop providing the

[1] Cf. VIII. 31. [2] June. [3] In 588.

remedies to heal the scars of a people that had sinned, commanded every one to assemble in the great church[1] and Rogations to be celebrated with the utmost devotion; nothing was to be taken by way of nourishment but barley bread and pure water; all were to be constant in keeping the vigils. His orders were obeyed. For three days the largess of his alms much exceeded his wonted amount, and he was so anxious for the whole people that he might have been taken not merely for their king but also for one of the Lord's bishops. All his hope was now set on the Lord's mercy; all the thoughts that came to him he threw upon God, through whose power he believed with a whole and perfect faith they should be brought to good effect. It was commonly told by the faithful that a certain woman, whose son was sick of a quartan ague and lay uneasily upon his bed, came up through the crowd immediately behind the king, and tore off by stealth some particles of the fringe upon his royal mantle.* These she steeped in water, which she gave her son to drink; and immediately the fever was quenched, and he was made whole. I cannot doubt the story, since I myself have often heard evil spirits in the hour of their possession invoking the king's name, and confessing their crimes, compelled by his miraculous power.

22. The city of Marseilles being afflicted, as I have just said, by a most grievous pestilence, I deem it well to unfold from the beginning how much it endured. At that time Bishop Theodore[2] had journeyed to the king to make some complaint against the patrician Nicetius.[3] King Childebert would scarce give ear to the matter, so he prepared to return home. In the meantime a ship had put into the port with the usual merchandise from Spain, unhappily bringing the tinder[4] which kindled this disease. Many citizens purchased various objects from the cargo, and soon a house inhabited by eight people was left empty, every one of them being carried off by the contagion. The fire of this plague did not spread immediately through all the houses in the place; but there was a certain interval, and then the whole city blazed with the pest, like a cornfield set aflame. Nevertheless the bishop came back, and abode within the walls of the church of the holy

[1] *Ecclesia.*
[2] Cf. VIII. 20.
[3] Cf. VIII. 18, 43.
[4] *Fomitem.*

Victor * with the few who remained beside him ; there throughout the whole calamity he gave himself up to prayers and vigils, imploring God's mercy, that at last the destruction might have end, and peace and quiet be granted to the people. After two months the affliction ceased, and the people returned, thinking the danger overpast. But the plague began once more, and all who had returned perished. On several other occasions Marseilles was afflicted by this death.

23. Ageric, bishop of Verdun, fell seriously ill, through the sore grief that afflicted him day by day because Guntram Boso, for whom he had stood surety, had been slain, and through an added bitterness, because Berthefred had been killed in the oratory of the church house ;[1] yet more, through his daily lamentation for Guntram's sons, whom he still kept in his dwelling. For he would say : ' On account of the hatred felt for me ye are now left orphans.' Excited by reason of these things, and oppressed, as I have said, by bitterness of heart, but above all worn down by the rigour of his fasting, he died and was laid in the tomb. The abbot Buccovald contended for his bishopric, but had no success. For the citizens agreed in the choice of Charimer, the referendary, who was appointed bishop by royal decree, while Buccovald was passed over. They say that this man was overweening in his pride, for which cause some gave him the nickname ' Big Cheek '.[2] Licerius,[3] bishop of Arles, likewise died, to whose place succeeded Virgilius, abbot of Autun,* with the support of Bishop Syagrius.[4]

24. Deutherius, bishop of Vence, also died, to whose place Pronimius was appointed.* This Pronimius had lived in Bourges, but for some reason or other migrated to Septimania, where, after the death of King Athanagild, he was magnificently received by the new king Leuva,[5] and appointed bishop of Agde. But after the death of Leuva, when Leuvigild raged violently in that false and wicked heresy of the Arians, and Ingund, daughter of King Sigibert, of whom I have above written, was escorted to Spain to be married,[6] it was told the king that the bishop had counselled her ever to keep herself

[1] Cf. above, chs. 10, 12.
[2] *Buccus validus*. The substantive should properly be *bucca*.
[3] Cf. VIII. 39. [4] Bishop of Autun. [5] Cf. IV. 25 (38).
[6] V. 28 (38) ; VI. 29 (43) ; VIII. 28.

from the poison of this heresy. On account of this he ever bore ill will, and sought to ensnare Pronimius by unjust usage in order to cast him out of his bishopric. But as no trap which he devised could take him, at last he sent an assassin to attempt his life with the sword. But Pronimius was warned by informants from Gaul,[1] and quitting Agde, returned to that country, where he was received and presented with gifts by many bishops, and made his way to King Childebert. It thus befell that when the place was vacant, he received the bishopric of Vence through the king's favour in the ninth year after he had been driven from Agde.

In this year the Bretons widely ravaged the territory of Nantes and Rennes, taking the vintage, devastating the cultivated land, and carrying off captive the labourers on the country estates. They kept none of their former promises ;[2] not only did they disregard their pledges, but they even took away property belonging to our kings.

25. King Childebert had received gifts from the Lombards when they asked his sister[3] in marriage * for their king, and had given them his promise. But at the coming of a Gothic mission upon the same errand, he now promised her to them, because he learned that the Goths were converted to the Catholic faith. He also sent an embassy to the emperor,[4] undertaking now what he had hitherto failed to do, to make war in concert with him upon the Lombards and drive them out of Italy.[5] At the same time he sent forth his army to conquer their land. His dukes marched into Italy with the army and engaged the enemy. But our men were heavily defeated ; many fell, others were captured, while the greater number escaped with difficulty into their own country. Such was the slaughter of the Frankish army that nothing like to it is remembered of former days.*

26. In the fourteenth year of King Childebert,[6] Queen Ingoberg, widow of Charibert,[7] passed from this life, a woman of great prudence, and devoted to the religious life, constant in vigils, in prayers, and in the giving of alms. Warned of God, as is my belief, she sent messengers to me asking me to

[1] *Per internuntios.*
[2] Chlodosind ; cf. above, chs. 16, 20.
[3] Above, ch. 8.
[4] Cf. X. 2.
[5] Cf. VI. 28 (42) ; VIII. 18.
[6] In 589
[7] Cf. IV. 19 (26).

help her in that which she was now minded to do for the salvation of her soul. She waited my coming, that after consulting me she might cause to be put in writing all that she desired to have done. I went to her, of course ; I found a woman who feared God. She received me kindly, summoned a notary, and after taking counsel with me, as I have said, left legacies to the cathedral of Tours and the church of the holy Martin,* as well as to the cathedral of Le Mans. A few months afterwards she was suddenly taken ill, and passed away from this world, I believe in her seventieth year. By deeds of enfranchisement she freed many serfs. She left one daughter married to the son of a certain king in Kent.*

27. Duke Amalo had sent his wife to another estate, there to superintend his affairs. He then fell violently in love with a young girl of free birth. One night, when he was drunken with wine, he sent his servants to carry off the girl and bring her to his bed. She struggled with them and was brought by force to his dwelling, receiving so many blows that she was covered with the blood streaming down from her nostrils ; the duke's bed was also stained by the stream. He also struck her with his fists, cuffed her, and hit her in other ways before taking her into his arms, sorely hurt. But instantly, the wine overcoming him, he fell asleep. Thereupon she put forth her hand across his head, and found his sword ; and unsheathing it, as Judith smote Holofernes, so she smote him on the head with a manful stroke. At the cries which he uttered, his servants ran in, and would have slain her. But the duke cried : ' Do not so, I command you. It is I who have sinned, seeking to deflower this maid. She hath but striven to save her chastity ; see to it that she be not slain.' With these words he gave up the ghost. And while all his household stood lamenting over him, the girl escaped by God's aid, and came by night to the city of Chalon, which lies about thirty-five miles from that place. There she went into the church of the holy Marcellus, and throwing herself at the king's feet related all that she had undergone. Then the king, touched to the heart by pity, not only spared her life, but commanded a royal order to be drawn up for her, stating that she was under his protection, and must be in no manner molested by any of the dead man's kindred. I learned that

through God's guardianship no violence was done by that brutal ravisher to her maidenhead.

28. Queen Brunhild caused a shield * of wondrous size to be fashioned of gold and gems and sent it into Spain, with two shallow bowls of wood, commonly called basins,[1] in like manner enriched with polished gems and gold, as a gift to the king. She sent, to make the presentation, Ebregisel, who had many a time visited that country as an envoy. After his departure a rumour reached King Guntram that Queen Brunhild was sending presents to the sons of Gundovald. At this, the king commanded a strict watch to be kept upon all the roads in the kingdom, so that it should be impossible for any one to pass without being searched. Even clothes and shoes were examined, in fact everything, to see if they concealed a letter. Ebregisel, arriving at Paris with the precious objects in his charge, was arrested by Duke Ebrachar,[2] and brought before King Guntram, who thus addressed him : ' Was it not enough for thee, then, most miserable of men, by thy shameless counsels to have invited to wed her [3] the *Ballomer* [4] whom ye call Gundovald, and whom my hand subdued because he sought to seize the government of my kingdom, but now thou must needs send presents to his sons, encouraging them also to come into Gaul and take my life ? For all this thou shalt not go whither thou didst purpose, but shalt die the death ; for thy mission is to the harm of my royal race.' Ebregisil denied the charge, maintaining that the king's complaint did not apply to him, but that the gifts were intended for Recared, the betrothed of Chlodosind, sister of Childebert. The king believed his word, and set him free ; whereupon he continued his appointed journey with the gifts.

29. At the invitation of Sigimund, bishop of Momociacus,* King Childebert decided to celebrate the Easter feast in that town. Theudebert, his elder son, was at this time gravely afflicted by a tumour in the throat ; but he recovered.

In the meantime the king levied an army, and prepared to accompany it himself into Italy to make war upon the Lombards. This people, upon this news, sent envoys with gifts,

[1] *Baccenos.* [2] Cf. X. 9.
[3] Brunhild. There seems to be no evidence to justify the charge.
[4] Cf. VII. 14, 36, 38.

bearing the following message: 'Let there be friendship between us, that we perish not, and let us pay a fixed sum as tribute to thy sovereignty; and whensoever thou shalt have need of us against thy enemies, we shall not be slow to aid thee.' When Childebert heard this, he sent on the envoys to King Guntram, that they might inform him of the offer which the Lombards made. King Guntram was not opposed to the arrangement and gave his opinion in favour of ratifying peace. King Childebert then commanded his army to remain where it was, and sent his own envoys to the Lombards, prepared, if they kept their promises, to let the men return to their homes. But the event was very different.

30. Now King Childebert, at the request of Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, sent thither Florentianus, his mayor of the household, and Romulf, count of the palace, to prepare new tax-lists,* that the people might pay the taxes as in his father's time. For many on the lists had died, and the weight of the tribute pressed heavily upon their widows and the orphans and upon the infirm. The king's representatives examined the cases in due order, relieving the poor and feeble, and making all those pay this public tax to the state who were justly liable. In due course they came to Tours. But when they proposed to tax our people, saying that they had in their hands the book with lists of taxpayers made in the time of former kings, we answered them: 'It is clear that a register of taxpayers for the city of Tours was made in the reign of King Lothar, and that the books were taken away to be submitted to the king. But smitten with fear of the holy bishop Martin, he caused them to be burned. After the death of King Lothar our people took the oath of loyalty to King Charibert, who likewise solemnly swore not to make new laws or customs binding on our people, but to secure to them the same conditions under which they had lived in his father's reign; he further promised to inflict no new ordinances upon them which would cause them loss. But Gaiso, then count, took the lists, made, as I have said, by former assessors, and began to exact the tax. He was opposed by Bishop Eufronius, but took the amounts which he had wrongfully collected, and went to the king, to whom he showed the capitulary in which the sums due were set down. The king, sighing, yet fearing the power of

the holy Martin, threw the capitulary into the fire and returned the pieces of gold already extorted to the church of the saint, declaring that no citizen of Tours should pay any tax to the royal treasury. After his death King Sigibert possessed this city, but laid no burden of tribute upon it. And Childebert, now in the fourteenth year of his reign, hath likewise exacted nothing, nor hath the city had to groan under the pressure of any taxation. It lieth in your power to assess this tax or not; but be ye ware of the harm that shall ensue if ye prepare to go against the oath of the king.' To this speech of mine they replied: 'Here in our hands is the book in which is entered the tax imposed on the people of Tours.' I retorted: 'This book hath not issued from the royal treasury, nor hath it been valid throughout all these years. There is no reason for surprise if, through the enmities of the citizens, it hath been preserved in the house of some private person. But God shall judge those who, to despoil our city, have produced it after so great a tract of time.' Meanwhile the son of Audinus,[1] who had actually produced the book, caught a fever that very day, and died the next day but one. We then dispatched a mission to the king, petitioning him to send us notice of his commands with regard to this matter. Forthwith a letter was sent confirming the immunity of the people of Tours from all assessment in veneration of the holy Martin. After it had been read, the men who had been sent for this purpose returned home.

31. King Guntram levied an army to invade Septimania. Duke Austrovald[2] had already gone to Carcassonne and taken the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, whom he subjected to the king's authority. Guntram now dispatched Boso[3] with Antestius[4] to take the other cities. Boso at his coming behaved with arrogance, treating Duke Austrovald with contempt, condemning him for presuming to enter Carcassonne without him, and moving thither himself with a force composed of men from Périgueux, Bordeaux, Agen, and even Toulouse. While he was proceeding in this high-handed way, the Goths received information of his doings, and laid an ambush for him. He pitched his camp on the banks of a small river near

[1] Cf. VII. 47.
[2] Cf. VIII. 45; IX. 7.
[3] Cf. VII. 38.
[4] Cf. VIII. 27, 43.

the city[1] and set himself down to feast, drinking his fill, and loading the Goths with taunts and abuse. But the enemy suddenly fell upon him and his companions, and took them unawares in the midst of their carouse. They raised shouts and sprang up to resist their assailants, who offered weak resistance and made as though they fled. The Franks pursued, when of a sudden the men in ambush leapt out upon them; they were taken between two forces and almost exterminated. Those able to make away mounted their horses and escaped with difficulty, leaving all their gear on the field; they took with them none of their private effects, deeming themselves lucky to get off with their bare lives. The pursuing Goths took possession of the whole camp, which they pillaged, making prisoners of all the unmounted men. There fell in this place about five thousand men,* and more than two thousand were led into captivity. But of these last many were set free, and returned to their own country.

32. King Guntram, enraged at this disaster, commanded all roads in his kingdom to be closed[2] so as to prevent the passage of all persons from Childebert's kingdom through his territory. For he said: 'It is through his wickedness in making a treaty with the king of Spain that my army hath been destroyed; if the cities refuse to submit to my dominion, his instigation is the cause.' His bitterness was fanned to flame through yet another cause, that King Childebert now proposed to send his elder son Theudebert to Soissons.[3] This awakened suspicion in King Guntram's mind, for he thus reasoned: 'My nephew is sending his son to Soissons only that he may next make his entry into Paris, and seek to deprive me of my kingdom.' If it be permitted me to say it, such an idea had never entered the head of Childebert. The king further vented many reproaches at Queen Brunhild, maintaining that in all these things her son was acting on her advice, even adding that she had once tried to marry the son of Gundovald.[4] He therefore ordered a council of the bishops to assemble on the first day of November. Many bishops hastening to this assembly from the uttermost parts of Gaul turned back

[1] The Aude.
[2] Cf. VI. *11*, and the clause in the Pact of Andelot, above, p. 392.
[3] Cf. below, ch. 36.
[4] Cf. above, ch. 28.

because Queen Brunhild cleared herself of the charge by oath. King Guntram now suffered the roads again to be opened, and allowed free passage to all who sought access to King Childebert.

33. At this time Ingitrude,[1] who had founded a nunnery in the *atrium* of the holy Martin,* went to the king to complain of her daughter. This was the convent where Berthefled, daughter of King Charibert, resided; but she left it for the territory of Le Mans after the departure of Ingitrude. She was a woman abandoned to laziness and gluttony, and without any regard for the holy offices.

The matter between Ingitrude and her daughter I think it well to relate from its beginning. When, some years before, Ingitrude founded the convent, as I have said, within the *atrium*[2] of Martin, she sent a message to her daughter, to the following effect: 'Leave thy husband, and come to me, that I may make thee abbess of this flock which I have assembled.' Her daughter, on receiving this foolish advice, came with her husband to Tours, where she entered her mother's nunnery, saying to him: 'Return hence and look after our property and our children; I shall not go back with thee. For none that is joined in wedlock shall behold the kingdom of God.' But the husband sought me out and told me all that his wife had said. Thereupon I went to the nunnery and there read aloud those canons of the Nicene Council * in which it is said: 'If a woman abandon her husband, and spurn the nuptial state in which she hath lived with honour, on the plea that she who hath been joined in wedlock shall have no part in the glory of the celestial kingdom, let her be accursed.' When she heard this, Berthegund[3] was afraid of excommunication at the hands of the bishops of God; she therefore quitted the convent and returned home with her husband. But after three or four years her mother again sent her a message, entreating her to come to her. Thereupon she loaded vessels with her own goods and those of her husband, who was away from home, took one of her sons with her, and came to Tours. But her mother could not keep her there on account of the husband's obstinate pursuit; she also feared to become involved in the charge to which her daughter had exposed them both by her dishonesty.

[1] Cf. V. 14 (21); VIII. 2. She was related to King Guntram through her mother. [2] *Infra atrium.* [3] Ingitrude's daughter.

She therefore sent her to Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux, her own son, and brother of Berthegund. The husband following her, the bishop said to him : ' She shall no longer be thy wife, because thou didst wed her without the assent of her parents.' At this time, be it said, they had been married nearly thirty years. The husband came several times to Bordeaux, but the bishop always refused to give her up. On the occasion of King Guntram's visit to Orleans, of which I have written above,[1] this man bitterly accused the bishop, saying : ' Thou hast taken from me my wife, together with her servants ; and behold thou hast done that which ill beseemeth a bishop, for thou hast sinned with her handmaids, and she with servants of thy household.' The king at this was furious, and forced the bishop to promise the restoration of the wife to her husband. ' She is my kinswoman,' he said ; ' if she hath committed any evil in her husband's house, I will punish her ; but if she hath not, why should the husband be exposed to all manner of humiliation, and his wife be taken from him ? ' Then Bishop Bertram gave his promise, saying : ' Certainly my sister came to me, after the lapse of many years, and I kept her with me as long as she cared to stay, out of my affection and love for her. She hath now left me ; let him seek her and take her whither he will ; I shall not stand in his path.' Although he made this statement, he sent her a private message to put off her secular garb, do penance, and withdraw to the church of the holy Martin ; which things she straightway did. Her husband then came with a following of many men to remove her from the sacred place. She was in the habit of a nun, and declared that she was vowed to penitence; she therefore refused to go with him. Meanwhile Bishop Bertram died at Bordeaux. She now came to her senses and said : ' Woe is me, that ever I hearkened to the advice of a wicked mother. My brother is dead ; I am forsaken by my husband and separated from my children. Whither shall I go in my misery ; what shall I now do ? ' After reflecting for awhile, she decided to go to Poitiers ; and though her mother was fain to keep her with her, she altogether failed in this. In consequence enmity arose between them and they were always coming before the king in a dispute about property,* the daughter claiming that

[1] VIII. 2.

which came to her from her father, the mother her part in the estate of her late husband. Berthegund produced a deed of gift from her brother Bertram, saying: 'This and this my brother bestowed upon me.' But her mother would not recognize the deed, seeking to secure all for herself, and sent emissaries to break into her daughter's house and take her effects, the deed among them. At a later time she was proved in the wrong as to this action, for she was forced to restore some of these effects upon her daughter's demand. The king sent letters to my brother, Bishop Maroveus,[1] and myself urging us to bring about a reconciliation. When Berthegund came to Tours and appeared in our court, we compelled her, as far as we could, to listen to reason. But we were unable to bend her mother, who betook herself in bitter dudgeon to the king with the object of disinheriting her daughter from all share in her father's property. When she had stated her case before him in her daughter's absence, judgement was given that the said daughter should receive a quarter, and that the remaining three-quarters should pass to herself and to her grandsons, the children of another son. The priest Theuthar, who beforetime had been referendary of King Sigibert, but had since entered the Church and become a priest, came by the royal command to make the division. But the daughter resisting, no division was made, and the quarrel was not appeased.[2]

34. Rigunth, daughter of Chilperic, was always attacking her mother,[3] declaring that she was the real mistress,* and that her mother owed her service; often she would assail her with abuse, and sometimes they even came to blows and buffets. One day her mother said to her: 'Why dost thou set thyself against me, O my daughter? Here are possessions of thy father which I have under my control; take them and do with them as seemeth good to thee.' She then went into her treasure-room, and opened a chest full of necklets and precious ornaments, for a long time taking out one thing after another, and handing them to her daughter, who stood by. At last she said: 'I am weary; put thou in thy hand, and take out what thou mayst find.' Rigunth put her arm into the chest

[1] Bishop of Poitiers; cf. ch. 30, above.
[2] Cf. X. 12.

to take out more things, when her mother seized the lid and forced it down upon her neck. She bore upon it with all her strength, until the edge of the chest beneath pressed the girl's throat so hard that her eyes seemed about to start from her head. Then one of the maids who was in the place cried out as loud as she could : ' Help, help ! my mistress is being suffocated by her mother ! ' The attendants outside, who were waiting for their coming forth, broke into the small chamber, and brought out the girl, whom they thus delivered from imminent death. Afterwards the hatred of mother and daughter sprang up ever more fiercely, for the most part ending in brawls and blows ; the chief cause lay in the lecheries of Rigunth.

35. Beretrude on her death-bed named her daughter as her heir,* but left some property to the nunneries which she had founded, and to cathedrals and churches of the holy confessors. But Waddo, of whom I have written in an earlier book,[1] now complained that the son-in-law of Beretrude had carried off his horses. He therefore determined to visit an estate in the territory of Poitiers, which she had left to her daughter, and to say : ' This man hath come from another kingdom and carried off my horses. Therefore will I take his estate.' Meanwhile he sent an order to the bailiff to prepare all things needful for his entertainment on his arrival at the place. But the bailiff on receipt of it gathered about him the men of the household and made ready to fight, saying : ' While there is life in my body, Waddo shall not set foot in my lord's house.' The wife of Waddo heard that preparations for violent resistance to her husband were being made, and said to him : ' Go not thither, dear my lord ; for if thou goest, thou wilt be slain, and I and thy sons will be left in misery.' She put out her hand to stay him, and her son also cried : ' If thou goest, we are undone, and thou wilt leave my mother widowed, and my brothers orphans.' But these prayers failed utterly to stay him ; he was inflamed with wrath against his son, and upbraiding him as a poltroon and weakling he hurled his axe and would have cloven him to the brain had he not sprung aside and dodged the blow. They then mounted and set forth, sending another message to the bailiff to sweep the house and

[1] VII 27, 43 ; VIII. 22.

lay the coverings on the benches. He, however, made light of the command, but with a crowd of men and women stood before his master's gates awaiting Waddo. But Waddo at his coming straightway passed into the house and said: 'Why are these benches not laid with coverings, and why is the house unswept?' And raising his dagger, he smote the bailiff on the head, so that he fell dead. At this sight the son of the dead man hurled his lance and rushed upon Waddo; the missile struck him full in the stomach and came out at his back; he fell to earth, and the crowd which had collected rushed up and began to stone him. Then one of his companions who had pressed forward through the showers of stones covered him with a mantle. The fury of the people was assuaged; his son with loud laments put him upon a horse and brought him home still alive. But straightway, as his wife and sons wept over him, he breathed his last. The father's life thus miserably ended, the son went to the king and obtained possession of his estate.[1]

36. In the same year of his reign,[2] Childebert was sojourning with his queen and his mother in the territory of the town named Strasbourg.* And some of the more powerful citizens of Soissons and Meaux * came to him, saying: 'Give us one of thy sons that we may serve him; for if we have among us one of thy race as a pledge, we shall the better resist our enemies and defend the territory of thy city.' The king rejoiced at this tidings, and prepared to send them his elder son Theudebert, to whom he assigned counts, domestics, mayors, tutors,* and all the persons needful for the maintenance of royal state. In the sixth month[3] he sent the prince, according to the desire of those who had asked for him; and the people received him with joy, and with prayers that the divine goodness might prolong his days * and those of his sire.

37. In these days Droctigisel was bishop of Soissons; it was said that from excessive drinking he had now for nigh four years lost his wits. Many of the citizens maintained that this befell him through witchcraft set afoot by an archdeacon whom he had deprived of his office. This confusion of the mind was worse within the city walls; on leaving them, he was easier.

[1] For Waddo's sons, cf. X. 21. [2] 589. [3] August.

When the king [1] arrived in the city, though Droctigisel was better, he was not suffered within the walls because of the king's entry. Though he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine to excess, beyond the measure beseeming a priest, who should practise moderation, yet no charge of adultery was ever made against him. Later, when the council of bishops met at the domain of Sorcy,* it was decreed that he should be permitted to enter his city.

38. While Faileuba, queen of King Childebert, was still weakly, after giving birth to a child which hardly came into the world alive, a rumour reached her ears that a plot was on foot against herself and Queen Brunhild. As soon as she was recovered, she went to the king and revealed all that she had heard to him and to his mother. The report was that Septimina, nurse of the royal children, sought to persuade the king to drive out his mother, forsake his consort, and take another spouse ; by this means the conspirators hoped to do with him what they liked, and obtain whatever they chose to ask. If the king would not agree to their plan, they would cause his death by witchcraft, raise his sons to the throne, and rule the kingdom themselves, while the grandmother and mother of the children would be banished just the same. She denounced as implicated in the plot Sunnegisil,[2] count of the stables, Gallomagnus the referendary, and Droctulf, who had been associated with Septimina to aid her in bringing up the young princes. The last two, Septimina and Droctulf, were arrested and put to the torture by being stretched upon the rack * and severely flogged, whereupon the woman confessed that she had killed her husband Jovius by witchcraft for the love of Droctulf, who was her paramour. They both confessed to all the charges which I have above related, and denounced the persons whom I have mentioned as privy to their design. A search was at once made for them, but in the fear born of a guilty conscience they left their hiding-place and sought refuge in the churches. The king visited them there in person, saying : ' Come forth and stand your trial, that we may learn whether the charges brought against you be true or false. Our belief is that never had ye fled for refuge in this church, if conscience had not filled you with dread. Never-

[1] Theudebert ; cf. ch. 36, above.

[2] Cf. X. 19.

theless, I promise that your lives shall be spared even though ye be found guilty. For we are Christians, and it is forbidden to take even the criminal out of a church for punishment.' They were then led forth, and came with the king, that they might be tried. When they were examined, they protested innocence, crying : ' It was Septimina and Droctulf who opened this plot to us. But we received the plan with execration and kept apart from it, for never would we consent to such a crime.' The king said : ' If ye had in no wise connived, assuredly ye had brought the matter to our ears. Is it not sure that ye were privy to the plot, when of your own will ye kept it from my knowledge ? ' Straightway they were driven out, and once more fled into the church. Septimina was severely flogged, together with Droctulf, and her face was seared with red-hot irons ; all that she had was taken from her, and she was sent to the domain of Marlenheim [1] to turn the mill and daily prepare the flour for the food of the women in the gynaeceum.* Droctulf's hair and ears were cut off, and he was sent to labour in the vineyards ; but after a few days he escaped. Search was made by the bailiff, and he was discovered and again brought before the king, who had him harshly flogged and sent back to the vineyard which he had left. Sunnegisil and Gallomagnus were stripped of all the property which they held of the domain,* and driven into exile. But King Guntram sent envoys, among whom were bishops, to intercede for them, and they were recalled from banishment, though nothing was left them but their private property.

39. In the monastery of Poitiers [2] arose a great scandal. The Devil seduced the heart of Clotild, who boasted herself the daughter of King Charibert.* Relying upon her kinship with the royal house, she bound the nuns by oath to join in bringing charges against the abbess Leubovera, who should then be expelled from the monastery, while she herself should be chosen superior in her place. She now left the convent with forty or more nuns, including her cousin Basina, daughter of Chilperic,[3] saying : ' I am going to my royal kinsfolk, to make known to them the insults put upon us, how we are humiliated

[1] In Alsace, arrondissement of Strasbourg ; cf. X. 18.
[2] The monastery of the Holy Cross, founded by Radegund
[3] By Audovera ; cf. V. 29 (39) ; VI. *34*.

in this place as though we were not kings' daughters but the offsprings of low serving-women.' Rash and unhappy woman, not remembering how conspicuous for humility was the blessed Radegund, foundress of that monastery. From which house she now went forth, and came to Tours; and giving me greeting, said: 'I beseech thee, holy bishop, deign to take under thy protection and to maintain these virgins, reduced to great humiliation by the abbess of Poitiers, while I myself go to our royal kinsmen to make plain to them all that we suffer, and then come again.' I made them answer: 'If the abbess is in fault, or hath in anything transgressed any of the canons, let me go to my brother, Bishop Maroveus,[1] and together let us convict her of offence; then, when the matter is arranged, go ye back into the monastery, lest that be wantonly dispersed which the holy Radegund with perpetual fasts and prayers and with constant charity brought together.' But she made reply: 'Not so, but we will seek the kings.' Then I said: 'Wherefore do ye resist the voice of reason? For what cause do ye refuse to hear this my episcopal admonition? I fear me the assembled bishops of the churches may remove you from communion.' For so it is set down in a letter written to the holy Radegund in the early days of her community by those who were before us, a copy of which I deem it fitting to insert in this place.

Copy of the Letter

'To the most blessed lady and daughter of the Church in Christ, Radegund, the bishops Eufronius, Praetextatus, Germanus, Felix, Domitianus, Victorius and Domnolus.[2]

'The health-bringing providence of the infinite Godhead is ever active about the race of man, nor at any place or any time doth it depart from its continual benefits, since the holy Arbiter of all things sendeth forth on all sides to till the inheritance of the Church men who in the zeal of eager toil plough its fields with the share of faith, that, by the divine attempering, the harvest of Christ may bring forth a hundredfold. The healthful dispensation of His goodness is so widely

[1] Of Poitiers; cf. chs. 30, 33, above.

[2] These are the bishops of Tours, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Angers, Rennes, and Le Mans.

spread abroad, that nowhere doth He refuse that which He knoweth to be profitable to many. When therefore He that shall judge shall appear, there shall not fail Him many to crown, through the most holy example of these men. And so, when at the rising of the Catholic religion the beginnings of our venerable faith first had breath of life within the borders of Gaul, and the ineffable mysteries of the Holy Trinity were as yet known to few, of His compassion He deigned to send the blessed Martin, born of a foreign race, to give light to our land, that He might not win less here than He had elsewhere gained throughout the world by the preaching of the apostles. Although the blessed Martin lived not in the days of the apostles, yet he lacked not the apostolic grace ; for that which he missed by the lateness of his coming was made good to him in the sum of that which he earned ; since he who excelleth in desert is in nothing diminished because he cometh after others. We give thee joy, most honoured daughter, in that by divine grace there is revived in thee the example of this celestial love ; for though the world waxeth old [1] and the times decline, the faith flowereth afresh through the eager striving of thy heart, and that which had grown chill in the long frost of age at length gloweth anew by the flame of thy fervent mind. But since thou camest to us wellnigh from the same region whence we are told that the holy Martin journeyed hither,* it is no marvel that thou shouldst seem to imitate in thy works him whom we believe to have guided thy feet. So by a wish happily crowned thou attainest to his pattern in whose footsteps thou hast followed, and makest that most blessed among men thy partner, in that, like him, thou shunnest share or lot in the world. The rays of his doctrine shining forth in thee, thou dost so suffuse with celestial light the hearts of all that hear thee, that everywhere the minds of virgins follow the call, aglow with the spark of the divine fire ; ardent in the love of Christ, they are rapt away to quench their thirst at the fountain of thy bosom, each abandoning her kin chooseth thee rather than her own mother. Which thing is wrought not by nature but by grace. Beholding, therefore, the longings of their devotion, we render thanks to the mercy from above which uniteth the wills of men with its own will ;

[1] Compare p. 419, l. 3.

since we have faith that it will preserve in its embrace all those whom it hath bidden draw together about thee.

' And since we learn that by favour of the Lord many virgins have eagerly flocked out of our dioceses to accept thy Rule, and since we have considered the petition in thy letter, which was welcome to us, this now is our decree in the name of Christ our Author and Redeemer : That all equally who are there assembled with intent to remain in the love of God must keep inviolate that which of their most free will they have chosen, since it is not meet to corrupt the faith promised to Christ in the face of heaven, and it is no light crime (which God forbid) to pollute the temple of God, so that His wrath be kindled to its destruction. We therefore before all things ordain that if a virgin cometh, as we have already said, from the places committed by God's providence to our episcopal control, who shall deserve to become a member of thy monastery in Poitiers, following the institution of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, of blessed memory,* it shall never be permitted to her to leave it, seeing that, as ordered by the Rule, she hath entered of her own desire ; lest that which shineth forth honourable in the eyes of all be turned to dishonour by the base misdeed of one. If, therefore, which may God forfend, any nun, inflamed by some allurement of a distracted mind, shall wilfully cast down into the defilement of such great reproach her discipline, her glory, and her crown, so that by the guile of the enemy, like Eve forthdriven from Paradise, she consent to forsake the bars of the cloister, say rather of the kingdom of heaven, to be dragged and trampled in the vile mud of the streets, let her be sundered from our fellowship, let her be stricken with the dire wound of excommunication. So that if, Christ being thus forsaken, she shall desire, through the Devil's wiles, to espouse a man, not only shall she who hath eloped be held adulterous and base, but also he who shall wed her ; he shall be rather a profaner of things sacred than a spouse. And any who, to bring this crime about, hath administered to her that which was poison rather than counsel, we will that he be smitten with a retribution like to hers, through the divine judgement, until, separated from her companion, with a penitence fitting her detestable offence, she deserve once more to be received and taken back to fellowship

in the place from which she fled. We add hereto that the bishops who hereafter shall succeed us shall hold themselves bound to pass like condemnation upon such guilt. And if, which we are fain not to believe, the bishops shall desire to relax aught of that which our deliberation containeth, let them know that one day it shall be for them to defend their act against us before the Eternal Judge ; for it is the general law of our salvation, that man keep inviolate his every promise made to Christ. That this our decision and decree may have due authority, we have thought fit to confirm it by signing it with our own hands, that, under the guardianship of Christ, it may be observed for evermore.'

After the reading of this letter Clotild said : ' Nothing whatever shall hinder us from presenting ourselves before the kings, whom we know to be our kinsmen.' They had come from Poitiers on foot without a single horse to help them, so that they were exhausted and worn out : no one had provided them with any food on the way. They reached our city on the first day of March ; great rains were falling, and the endless downpour had made quagmires of the roads.

40. They also spoke in disparagement of their bishop,[1] saying that it was through his deceit that they had been driven to forsake the monastery. But it will be well to set forth somewhat more fully the causes of this scandal.

In the time of King Lothar, when the blessed Radegund founded the monastery,[2] she and her community were always submissive and obedient to the earlier bishops. In the time of Sigibert, when Maroveus had obtained the see, the blessed Radegund, moved by her faith and devotion, sent clerics into the East to procure wood of the True Cross, and relics of the holy apostles and the other martyrs ; they took with them letters from King Sigibert. They set forth, and duly returned with the relics.* Upon the delivery of these, the queen requested the bishop himself to deposit them in the convent with chanting of psalms and all due honour. But he disregarded her proposal, mounting his horse, and going off to a country estate. The queen then sent a fresh message to King Sigibert, begging him to command one of the bishops to place the relics in the convent with all the honour due to them,

[1] Maroveus. [2] Cf. III. 7.

and in compliance with her vow. The king then enjoined the blessed Eufronius, bishop of Tours, to perform this task ; who, coming with his clergy to Poitiers, in the absence of the bishop of that city, brought the holy relics to the monastery with much chanting of psalms, with pomp of gleaming tapers and incense. After this event Radegund on many occasions sought the good grace of the bishop of Poitiers ; but she failed, and was forced to go to Arles with the abbess whom she had appointed.* There they received the Rule of the holy Caesarius and the blessed Caesaria, and on their return put themselves under the protection of the king, because they could find no care for their security in the man who should have been their pastor. The time for the passing of the blessed Radegund * came when this cause of offence was still spreading from day to day. After her death the abbess once more begged her own bishop to take the monastery under his care. At first he was inclined to refuse, but afterwards, on the advice of those about him, he promised to become the father of the nuns, as it was meet that he should, and whenever need was, to take up their defence. He therefore went to King Childebert and obtained a diploma granting him the regular control of this convent, such as he had over the rest of his diocese. But I believe that there remained in his heart some resentment which contributed, as the nuns declared, to cause the trouble in the monastery.

Since they now proposed, as I have written, to obtain audience of the king, we gave them this advice : ' What ye propose is against reason ; it is impossible for you so to order matters as to escape reproach. But if, as I say, ye ignore reason and will not hearken to wholesome counsel, at least get this into your minds, that it is best to let this wintry season pass which hath fallen upon us in the spring-time ; then, with the coming of softer airs, ye shall be better able to travel whithersoever your purpose may lead you.' They saw the sense of this advice, and when the summer came on, Clotild quitted Tours, commending the other nuns to the care of her cousin,[1] and proceeded to King Guntram. Having been received by him and honoured with gifts, she returned to Tours, leaving Constantina, daughter of Burgolen,[2] in the monastery of Autun. She now awaited the bishops whom

[1] Basina. [2] Cf. VIII. 32.

the king had commanded to visit the city and investigate the matters in dispute between the nuns and the abbess. But before she had returned from this mission many of the nuns had been enticed by evil men, and entered the bonds of wedlock. The nuns kept awaiting the arrival of the bishops ; but seeing that none came, they retraced their steps to Poitiers, and put themselves in safety in the church of the holy Hilary. There they prepared themselves for resistance, gathering about them a gang of thieves, slayers of men, adulterers, and criminals of all kinds, for they said: 'We are of blood royal, and we will not pass the threshold of our monastery unless the abbess be expelled.'

At the time there was in the nunnery an anchoress who a few years earlier had dropped from the walls and taken refuge in the church of the holy Hilary, pouring forth many charges against the abbess, all of which we discovered to be false. But later she had herself drawn up by ropes into the monastery at the very spot from which she had got down, and asked permission to shut herself up in a secret cell, saying: 'Greatly have I sinned against the Lord and against my lady Radegund' (for the queen was alive at that time), 'and therefore am I fain to withdraw from all intercourse with the community, and to do penance for my sins. For I know that the Lord is merciful and forgiveth those who make confession of their sins.' She then entered the cell. But when this disturbance arose, and Clotild had returned from King Guntram, she broke down her cell door in the night, and escaping from the monastery, made her way to Clotild, venting accusations against the abbess, as she had done before.

41. Meanwhile Gundegisel, bishop of Bordeaux,[1] associating with himself Nicasius of Angoulême,[2] Safarius of Périgueux, and Maroveus of Poitiers, came to the church of the blessed Hilary, in his quality of metropolitan, to censure these nuns, hoping to get them back into their monastery. But they resisted with stubbornness, and when the bishops, in accordance with the letter above cited, pronounced sentence of excommunication, the gang of ruffians which I have mentioned rose up against them and handled them so roughly within the very walls of the church, that the bishops fell to the ground and could hardly rise, while the deacons and other clerics came

[1] Cf. VIII. 22. [2] Cf. VIII. 2.

forth covered with blood, and with their heads broken. So huge a terror seized them, as one may believe, by the Devil's prompting, that when they issued from the sacred place, they did not even take leave of each other, but went off home, every man by the first way open to him. Desiderius, deacon of Syagrius, bishop of Autun, was present at this disaster; without even searching for a ford, he plunged into the Clain at the first spot where he reached the bank, and swam his horse across to low ground on the farther shore.

Clotild now chose bailiffs, seized the lands of the monastery, and with stripes and blows compelled all the men whom she could force away from that house to enter her service; she further threatened, if she succeeded in entering the building, to throw the abbess down from the walls. When news of these disorders was brought to King Childebert, he sent authority to Count Macco,[1] commanding him to do his utmost to repress them. Gundegisil, after he had, in concert with the other bishops, excommunicated these nuns and so left them, wrote a letter in his own name and that of his brethren present with him to the bishops then assembled with King Guntram, receiving from them the following reply:

Copy of the Letter.

'To their ever dear lords Gundegisil, Nicasius, and Safarius, most worthy occupants of their apostolic seats,* the bishops Aetherius,[2] Syagrius,[3] Aunacharius,[4] Hesychius,[5] Agricola,[6] Urbicus,[7] Felix,[8] Veranus,[9] Felix,[10] and Bertram,[11] these. When the messenger delivered your letter, our happiness in rejoicing at your safety was balanced by our affliction in bewailing beyond measure the outrage which ye report yourselves to have suffered, for not only have the prescriptions of the Church been transgressed, but all reverence for religion hath been forgotten. Ye have made known to us that the nuns who, hearkening to the voice of the Evil One, went forth from the monastery of Radegund of blessed memory refused either to hear your admonition, or to return within the walls of the convent which they had deserted; moreover, that they did

[1] Of Poitiers; cf. X. 15, 21.
[2] Of Lyons.
[3] Of Autun.
[4] Of Auxerre; cf. V. S. M. v. 13.
[5] Of Grenoble.
[6] Of Nevers.
[7] Of Riez.
[8] Of Belley.
[9] Of Cavaillon.
[10] Of Châlons-sur-Marne.
[11] Of Le Mans.

outrage to the church of our lord Hilary, by the blows inflicted on you and upon your people. Ye have told us that for these offences it seemed good to you to suspend them from the privilege of communion, and ye have chosen to consult our mediocrity upon this matter. Therefore, inasmuch as we know that ye have well studied the canons, and that the Rule in its full content ordereth any who are caught in such excesses to be coerced not by excommunication alone, but also by a sufficient penance; and further, inasmuch as we hold you in veneration and feel for you the warmest brotherly love, we hereby declare, being of one mind and accord, that we consent unto your judgements and share your opinions. We leave the matter so, until we sit with you at the council to be held on the first day of November, and deliberate together how we may bridle the temerity of such offenders, to the end that none hereafter falling into such temptation may be led by vainglory to perpetrate the like deeds.

'Yet forasmuch as the word of our lord the apostle Paul enjoineth us without ceasing,[1] in season and out of season, to correct by constant admonition those who transgress; and forasmuch as he protesteth that godliness is useful in all things:[2] now therefore we urge you with continual prayer to invoke the mercy of the Lord, that He may deign to kindle in these nuns the spirit of contrition, that in penitence they may make true amends for all that by their fault they have done amiss, that through the virtue of your preaching these souls, in a measure lost, may by Christ's grace be brought back to their monastery; that He who carried home to the fold one lost sheep upon His shoulders may rejoice over the issue of their transgression as over the gaining of a whole flock. And above all things we beseech you to give us without ceasing the suffrage of your prayers, as indeed we have sure hope that ye will do. I, Aetherius, the sinner, your peculiar friend, presume to salute you. I, Hesychius, your client, dare reverently to salute you. I, Syagrius, who love you, salute you with like reverence. I, Urbicus the sinner, who hold you in veneration, submissively salute you. I, Veranus the bishop, who revere you, salute you with veneration. I, Felix, your servant, presume to salute you. I, Felix, your humble and

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 2. [2] 1 Tim. iv. 8.

devoted brother, dare salute you. I, Bertram the bishop, your humble and obedient brother, presume to greet you.'

42. The abbess also read out the letter which the blessed Radegund addressed to the bishops of her own time. Of this letter she now again sent copies to the bishops of the neighbouring cities. It ran as follows :

Copy of the Letter.

' To the holy fathers in Christ and most worthy occupants of their apostolic seats, the bishops, Radegund of Poitiers.

' The first steps of a meet project can only move strongly to fulfilment when the matter is brought to the ears of our common fathers, the physicians and the shepherds of the fold, and commended likewise to their hearts. For the active sympathy proceeding from their love, the sage counsel proceeding from their power, the support proceeding from their prayers all unite to give it furtherance.

' Since in time past, delivered from the chains of secular life by the providence and inspiration of the divine mercy, I turned of my own will to the Rule of religion under Christ's guidance, and with ardent mind also considered how I might help forward others, that with the approval of the Lord my desires might become profitable to the rest, I established at Poitiers a monastery for nuns, founded and enriched by the most excellent lord King Lothar ; * this monastery after its foundation I myself endowed by the gift of all the property which the royal munificence had bestowed upon me. Moreover, I appointed for this community gathered together under Christ's protection the Rule according to which the holy Caesaria lived, and which the care of the blessed Caesarius, bishop of Arles, had compiled to suit her needs from the institutions of the holy Fathers.[1] With the approval of the most blessed bishops of Poitiers and the other sees, and by the choice of our own community, I appointed as abbess the lady Agnes, my sister,* whom I have loved and brought up from her earliest youth ; and I submitted myself in regular obedience to her authority next to that of God. And following the apostolic example, I myself and my sisters, when we entered the monastery, made over by deed all our substance

[1] Cf. ch. 39, above.

in earthly possessions, reserving nothing for ourselves, from fear of that which befell Ananias and Sapphira. But since the moments and times of man's lot are uncertain, and the world runneth to its end,* and there be those who rather seek the fulfilment of their own than the divine will, I remit to you, apostolic fathers, in my lifetime, and with all due devotion, this page containing my prayer to you, in the name of Christ.

'And since I cannot in person throw myself at your feet, I make prostration vicariously through this letter, and by the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by the tremendous Day of Judgement, I adjure you, as if ye stood before me, to protect us from any tyrant, and secure to us the favour of our rightful king. And if haply after my death any one, whether the bishop of the city, or a royal officer, or any other person shall, as I trust shall never befall, either by suggestion of wicked men or by action of law, seek to trouble the sisterhood, or to break the Rule, or appoint any other abbess than my sister Agnes, whom the most blessed Germanus in the presence of his brethren consecrated with his benediction; or if the community itself, which I may not think possible, shall murmur and seek change; or if any person, were it even the bishop of the city, shall seek to claim, by new privileges over and above those enjoyed by his predecessors or any other persons in my lifetime, either power in the monastery or over its property; or if any shall essay against the Rule to go forth thence; or if any prince or bishop or other powerful person, or any of the sisters, shall with sacrilegious intent diminish or appropriate the property which the most excellent lord Lothar or the most excellent kings his sons bestowed upon me, and I, by his injunction and permission, transferred to the monastery to have and hold, of which transmission I obtained confirmation by letters of the most excellent lords the kings Charibert, Guntram, Chilperic, and Sigibert under their oath and signature, or the gifts which others have given for the good of their souls or the sisters have bestowed out of their own possessions; may they through my prayer and the will of Christ in such wise be confronted with God's wrath, and that of yourselves and your successors, that as robbers and despoilers of the poor they may be shut out from your grace. Resist in such wise that none may

ever avail to diminish or to change in anything either our Rule or the possessions of the monastery. This also I pray, that when it shall be the will of God that the aforesaid lady Agnes, my sister, shall pass away, an abbess shall be appointed out of our congregation, who shall find favour in God's sight, who shall safely guard the Rule, and in nothing diminish the intent of holy living; let neither her own will nor that of another person be suffered to ruin them. If any, which God forbid, contrary to the command of the Lord and the authority of our kings, shall do aught against the conditions heretofore cited and commended to your protection by prayer before the Lord and His saints, or against the welfare of the monastery, either as regards its occupants or its possessions, or shall in any way vex my above-named sister Agnes, the abbess, may he incur the judgement of God and of the Holy Cross and of the blessed Mary, and may he have as his enemies and pursuers the blessed confessors Hilary and Martin, to whom, after God, I have entrusted the protection of my sisters.

'Thou also, holy bishop, and thy successors, whom I haste to take as my patrons in the cause of God, if there should be found any (which God forbid) to make attempts against these my dispositions, shrink not from appeal to the king who then shall rule over this place, or to the city of Poitiers, on behalf of that which hath been commended to your guardianship before the Lord, or from toil in shielding and defending justice against the unjust attack of others, that the enemy of God may be confounded and driven back. So shall no Catholic king in his own times brook such infamy, or suffer to be destroyed that which hath been founded firm by God's will and mine intent, and the will of the kings themselves. Likewise also I conjure the princes that live after me, whom God shall ordain to rule the people when I am no more, in the name of the King whose reign shall have no end and by whose nod kingdoms consist, who hath given them their very life and their dominion: them I conjure to take under their ward the abbess Agnes and this monastery which, with permission and assistance of the lords and kings their father and grandfather, I have built and duly ordered and endowed. Let them not suffer it, that this our abbess, so many times herein named, be by any man harassed or molested, or aught pertaining to

our monastery be hereafter minished, or in any wise changed; but rather see that all these be defended and secured, which cause I commend to them, for the sake of God, our lords the bishops working with them, and in accordance with my prayer to the Redeemer of all peoples; that they may be for ever united in the eternal kingdom with the defender of the poor and the spouse of virgins, in whose honour they protect the handmaids of God. And I conjure you, holy bishops, and our most excellent lords and kings, and the whole Christian people, by the Catholic faith in which ye are baptized, when God shall ordain that I pass from the light of this world, let my poor body be buried in that basilica, be it at the time completed or unfinished, which I have begun to build in honour of the holy Mary, the mother of the Lord, and wherein many of our sisters are already laid to rest. May it be that if any shall desire or attempt aught contrary, by virtue of the Cross of Christ and of the blessed Mary, he may incur divine vengeance, and that I, by your mediation, be held worthy to obtain a resting-place in that church among the congregation of my sisters. And I beseech with many tears that this my petition, signed by my own hand, be preserved among the archives of the cathedral church; and that if the action of the wicked shall compel my sister the abbess Agnes, or her community, to entreat your succour and protection, having the pious solace of your pity and the present aid which belongeth to good shepherds, they shall not proclaim themselves forsaken of me, when God hath prepared for them the protection of your grace.

'This request I lay before your eyes, omitting nothing, through the grace of Him who from His glorious Cross did commend His virgin mother to the blessed apostle John; that as by him the Lord's commendation was fulfilled, so by you may be fulfilled that which I in my unworthiness and humility commend to you my lords, the fathers of the Church, who now bear the apostolic name. And when ye shall have kept this trust which I leave you as beseemeth your high estate, ye shall be partakers in His merits whose apostolic charge ye fulfil, and worthily renew His example.'

43. Thereafter Bishop Maroveus, having heard that these nuns were uttering reproaches against him, sent Porcarius, abbot of the church of the blessed Hilary, to Bishop Gundegisel

and the other bishops of his province, to ask that they would grant him leave, after giving the communion to the nuns, to come before them and be heard ; his request was, however, absolutely refused. King Childebert, who was vexed without ceasing from both sides, alike by the monastery and by the nuns who had abandoned it, dispatched the priest Theuthar to put an end to the recriminations which they kept up between them. Theuthar summoned Clotild and her companions before him. But they said : ' We shall not come, because we are suspended from communion ; if we are once more received into the Church, we will forthwith present ourselves before thee.' At this reply, he returned to the bishops, and spoke with them upon this matter. But as he could obtain no result on the subject of their communion, he went back to Poitiers. The nuns were now separated ; some returned to their relatives, others to their own houses, others to monasteries to which they had previously belonged, for together they could not bear the severity of winter, firewood being scarce. A few remained with Clotild and Basina. But even among these there were great discords, for each one of them wanted to set herself above the rest.

44. This year, at the end of the Easter festival, there was an immense fall of rain with hail. Within the space of two or three hours, even in the windings of the lesser valleys, great rivers seemed to flow. Trees blossomed in autumn, and gave a second crop of fruit. Rivers rose beyond all measure, so widely overflowing their banks, that they flooded places which commonly they never reached, and inflicted great damage on the sown fields.

HERE ENDS THE NINTH BOOK

BOOK X

[BOOK THE TENTH]

HERE, IN THE NAME OF CHRIST, BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF THE TENTH BOOK

I. Of Gregory, pope of Rome.
II. Of the return of Grippo the envoy from the emperor Maurice.
III. How the army of King Childebert marched to Italy.
IV. How the emperor Maurice sent the murderers of the envoys to Gaul.
V. How Chuppa invaded Touraine.
VI. Of the prisoners at Clermont.
VII. How Childebert remitted the taxes of the clergy in that city.
VIII. Of Eulalius and Tetradia his wife.
IX. Of King Guntram's army which marched into Brittany.
X. Of the death of Chundo, the king's chamberlain.
XI. Of the sickness of Lothar the younger.
XII. Of the malice of Berthegund.
XIII. A dispute concerning the Resurrection.
XIV. Of the murder of Theudulf the deacon.
XV. Concerning the scandal at the monastery of Poitiers.
XVI. Of the judgement delivered against Clotild and Basina.
XVII. Of their excommunication.
XVIII. Of the assassins sent against King Childebert.
XIX. Concerning the expulsion of Egidius, bishop of Reims.
XX. Of the aforesaid nuns reconciled with the Church at this council.
XXI. Concerning the murder of the sons of Waddo.
XXII. Concerning the murder of Childeric the Saxon.
XXIII. Of signs and wonders, and of doubt concerning the date of Easter.
XXIV. Of the destruction of the city of Antioch.
XXV. How a man calling himself the Christ was killed.
XXVI. Of the death of bishops Ragnemod and Sulpicius.
XXVII. Of those whom Fredegund caused to be slain.
XXVIII. Concerning the baptism of Lothar her son.
XXIX. Of the conversion, the miracles, and the death of the blessed Aredius, abbot of Limoges.
XXX. Of the weather during this year.
XXXI. A recapitulation of the bishops of Tours.

[The period covered by this Book is from the year A. D. 589 to 591.]

IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST HERE BEGINS THE TENTH BOOK

IN the fifteenth year of King Childebert,[1] our deacon, returning from Rome with relics of the saints,* related that in the previous year, in the ninth month,[2] the river Tiber had covered the city of Rome with such floods, that ancient temples fell down, and the granaries of the Church were destroyed, with the loss of several thousand bushels of wheat. A multitude of serpents swam down the course of the river to the sea, among them a great dragon, large as a stout beam, but all were drowned in the salt waves of the stormy sea, and cast up on the shore. A pestilence soon followed, which men call the plague of the groin.[3] Coming in the middle of the eleventh month, it first of all attacked Pope Pelagius,* according as it is written in the prophet Ezekiel: 'And begin at My sanctuary',[4] and swiftly quenched his life. After his death great destruction of the people was wrought by this plague. And because the Church of God could not remain without a leader, the whole people chose the deacon Gregory.* This Gregory descended from one of the first among senatorial families, and lived in the fear of God from his youth. He had from his own resources founded six monasteries in Sicily,* and established a seventh within the walls of the city of Rome. He endowed them with sufficient lands to provide the monks their daily food; all the rest of his goods, even all his household effects, he sold, distributing the proceeds among the poor. He who was once wont to pass through the city in the silken garb of high office adorned with glittering gems* now, clothed in a humble garment, consecrated himself to the service of the Lord's altar and was appointed as seventh among the deacons who assisted the pope.* Such was his abstinence in eating, such his watchfulness in prayer, such his zeal in fasting, that his weakened stomach scarce availed to support his frame. So accomplished was he in grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, that he was held second to none in all the city. He was anxiously

[1] A. D. 590.
[2] November.
[3] Cf. IV. 5; VI. 8 (14); VII. 1; IX. 21, 22.
[4] Ezek. ix. 6.

set upon avoiding this high honour of the papacy, for fear that if he assumed it, something of the worldly pride which he had long cast away might steal back upon him. For this cause he wrote a letter to the emperor Maurice, whose son he had received from the sacred font,* conjuring him with many entreaties never to sanction his choice by the people, or permit his elevation to this dignity and power. But Germanus, prefect of Rome,* intercepted the messenger, seized him, destroyed the letter, and sent him on to the emperor with the document declaring the people's choice. The emperor, in his friendship for the deacon, gave thanks to God that he had now an opportunity of preferring him to such a dignity, and issued his diploma of confirmation * commanding that he should be enthroned. But while preparations were being made for his consecration, the plague still devastating the city, he exhorted the people to do penance in the following address :

[*Address of Gregory to the People.*] [1]

Most beloved brethren, those scourges of God which we ought to dread when they are yet to come should be feared all the more when they are upon us and we have felt their power. May our sorrows open to us the way of conversion ; may this punishment which we endure soften the hardness of our hearts, as indeed it was foretold by the prophet : ' The sword reacheth unto the soul.' [2] Behold how all the people is smitten by the sword of the divine wrath ; one after another, they are swept away by sudden death. No gradual sickness cometh before death, but, as ye behold, death forestalleth the slow steps of sickness. The blow falleth ; the victim is snatched away before he can turn to bewail his sins and to repent. Consider, therefore, in what guise he shall appear before the stern Judge of all, having no respite in which to lament his deeds. Our citizens are not withdrawn from us in part ; all haste to death together. Houses are left void, parents behold the funerals of their children, and their heirs go before them to the grave. Let every one of us therefore betake himself to lamentation and repentance before the blow is fallen, and while time yet remaineth to weep. Let us recall before the mind's

[1] These words have been added in the manuscript by a later hand.
[2] Jer. iv. 10.

eye all that in which we have gone astray and done amiss, let us chastise ourselves with tears for all our evil acts. Let us come before His presence making confession ; [1] like as the prophet admonisheth, let us lift up our hearts with our hands to the Lord.[2] This is to lift up our hearts with our hands to God, when we exalt the fervour of our prayers by the merit of our good works. And verily He giveth, He giveth confidence in our fear, who crieth through the mouth of the prophet : ' I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be converted and live.' [3] Let no man despair by reason of the immensity of his offences ; for a repentance of three days absolved the men of Niniveh that were sunken in their sins ; and the thief that repented won the reward of life in the very hour of his death. Let us therefore change our hearts, and think that already we have the object of our desire. The heart of the judge is sooner turned by the petition, if the suppliant hath himself repented him of the evil. And now that the sword of so great a chastisement hangeth over us, let us be instant in our tears, since the importunity, which is wont to displease man, is pleasing to the Judge of truth. For God is full of mercy and loving-kindness, and it is His will that pardon be won of Him by prayer, nor will He be angry according to the measure of our desert. For it is He who saith by the voice of the Psalmist : ' Call upon Me in the day of thy tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.' [4] He beareth witness therefore of Himself, that He desireth to have mercy upon them that call upon Him, who Himself admonisheth us so to call. Therefore, most dear brethren, with contrite heart and works amended let us assemble with a mind dedicated to tears in the order set forth below to celebrate the sevenfold litanies,* on the first dawn of the fourth day of the week,[5] that when He seeth how we chastise ourselves for our sins, the stern Judge may Himself acquit us from the sentence of damnation prepared for us. Let the clergy therefore go in procession from the church of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian with all the priests of the sixth region. Let all the abbots with their monks go

[1] Ps. xciv (xcv). 2. Instead of *Praeveniamus*, the Vulgate has : *Praeoccupemus faciem eius in confessione.*

[2] Jer. iii. 41.

[3] Ezek. xxiii. 11.

[4] Ps. xlix (l). 15 ; not identical with the Vulgate text.

[5] Wednesday.

in procession from the church of the holy martyrs Gervasius and Protasius. Let all the abbesses with their congregations go in procession from the church of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Peter with the priests of the first region. Let all the children go from the church of the holy martyrs John and Paul with the priests of the second region. Let all the laymen go from the church of the holy protomartyr Stephen with the priests of the seventh region. Let all the widows go from the church of the holy Euphemia with the priests of the fifth region. Let the married women start from the church of the holy martyr Clement with the priests of the third region; that all going forth with prayers and tears from these several churches may assemble together at the basilica of the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, Mother of our Lord God Jesus Christ, to the end that there, long while making supplication to the Lord with groans and lamentation, we may avail to win pardon for our sins.'

After these words, he assembled the different bodies of the clergy, and commanded that psalms be chanted for three days, and the mercy of the Lord implored. At the third hour all the choirs came to the church chanting psalms, and raising the supplication *Kyrie eleison* through the streets of the city.* Our deacon, who was present, declared that in the space of a single hour, while the people were pouring forth the voice of their supplication to the Lord, there fell dead no less than eighty persons. But the bishop never ceased exhorting the people not to intermit their prayers. When our deacon obtained from him the relics of the saints, as I have written, he, too, was still only a deacon. He was preparing flight to some place of concealment, when he was seized, carried along, and brought into the basilica of Saint Peter, where he was consecrated bishop, and given as pope * to the city of Rome.[1] Our deacon could not rest till he came back from Ostia * to see with his own eyes how the consecration was carried out.

2. Grippo, returning from a mission to the emperor Maurice,* related that in the previous year he and his companions, taking ship, had touched at a port of Africa, and made their entry into the great Carthage.* While they were there, waiting the order of the prefect, who was in residence there,[2] permitting them

[1] 3rd September, A.D. 590.
[2] i.e. the prefect of Africa, whose city was Carthage.

to proceed to have audience of the emperor, a servant brought by Evantius, one of the party, took an object of price from a certain merchant, and carried it home to his lodging. The owner followed him and demanded restitution of his goods. But the servant put him off; the quarrel kept growing, and one day the merchant, meeting the servant in the street, laid hold of him by the garment, and sought to detain him, saying: 'I shall not let thee go until thou restore me the property which thou hast seized by violence.' The other, in his struggle to wrest himself free from the man's hands, rashly drew his sword and killed him, whereupon he returned forthwith to his lodging and never told his companions what had happened. There were present in the house at the time the three envoys, Bodegisil, son of Mummolen[1] of Soissons, Evantius, son of Dynamius of Arles,[2] and this Grippo, who was by race a Frank; they had just risen from table, and had settled down to sleep and rest. As soon as the man of chief rank in the city * was informed what had been done, he assembled a force of soldiers, and sent it, with all the people who had arms, to the strangers' lodging. The envoys, suddenly startled out of their sleep, were confounded when they saw what was taking place. The leader of the force now cried out: 'Lay down your arms and come forth in our midst, that we may discover peaceably how this manslaughter befell.' At this they were afraid, as yet knowing nothing of what was done. They asked therefore those without to swear an oath that if they came forth unarmed their safety was assured. The men swore, but the excitement prevented them from keeping their word. First they put Bodegisil to the sword as he came out, and next, in like manner, Evantius. There the bodies lay before the door of the lodging, when Grippo, snatching up his arms, went out to the crowd, together with the servants who were with him, and spoke as follows: 'We know nothing of what is befallen, and lo! ye have struck down with the sword the companions of my journey, my fellow envoys to the emperor. God shall judge our wrong, and requite their death by your destruction, in that ye have in this wise slaughtered innocent men coming amongst you in peace. After this deed there shall never more be peace

[1] Perhaps the Mummolen of Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 14.
[2] Cf. VI. 7, *11*; IX. 11.

between our kings and your emperor. For we came in the cause of peace, and to give our aid to the empire. I call God to witness that if the promised peace be not kept between the princes, the cause lieth in this offence.' After Grippo had uttered these words and more of a like sort, the force of the Carthaginians melted away, and every man returned to his own home. Then the prefect paid a visit to Grippo ; he sought to appease his wrath over these events, and made all arrangements for his journey to have audience of the emperor. On his arrival, Grippo first acquitted himself of his embassy, and then told how his companions had met their fate. The emperor was troubled, pledging himself to avenge their death and to do all that King Childebert should declare to be necessary. Thereupon Grippo returned in peace, bearing with him gifts from the emperor.

3. When Grippo had made his report to Childebert, the king ordered that an army should be levied to march straightway into Italy ; it was commanded by twenty dukes,* and was to make war on the Lombards : the dukes' names I have not thought it necessary to recount in their order. Duke Audovald, acting with Wintrio,[1] raised his force in Champagne, and reaching Metz, which lay upon his route, committed so many violent and murderous acts that he might have been thought to lead a hostile army against his own country. The other dukes did likewise with their troops, first ravaging their own land and despoiling the inhabitants who were remaining behind, before doing aught for victory over the enemy.

When they drew nigh to the territory of Italy, Audovald with six dukes marched to the right and came to Milan, where the army encamped in the open country some way from the city. Duke Olo,[2] rashly coming close to Bellinzona, a strong place belonging to this city, situated in the lowlands called *Canini*,* was wounded by a javelin under the breast, and fell dead. His men, raiding for supplies, were everywhere cut down in numbers by attacking Lombards. In the territory of the city of Milan there was a lake called *Ceresium*[3] from which issued a narrow but deep stream,* and intelligence was

[1] Cf. VIII. 18. Wintrio is described by Fredegar (IV. 14) as a duke of Champagne.

[2] Possibly the Olo mentioned in VII. 38 as Count of Bourges.

[3] The lake of Lugano.

brought that the Lombards were posted on the shore of this water. When the Franks had approached, but before they had crossed this stream, a Lombard stood forth on the farther bank, armed in helmet and mail coat, and carrying a spear in his hand. This man cried aloud to the Frankish army, saying : ' To-day shall it be shown to which side the Lord will grant the victory.' It is to be supposed that this was a signal upon which the Lombards had agreed.* Thereupon a few of the Franks got across, and engaging in combat with this Lombard, laid him low ; and behold ! all the Lombard army took to flight and marched away. When the Frankish army passed the river they found no living soul, only the traces of the camp, where the fires had been lit and the tents pitched. Thus without making a single capture, they returned to their own camp, whither there came also envoys from the emperor with the news that an army was at hand for their support. ' In three days ', they said, ' we will return with the troops, and this shall be a signal for you. When ye see the houses of that village on the hill set in flames, and the smoke of the fire rising to the heavens, ye shall know that we are coming up with the army which we have promised.' The Franks waited in accordance with this agreement for six whole days, but never saw a single man appear.

Cedinus with thirteen dukes had turned to the left on entering Italy. They took five strong places,* and exacted an oath of allegiance. The army suffered grievously from dysentery, because the climate was new to the men and unsuited to their habit ; whereof many perished. But the wind rising, bringing rain and somewhat cooling the air, health relieved their sickness. There is little more to narrate. They traversed Italy for some three months, but accomplished nothing, and had no satisfaction of the enemy, because he had fortified himself in places of exceeding strength. They failed also to take the king captive and avenge themselves upon him, because he was safe within the walls of Pavia. Wherefore the army, reduced, as I have related, by the unhealthy air and by want of food, prepared to return home, after exacting oaths of allegiance to King Childebert from those places which his father had possessed before him,[1] and bringing away with them

[1] Cf. IX. 20.

prisoners and other booty. Upon the road they were so hard pressed by starvation that they had to sell their arms and raiment to buy food before they reached their native land.

But Aptachar,[1] king of the Lombards, sent an embassy to King Guntram with the following message: 'We desire, most pious king, to be true and obedient to thyself and to thy line as we were to thy forefathers; nor have we departed from the oath which our own forefathers swore to thine. Now therefore cease to persecute us, and let there be peace and concord between us. So shall we bring thee our aid against the enemy in the hour of need, and assure the safety of thy people and our own, while the adversaries who rage round our borders have cause rather to fear, seeing us at peace, than to rejoice together at our discord.' Guntram received their message graciously,* and sent them to his nephew Childebert. But while, after delivering their message, they were still at King Childebert's court, there came fresh envoys announcing the death of Aptachar[2] and the succession of Paul,* but repeating the aforesaid offer of peace. King Childebert dismissed them, promising to give them audience and declare the policy which he should adopt.

4. The emperor Maurice now sent to King Childebert the Carthaginians who had murdered his envoys in the previous year;[3] there were twelve men, manacled and loaded with chains. It was understood that if Childebert wished to kill them he was free to do so; if, on the other hand, he preferred to release them for a ransom, he should receive three hundred pieces of gold for every man and say no more of the matter. Let him therefore choose the course best pleasing him, that the quarrel might be laid to rest, and no further cause of enmity arise between them. But King Childebert would not at once receive these chained men without inquiry, saying: 'We hold it not proven that the men whom ye deliver to us are in truth the murderers; they may be innocent persons, perchance some one's slaves, whereas our subjects slain in your country were free men of good birth.' Moreover Grippo was present, who had been one of the envoys at the time of the murder, and now spoke as follows: 'The prefect of that city gathered

[1] Authari; cf. Paulus Diaconus, p. 71.
[2] September 590.
[3] Cf. above, ch. 2.

a mob of two or three thousand men, and fell upon us, slaying my colleagues ; I myself could not have escaped destruction had I not been able to make a man's defence. Were I on the spot, I could recognize the guilty persons, on whom justice should be done, if your emperor, as ye aver, is minded to keep peace with our lord and king.' The king therefore dismissed them, having taken the decision to send after them another embassy to the emperor.

5. In these days Chuppa,[1] who was formerly count of the stables to King Chilperic, raided the territory of Tours, in an attempt to carry off herds and other property, like a free-booter. But the inhabitants had a suspicion of his intent ; they assembled in numbers and followed him up. They wrested his plunder from him, and he only escaped by abandoning everything, with the loss of two of his followers killed and two captured. These last were sent bound to King Childebert, who commanded them to be flung into prison and questioned until they told who had helped Chuppa to escape, so that his pursuers failed to seize him. They answered that this happened by the connivance of Animodus, *vicarius* of the count,[2] who exercised judicial authority in that district. Forthwith the king dispatched a letter to the count of the city, with the command to send this man bound into the royal presence ; and, as he loved his prince's favour, to overpower and slay him at the first show of resistance. Animodus offered no resistance, but found sureties, and went whither he was bidden. He then sought Flavianus,[3] the domestic, and coming before the court [4] with Chuppa was found not guilty ; he was dismissed at the same time, and received orders to return home, but first made gifts to the domestic.*

Chuppa once more assembled some of his people and attempted to carry off as his bride the daughter of Badegisel, late bishop of Le Mans.[5] With a band of followers he broke by night into the country house of Mareil * to carry out his design. But the girl's mother, the matron Magnatrude, warned of him and of his plot, sallied out with her servants and forcibly beat him off. Several of his men were killed, and he drew off, not without humiliation.

[1] Cf. V. (29) 39 ; VII. 39.
[2] Cf. Introduction, p. 203.
[3] Cf. IX. 19, and ch. 15, below.
[4] The king's court ; cf. Introduction, p. 211.
[5] Cf. VIII. 39.

6. At Clermont by God's command the chains fell from the limbs of the prisoners in the jail during the night, and the gates of the prison-house were opened, so that they came forth and went into the church. The count Eulalius [1] ordered them to be loaded with fresh chains; but no sooner were these placed upon them than they straightway broke like brittle glass. Thereupon, by the intercession of Bishop Avitus,[2] they were delivered and made free men once more.

7. In the same city, King Childebert with munificent piety remitted all taxes due from churches,* monasteries, clergy attached to the Church, and every one in the service of the Church. The tax-collectors had already suffered heavy loss, it being almost impossible to collect revenue through the long lapse of time and the passage of generations, during which properties had been much subdivided. Inspired by the divine will, the king commanded the system to be reformed in such a manner that the demands of the treasury on this account should cause no loss to the collectors, nor to any servant of the Church in the execution of his duty.*

8. An episcopal council was held on the confines of Auvergne, the Gévaudan and Rouergue, to judge the case of Tetradia, widow of Desiderius, from whom Count Eulalius sought restitution of the objects taken away by her when she fled from his house.[3] But it will be well to take up this affair from a point somewhat farther back, and to tell how Tetradia came to abandon Eulalius and take refuge with Desiderius.

The young Eulalius, after the manner of youth, was often wild; his mother was always chiding him, till at last his proper love for her changed to hatred. It was her habit to offer frequent prayer in the oratory of her house, and often to keep night vigils while the household slept, making supplication to God with tears. She was one day found strangled in the shirt of hair worn when she prayed. None knew for certain who did the deed, but the son was generally set down as the murderer of his mother. When Cautinus, bishop of Clermont,[4] was informed of the affair, he deprived Eulalius of communion. But on the feast of the blessed martyr Julian,

[1] Cf. VIII. 18, 27, 45. [2] Cf. IV. 35; V. 6 (11). [3] Cf. VIII. 27.
[4] Cautinus died in 571 (cf. IV. 35). The events related happened more than twenty years before.

when the citizens assembled in the church with their bishop, this Eulalius flung himself at the bishop's feet, complaining that he had been excluded from communion without a hearing. Cautinus then suffered him to be present at the Mass with the congregation. But when the time for communion came, and Eulalius approached the altar, the bishop said : ' It is common talk that thou art the slayer of thy mother. I know not whether thou art guilty of this crime, therefore I leave it to the judgement of God and of the blessed martyr Julian. If, as thou dost maintain, thou art innocent, do thou draw near ; take thy portion of the consecrated bread, and place it in thy mouth. It is God who seeth the secrets of thy heart.' Eulalius took the Eucharist, communicated, and went away. This was the man who had to wife Tetradia, on her mother's side of noble blood, on her father's of a lower descent. As he lived in concubinage with the maids in his house he began to neglect his wife, and when he returned from his lecheries he would often beat her very cruelly. Moreover, his many excesses had burdened him with debts, on account of which he would rob her of her money and her jewels. The lady was brought into the utmost straits, and she had lost her honourable position in her husband's house. When he now left her to go to the court, her husband's nephew, Virus by name, became enamoured of her, and having lost his own wife, sought to marry her. Virus feared his uncle's enmity, and sent her to Duke Desiderius, with the intention of wedding her in due time. Tetradia took away with her all her husband's possessions in gold, silver, and raiment, and all his movable property ; she also took her elder son, leaving her younger boy behind. Eulalius only learned what had befallen on his return from his journey. When his grief was somewhat abated and he had waited a while, he fell upon his nephew Virus, and slew him in one of the narrow valleys of Auvergne. On the news that Virus was slain, Desiderius, who had also recently lost his wife, now himself married Tetradia. Eulalius then abducted a girl from a monastery at Lyons, whom he took to wife. But his concubines, moved, as was commonly said, by jealousy, affected his reason by witchcraft. After some lapse of time, he secretly attacked and slew Emerius, cousin of his new wife. In like manner he killed Socratius, brother of his half-sister, whom

his father had by a concubine. He did much evil more, which to recount were over-long. His son John, who had gone away with his mother, escaped from the house of Desiderius, and came to Auvergne. Innocentius [1] was at this time a candidate for the bishopric of Rodez, and Eulalius sent him a message, hoping by his aid to recover certain property of his in the territory of that city. But Innocentius said: 'I will do that which thou desirest, if thou wilt give me one of thy sons, that I may make him one of the clergy, and keep him with me for my support.' Eulalius then sent the boy John, and so recovered his property. Bishop Innocentius, receiving the boy, shaved the hair of his head and handed him over to the archdeacon of his church. This boy grew so ascetic that in place of wheat he would eat only barley; he drank water instead of wine, and rode an ass instead of a horse, while he wore nothing but the meanest raiment.

The bishops and magnates, therefore, assembled on the confines of the above-mentioned cities. Tetradia was represented by Agin,[2] and Eulalius appeared in person to plead against her. He demanded the goods which she took from his house when she went off to Desiderius, and it was decreed that she should make satisfaction by restoring fourfold the amount which she had taken away, while the sons which she had borne to Desiderius should be held illegitimate. It was further ordered that if she paid Eulalius all that she was bidden, she should be free to return to Auvergne and enjoy without let or hindrance the property which she inherited from her father. Which things were done.

9. Meanwhile the Bretons committed great ravages in the districts of Nantes and Rennes. King Guntram therefore ordered an army to be levied for war against them, sending to command it dukes Beppolen [3] and Ebrachar.[4] But Ebrachar feared that if they won a victory Beppolen might usurp his dukedom; he therefore started a quarrel, and during the whole march they were assailing each other with abuse, taunts, and curses. Wherever they passed, they burned, slew, robbed, and committed every sort of crime. Thus they came to the Vilaine; this river they crossed, and reached the Oust. Here

[1] Cf. VI. *38*.
[2] Elsewhere Gregory calls him a duke (V. S. M. 41).
[3] Cf. VIII. 31, 42.
[4] IX. 28.

they destroyed the houses near by, and constructed bridges ; thus their whole army passed over. Beppolen was now joined by a certain priest, who said to him : ' If thou wilt follow me, I will lead thee to Waroch,[1] and show thee all the Bretons assembled in one place.' When the news of Beppolen's expedition reached Fredegund, she commanded the Saxons of Bayeux,* wearing their hair cut in the Breton manner, and dressing themselves after the same fashion, to march in support of Waroch ; for she had a grudge of long standing against Beppolen.[2] As soon as Beppolen came up with the men who were willing to follow him, he gave battle, and for the space of two days made great slaughter of these same Bretons and Saxons. But Ebrachar had already withdrawn, taking with him the greater part of the troops, refusing to come back until he heard of his rival's death. On the third day of the battle, his companions being already slain, Beppolen, though wounded, still defended himself with his spear ; but at length Waroch and his aforesaid allies rushed in and slew him, for Beppolen had been shut in between narrow passes and the marshes, and more of his men perished in the bogs than by the edge of the sword.[3]

Ebrachar now advanced to Vannes, for Bishop Regalis had sent his clergy out to meet him with crosses and chanting of psalms, and he was thus escorted into the city. It was said at this time that Waroch attempted to take refuge among the islands, and that he had ships laden with his gold and silver and other effects ; but that when he was in the open sea, a storm arose, some of the ships were sunk, and he lost all the property which they carried. He now came to Ebrachar to sue for peace, handing over hostages and rich gifts, and pledging himself never again to act to the injury of King Guntram. After he was gone, Bishop Regalis with his priests and the inhabitants of his city took like oaths of loyalty, declaring ' that they were in nothing guilty against their lords the kings, nor had they ever done frowardly to their prejudice ; they were held in duress by the Bretons, and lay under a heavy yoke '. Peace having been thus concluded between Ebrachar and Waroch, the latter spoke as follows : ' Withdraw now to

[1] The Breton leader : V. 10 (16), 19 (26) ; IX. 18.
[2] Cf. VIII. 42.
[3] Cf. Fredegar, p. 15.

thy country, and tell the king that I will fulfil all his commands of my free will. And that thou mayst have the fullest trust in my word, I will give thee my nephew as a hostage.' And he did so, and there was an end of the war, wherein a great multitude had fallen, both of the royal army and of the Bretons.

So the army returned from Brittany. But while the stronger were able to pass the river Vilaine, the weaker men and the poor people with them were unable to get across, and had to remain on the western bank. Then Waroch, regardless of his oath and of the hostages which he had given, sent thither his son Canao with an army. Canao captured and bound the men whom he found on the hither bank, slaying all who resisted ; some who tried to swim across on horseback were carried down to the sea by the force of the stream. Some of the men thus taken were afterwards freed by the consort of Waroch by taper and tablet ; * so they returned to their homes. Ebrachar's army, which had crossed the river first, was afraid to go home as it had come, fearing to suffer from the people the same treatment which it had meted to them ; it therefore took the road by Angers, making for the bridge over the Mayenne.* But a small party which crossed first at this bridge was stripped, beaten, and exposed to every kind of indignity. The army in its passage through the territory of Tours pillaged on all sides, and despoiled many, for the inhabitants were caught unawares. Many of those who took part in this expedition went to King Guntram and declared that Duke Ebrachar and Count Wiliachar [1] had been bribed by Waroch, and had caused the disaster to the army. When Ebrachar presented himself, the king showered reproaches on him and ordered him to quit his presence. Count Wiliachar fled, and remained in hiding.

10. In the fifteenth year of King Childebert, and the twenty-ninth of King Guntram,[2] while the latter king was hunting in the forest of the Vosges, he found tracks of a buffalo which had been killed. He severely questioned the forester as to who had presumed to kill game in the royal domain,* and the guard named Chundo, the royal chamberlain. At this, the king ordered Chundo to be arrested and taken to Chalon loaded with chains. There was an altercation between the two before

[1] Count of Orleans, and sometime count of Tours, otherwise Willachar, or Villachar ; cf. VII. 13. [2] 590.

the king ; and since Chundo maintained that he was guiltless of the presumptuous act laid to his charge, the king ordered trial by single combat.* The chamberlain put forward a nephew to do battle for him, and the two champions stood forth on the field. The boy hurled his lance at the forest guard and pierced his foot, so that he soon fell backwards to the earth. Then drawing the knife which hung from his girdle, he tried to cut the fallen man's throat, but himself received a knife-thrust in the stomach. Both of them were thus laid low, and met their death. But when Chundo saw the issue, he fled towards the church of the holy Marcellus. The king shouted that he must be captured before his foot touched the holy threshold. He was seized, bound to a stake, and stoned. Afterwards the king repented him deeply that he had let himself be carried away by passion, and thus for a small offence recklessly slain a faithful servant whom he could ill spare.

11. Lothar, son of the late king, Chilperic, fell grievously ill ; he was so far given up that his death was announced to King Guntram, who, setting out from Chalon for Paris, came as far as the territory of Sens. When he heard, however, that the boy had recovered, he abandoned the journey and returned. The mother, Fredegund, seeing her child in desperate case, had vowed a great sum to the church of the holy Martin, for which cause he began to mend. She also sent messengers to Waroch, requiring him, for the sake of her son's life, to set free all the men of King Guntram's army still detained in Brittany. Waroch obeyed, which is proof that this woman was an accomplice in the slaying and the destruction of his army.[1]

12. Ingitrude, the religious, who, as I have already told,[2] had founded a monastery for nuns in the court of the church of the holy Martin, now began to fail in health, and appointed her niece abbess in her stead. The community murmured at this act, but upon our reprimand contention ceased. Ingitrude was on bad terms with her daughter, who had taken her property from her ; and she now adjured us that this daughter should not be suffered to offer prayers either in the monastery which she had founded, or at her tomb. She departed this life, I believe, in the eightieth year of her life, and was buried on

[1] Cf. ch. 9, above.

[2] V. 14 (21) ; VII. 36 ; IX. 33.

the eighth day of March. Nevertheless, her daughter Berthegund [1] came to Tours, and not being received, went to King Childebert, begging him permission to succeed her mother in the government of the monastery. The king had forgotten the decision which he had formerly given in favour of the mother, and now granted her a new diploma, signed by his own hand, to the effect that she might have possession of all that had belonged to her father and her mother, and take all that Ingitrude had left to the nunnery. Armed with this order she came back, and stripped the place so bare of all its furniture that she left nothing within but bare walls. She then assembled a motley crowd of scoundrels, ready for any lawless act, to carry off all the produce of any other lands given to the monastery by the devout. So many wicked things she did, that it were scarce possible to set them down in order. When she had possessed herself of all that I have described, she returned to Poitiers, venting false accusations against the abbess, notwithstanding that she was her nearest kinswoman.

13. In these days arose one of our priests, poisoned by the malice of the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection to come. When we maintained that it was both taught in Holy Writ and proven by authority of apostolic tradition, he replied: 'True it is that this is the current belief, but we cannot be certified whether verily it be so or not, more especially since the Lord spake thus in His wrath against the first man whom He had moulded with His divine hand: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return into the ground from which thou wast taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." [2] What answer will ye make thereto, ye who preach the resurrection to come, since God doth not promise that man when he is once become dust shall rise again?' I answered: 'I hold that no Catholic is ignorant of the words spoken on this matter by our Lord and Redeemer Himself, and by the Fathers who were before us. For in the Book of Genesis, when the Patriarchs died, God said: "Thou shalt be gathered to thy people, buried in a good old age." [3] Likewise also He saith to Cain: "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to Me from the ground." [4] Whence it is most

[1] Cf. IX. 33.
[2] Gen. iii. 19.
[3] Gen. xxv. 8; not in accord with the Vulgate
[4] Gen. iv. 10.

certain that souls live after they come forth from the body and eagerly[1] await the resurrection that shall be. And it is written also of Job that he should rise in the resurrection of the dead. And the prophet David, though he spake in the person of the Lord, yet he foresaw the resurrection when he said: "He that sleepeth, shall he not afterwards arise?"[2] which is to say, He who is oppressed by the sleep of death, shall he not come to the resurrection? Isaiah also teacheth that the dead shall rise from their tombs.[3] In like manner the prophet Ezekiel most manifestly taught the resurrection to come when he told how the dry bones were covered with skin, compacted with sinews, lined with veins, and animated with the breath of the Spirit; and how the whole man thus formed anew.[4] That also was a manifest sign of the resurrection when a corpse touching the limbs[5] of Elisha came to life by a miraculous power; which also the Resurrection of our Lord made manifest, who is the firstborn of the dead,[6] who destroyed death and from the tomb created life anew for the dead.' Whereto the priest made answer: 'That the Lord was made man, died, and rose again, I doubt it not; but that all the other dead shall rise, I do not admit.' Then I said: 'And what need was there for the Son of God to descend from heaven, and be incarnate, and undergo death, and penetrate into Hell, save for this only, that He would not suffer the man whom He had fashioned to be left in perpetual death? The souls of the just who before His Passion were pent in the infernal prison-house were set free upon His coming. For when He descended into Hell, and suffused the darkness with new light, He led forth with Him these souls, that they might not be tormented more in expectation, according as it is written: "And in their graves shall the dead arise."'[7] But the priest said: 'Can, then, bones which have been reduced to ashes be animated once again, and living man rise from them?' I answered: 'We believe that were man reduced to dust, however fine, and scattered upon the face of the waters or the earth by the force of the fiercest wind, even then it should be no hard thing for God to restore life to this dust.' The

[1] Lit. 'with eager countenance' (*intentis vultibus*). [2] Ps. xl (xli). 9.
[3] Isa. lxvi. [4] Ezek. xxxvii. 6. [5] Lit. 'bones' (*ossa*); cf. 2 Kings iv. 34.
[6] Rev. i. 5. [7] This is not found in the Vulgate.

priest replied: 'In this, methinketh ye err above all, when ye assert in your smooth words the harshest doctrine of all, affirming the resurrection of that which hath been rapt of wild beasts, or drowned in waters, or devoured by jaws of fish, or changed into excrement and voided at the draught, or deposited by running water, or destroyed by rotting in the earth.' Thereto I made answer: 'Thou hast forgotten, it seemeth, that which John the Evangelist, he who lay on the bosom of the Lord and searched out the secrets of the divine mystery, said in the Apocalypse.[1] "Then", he said, "the sea shall give up her dead." Whence it is manifest that whatsoever of the human body fish hath swallowed, or bird hath preyed upon, or beast hath devoured, shall be joined once more together, and restored by the Lord for the resurrection; for He shall not find it hard to restore that which was lost, who created out of nothing that which had no being. But He shall restore solid things entire as before, so that the body which was in this world may have punishment or glory according to its desert. For so the Lord Himself saith in the Gospel: "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of His Father, with His angels, and then He shall reward every man according to his works."[2] And Martha, when she doubted that her brother Lazarus should straightway rise, said: "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day."[3] To whom the Lord made answer: "I am the resurrection, the way, the truth, and the life."'[4] To this the priest replied: 'How, then, is it spoken in the psalm: "The wicked shall not rise in the Judgement"?'[5] And I rejoined: 'They rise not that they may judge, but they rise that they may be judged; for neither can the Judge sit with the wicked to give an account of His acts.' Then he said: 'The Lord hath said in the Gospel: "He that believeth not is condemned already",[6] meaning that he shall not live in the resurrection.' I replied: 'He is condemned to eternal punishment, because he believed not in the only-begotten Son of God. Yet shall he rise in the body, that he may endure the punishment in that body wherein he sinned. Nor can there be a Judgement, save first the dead rise. For like as the heaven keepeth those who died in holi-

[1] Rev. xx. 13. [2] Matt. xvi. 27. [3] John xi. 24.
[4] John xi. 25. [5] Ps. i. 5. [6] John iii. 18.

ness, and from whose tombs there doth proceed the power by which the blind receive sight, the lame walk, the lepers are made clean, and other good gifts of healings are granted to the sick who seek them, even so we believe that the prison of hell holdeth the sinner until the Judgement.' The priest said: 'But we read in the psalm: "The spirit passeth through man and he is gone, and he shall know his place no more."' [1] I answered: 'This is that which the Lord Himself said through the parable to the rich man who was tormented in hell fire: "Thou in thy lifetime receivedst the good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things." [2] For the rich man, when he was tormented in the flames, knew no more his purple or his fine linen, nor the delights of his banqueting which earth, air, and sea yielded unto him; and Lazarus, when he rested in Abraham's bosom, and the rich man was tormented in the flames, knew not the sores and the corruption which he endured lying at the rich man's gate.' The priest continued: 'In another psalm we read: "Their breath goeth forth, and they shall return to their earth; in that very day all their thoughts shall perish."' [3] I rejoined: 'Thou sayest well that when the breath is gone forth from a man, and his body lieth dead, he thinketh not on the things which he hath left in the world. For example, he thinketh not to build, to plant or to cultivate his land; he thinketh not to amass gold or silver, or the other riches of the world. But wherefore doubtest thou of the resurrection, when the apostle Paul, by whom, as he saith, Christ spake, manifestly maketh mention thereof: "Therefore we are buried with Christ by baptism into death; that like as He died and was raised again from the dead, even so we also should walk in newness of life"? [4] And again: "We shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed. For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." [5] And yet again: "One star differeth from another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead." And in the same place: "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption",[6] and the rest. And in another place: "We must all appear before the judgement-seat of Christ, that every one

[1] Ps. cii (ciii). 16. [2] Luke xvi. 25. [3] Ps. cxlv (cxlvi). 4.
[4] Rom. vi. 4. [5] 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52; variations from the Vulgate.
[6] *Ibid.*, 41, 42.

may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." [1] And most plainly doth he point to the future resurrection when he speaketh to the Thessalonians: "But I would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words." [2] There is much testimony which confirmeth this belief. But as for thee, I know not wherefore thou doubtest of the resurrection, to which the saints look forward by reason of their good desert, and sinners fear by reason of their guilt. For this resurrection, indeed, is proven to us by the natural things which we behold. The trees which in summer are covered with leaves are laid bare when the winter cometh; but when the spring followeth, they seem to arise again, and are clothed once more with the covering of leaves which they had before. And the seeds which are cast into the earth testify to the same thing; which are entrusted to the furrows, but if ever they were dead yet rise and bear fruit manyfold, according as Paul the apostle saith: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except first it die." [3] All which things are manifested to the world that it may have faith in the resurrection. For if there be no resurrection, what shall it profit the just to do well, or in what shall it harm the sinner to do evil? If there be no Judgement to come, all men should decline the way of their own desires, each doing that which seemeth to him good. Or fearest thou not, O wicked one, that which the Lord Himself said to the blessed apostles: "When the Son of man shall come upon the throne of His glory, before Him shall all men be

[1] 2 Cor. v. 10. [2] 1 Thess. iv. 13–18. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 36.

gathered, and He shall separate them one from the other, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on His left. And He shall say unto these: Come, ye blessed, receive the kingdom; and to those: Depart from Me, ye that work iniquity." [1] And, as the Scripture further teacheth: "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." [2] Doubtest thou that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, and a judgement of their works, when the Lord shall do these things? Let the apostle Paul make answer to thee, as to other unbelievers, saying: "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." ' [3] At these words the priest was moved to contrition, and departed from our sight, promising to believe in the resurrection, according to the passages from the Holy Scriptures which I have cited above.

14. At this time there was a deacon of the church of Paris named Theudulf, who fancied himself a man of information, and therefore often started arguments. This man left Paris, and went to Angers, where he placed himself under Bishop Audioveus,* because there was an old friendship between them from the time when they had lived together in Paris. He was many times excommunicated by Ragnemod, bishop of Paris,[4] because he would not return to the church in which he had been appointed deacon. He stuck so closely to the aforesaid bishop of Angers, that the latter, who was of a kindly nature and a loyal friend, found it impossible to shake off his importunate guest. It happened that he had built himself a chamber on the wall of the city; and one day, as he was coming down from it after supper, he rested his hand on the deacon for support. The man was so drunken that he could hardly walk, and being annoyed for some reason or other, he struck the servant who went before with the light a blow with his fist on the nape of the neck. The force of the blow was such that he was unable to stop himself, and by his own impetus fell headlong from the wall. He snatched at a kerchief which was hanging from the bishop's girdle, and the bishop would certainly have fallen with him if an abbot had not instantly

[1] Matt. xxv. 31–4, 41, with divergencies from the Vulgate.
[2] *Ibid.*, 46. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 14. [4] Cf. IX. 6.

grasped him by the feet. The deacon fell upon a stone, breaking his bones and ribs, and after bringing up blood and bile, gave up the ghost. He was both a drunkard and an adulterer.

15. Meanwhile the scandal,* sprung from the seed of the Devil's sowing in the monastery of Poitiers,[1] grew daily to ranker wickedness. Clotild, set upon rebellion, had gathered round her a band of murderers, evil-doers, adulterers, fugitives from justice, and men guilty of every crime, whom she now ordered to break by night into the monastery, and drag the abbess out by force. But the abbess heard the noise of their approach, and asked to be carried to the shrine containing the holy Cross.* She was suffering from gouty humours, and hoped that it would be her shield in her danger. The men made their way in, lit a taper, and went to and fro throughout the building with arms in their hands, seeking her, until they came into an oratory and found her prostrate on the floor before the shrine of the holy Cross. Then one, fiercer than the rest, who had come to do the vile deed of cleaving the abbess with the sword, was stabbed by a companion's dagger, methinks not without the aid of the divine providence. He lay stretched on the ground, bleeding freely, and never fulfilled his mad design. Meanwhile the lady provost,* Justina,[2] and the other nuns put out the taper and covered the abbess with the cloth from the altar which stood before the Lord's Cross. But now the whole band came on with lances and drawn swords. They slashed the nuns' robes, and wellnigh cut their hands; they then seized the lady provost, taking her for the abbess in the darkness, and after tearing off her veil and letting down her hair, dragged her forth to the church of the holy Hilary to be kept under guard. But as they drew near to the church, and a faint light dawned in the sky, they saw that it was not the abbess. Thereupon they bade the nun return to the monastery, and going back themselves, seized the abbess, whom they dragged forth, and placed in durance near the church of Hilary, in the place where Basina[3] had her lodging; they set guards at the door to prevent any succour from reaching the captive. When

[1] IX. 39–43.
[2] Justina was niece of Gregory; cf. Introduction, p. 5.
[3] Daughter of Chilperic and cousin of Clotild; cf. IX. 39.

night fell they returned to the monastery, and not finding any light, took from the store an empty cask, once filled with pitch, but now dry. To this they set fire, and thereby made a great beacon, by the blaze of which they pillaged all the contents of the building, only leaving things that they were unable to carry. This happened seven days before Easter.

The bishop was angered at all these outrages, but could not allay this diabolical rebellion. He sent this message to Clotild: 'Set the abbess free, that she be not kept in prison at this season, else will I not celebrate the Lord's feast of Easter, nor shall any catechumen receive baptism in this city until such time as thou order the release of the abbess from the duress in which she is now held. But if ye refuse to release her, I myself will assemble the citizens and carry her off.' When she received the message, Clotild sent assassins with orders that if any one attempted to take her away they were to put her to the sword. But Flavianus, who not long since had been appointed domestic,[1] happened at this time to be in Poitiers; by his aid the abbess was brought safely into the church of the blessed Hilary and released from danger. In the meantime men were being slain at the tomb of the holy Radegund, and certain persons were cut down in a tumult before the very shrine of the blessed Cross.[2] As day followed day, the madness was continuously increased by the arrogance of Clotild; the murders and other assaults of which I have spoken were continually committed by these turbulent ruffians, and her insolence swelled so high that she even looked down upon her cousin Basina from her superior height, until the latter began to repent her, saying: 'I have sinned in following this haughty Clotild. For lo! she hath me in contempt, and I am in rebellion against my abbess.' So she was converted, and humbled herself before the abbess, seeking peace, and they two were of one mind and one desire. But now arose a fresh quarrel. The servitors of the abbess, while resisting a tumult started by Clotild's band, struck down a servant of Basina, who fell dead. These men fled to the abbess for sanctuary in the church of the Confessor,[3] whereon Basina left the abbess and went her ways. But the servitors once more escaped, and

[1] Cf. above, ch. 5, and IX. 19.
[2] The *arca* mentioned above, p. 446.
[3] St. Hilary.

the two women lived in peace as before, though afterwards enmity was always breaking out between bands of their retainers. Who indeed could ever tell the tale of all the violence, all the murders, and all the evil done, when scarce a day went by without some manslaughter, scarce an hour without a quarrel, scarce a moment without its tears ?

At news of these events King Childebert sent envoys to King Guntram to suggest that bishops from each kingdom should meet and put an end to these scandals by the sanctions of ecclesiastical law. With this aim King Childebert commanded my lowliness to attend, together with Ebregisel, bishop of Cologne, and Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers. Guntram appointed Gundegisel, bishop of Bordeaux,[1] with bishops of his province, because he was the metropolitan and Poitiers was in his province. But we began to make objection, saying : ' We will not go to the place of meeting unless the savage rising which Clotild hath caused be first quelled by intervention of the judge.' Whereupon Macco,[2] then count of Poitiers, received the royal order to put down the rebellion by force, if he met with any resistance. When Clotild heard of this, she bade her cut-throats stand to arms before the door of the oratory, to repel violence by violence if the judge should resort to force. It therefore became necessary for the count to proceed thither with an armed force and overcome these men, beating some with staves, running others through with spears, and cutting down those who resisted most stubbornly with the sword. When she saw this, Clotild took up the Cross of the Lord, whose power till now she had despised, and went forth to meet him, saying : ' Do me no violence, I entreat, for I am a queen, a king's daughter, cousin of another king ; forbear to do it, lest one day there come a time when I shall be revenged upon thee.' But the people made light of her words, and rushed in, as I have said, upon those who still resisted, who were dragged bound out of the monastery ; some of them were tied to posts and beaten grievously ; some had their hair shorn, others their hands cut off ; others again lost their ears and noses : in this manner the riot was quelled and peace returned.

When the bishops present for the trial were seated in the

[1] Cf. VIII. 22 ; IX. 41–43.
[2] Cf. IX. 41. Macco, as count, was himself the judge.

sanctuary of the cathedral church,* Clotild came before them. She showered abuse and accusations upon the abbess, asserting that she had a man in the monastery clothed in female garb and supposed to be a woman, whereas he was most plainly of the male sex ; and that this person regularly served the abbess. ' There he stands yonder,' she said, pointing at him with her finger. There, in truth, he stood, in the face of all present, wearing woman's clothes, as I have said. He now declared that he was unable to do a man's work, and for that reason had assumed this garb. As for the abbess, he only knew her by name and had never seen her or exchanged a word with her, inasmuch as he lived at a distance of more than forty miles from Poitiers. Clotild, failing in her attempt to convict the abbess on this charge, went on : ' What sort of holiness can this abbess claim, who maketh men eunuchs, and keepeth them about her after the custom of the imperial palaces ? ' The abbess, when questioned, answered that she knew nothing of all this matter. Clotild had now given the name of a eunuch servant, when Reovalis, the chief physician,* came forward and made the following statement: ' When this man was a little boy, he had a disease of the groin, and he was regarded as incurable. His mother went to the holy Radegund, and begged her to have the case examined. The saint summoned me, and bade me give all the help in my power. I then cut out his testicles, an operation which in former days I had seen performed by surgeons at Constantinople, and so restored the boy in good health to his anxious mother. I never heard that the abbess knew aught of the matter.' As, therefore, the abbess could not be proved guilty on this charge, Clotild began further cruel calumnies against her. Her assertions and the answers made to them being included in the judgement delivered against these nuns, it seemed to me best, instead of repeating them, to give the reader a copy of the judgement itself.

16. *Copy of the Judgement.*

To our lords the most glorious kings,[1] the bishops who were present. By the divine grace the Church most rightly layeth her causes before the pious and orthodox kings granted to the people, to whom their country hath been entrusted.

[1] Childebert and Guntram.

For she well knoweth that with the help of the Holy Spirit she is confirmed by her partnership in the decrees of those who hold dominion. Now, therefore, by command of your puissance, we assembled at the city of Poitiers to consider the state of the monastery founded by Radegund of holy memory, and to hear from their own lips the causes of dispute between the abbess of that house and the nuns who, following pernicious counsel, severed themselves from the flock. We summoned the parties, and inquired of Clotild and Basina for what cause they so recklessly disobeyed their Rule and, breaking open the monastery gates, went their ways, thereby rending asunder the unity of the congregation. They declared in their reply that they would no longer endure the lack of food and clothing, yes, and the danger of rough usage, to which they were exposed. They went on to say that counter to all rule divers persons had used the nuns' bath; that the abbess used to play the board-game * and entertain lay-folk; and even that a betrothal had been celebrated within the walls. Moreover, the abbess had presumed to make garments for her niece out of a silken altar-covering,* and, without a thought for what was proper, she had removed the gold leaves from the border of this silk, and hung them about her niece's neck—a reprehensible action; further, in the most unnecessary way, she had made for her niece a fillet adorned with gold when masques were played in the monastery.* The abbess, called upon to make answer to these charges, spoke as followeth: 'As to their complaint of being starved, never have they fasted overmuch, if regard be had to the scarcity of the times.' As to their clothing, she said that if any one were to search their chests it would be found that they possessed more than necessity required. As to the complaint with regard to the bath, she stated that the things to which they objected were done during Lent. The bath-house was new, and the lady Radegund, fearing harm to the health of the nuns because the walls were newly finished and the mortar was raw, had given orders that the servants of the monastery should make general use of it till all the unwholesome smell of the mortar had died away: the bath was thus given over to the servants during Lent and until Pentecost. To this Clotild replied: 'Even after that date it was at times used in like manner by many persons.' The

abbess said that if it were so, she disapproved of such a thing, but did not know that it had happened. She then in her turn blamed the nuns, asking why, if they had themselves seen these things done, they had not disclosed the matter to their abbess. As to the board-game, she had played in the time of the lady Radegund, and it could not be very wrong of her, nor was it expressly forbidden, either in the Rule or in the canons. But if the bishops now forbade it, she promised humbly to bow to their decision and do any penance that they might impose. As to the feastings, she had not introduced any new usage, but had continued the custom of the lady Radegund; she had offered bread of oblation to Christian persons, but could not be convicted of ever having herself feasted with them. As to the betrothal, she had received earnest-money * on behalf of her orphan niece in the presence of the bishop, the clergy, and the foremost persons of the city; if there was any harm in this, she professed herself ready to ask forgiveness publicly; but even on that occasion there had been no entertainment in the monastery. As to their insinuation with regard to the silk covering, she produced as witness a nun of noble birth who had presented her with a silk mantle * received from her family. She had first cut off a portion, to employ it as she liked; the remainder she had used as far as was required to make a worthy covering for the altar. From the part which had been cut off she had enriched a tunic of her niece with purple silk; but the covering as a whole she had bestowed where it was of most use to the monastery. Didimia, who had given her the covering, confirmed this statement in every detail. As to the gold-foil and the gold fillet,* she produced as witness Macco, thy servant,[1] to prove that it was through him that she had received twenty pieces of gold from the girl's betrothed, with which money the ornament was openly purchased; nothing belonging to the monastery was in any way involved.

Clotild and Basina were then asked whether, which God forbid, they brought any charge of adulteries against the abbess, or whether they accused her of any manslaughter or witchcraft, or proclaimed her guilty of any capital crime for which she should be punished by the law. They replied that

[1] The count of Poitiers; cf. ch. 15, above.

they had no accusations other than those which they had stated when they had charged her with acting contrary to the Rule. In conclusion, they alleged that certain nuns whom we believed to be innocent were great with child. Their fault was due to the throwing open of the gates, and the licence of doing as they liked, allowed them during so many months uncontrolled by the discipline of the abbess. These matters having been investigated in due order, and no cause shown for the degradation of the abbess, in the matter of the lighter charges we adjured her with a paternal admonition not to expose herself to further reprimand by the repetition of such actions.

We then examined the other side, who had committed much graver offences. They had disdained the bishop's exhortation not to forsake the monastery, but had trampled him underfoot, and left him behind within the walls, treated with the utmost indignity. They had broken open locks and gates, and recklessly gone forth, by their influence drawing others into their own transgression. Moreover, when Bishop Gundegisel * came to Poitiers with his provincials, in obedience to the order of the kings that he should deal with the matter, and summoned these nuns to appear before him in the monastery, they had disregarded the injunction. And when the bishops went in person to find them at the church of the blessed Hilary, where they abode, and admonished them as beseemed careful shepherds, they raised an uproar, attacked both the bishops and their attendants with clubs, and shed the blood of deacons within the church. Again, when, by command of our lords the kings, the venerable priest Theuthar had been sent to intervene,[1] and the day for the giving of judgement had been fixed by him, they would not wait till that time, but riotously attacked the monastery, making a fire with casks in the court; they broke down the door-posts with crowbars and axes and set these also alight; they beat and wounded nuns within the precincts, even in the oratories, and sacked the whole monastery. They stripped the abbess, taking her off with her hair all torn, dragged her as a laughing-stock through the streets, and thrust her into a place where, even though unbound, she was yet a prisoner. When Easter Day came round, that feast for ever to be celebrated, the bishop offered a sum of money,

[1] Cf. IX. 43.

that she might be at least suffered to witness the baptisms ; but no persuasion or entreaty was of any avail. Clotild made answer that this outrage was done without their knowledge or instructions, maintaining that it was only through a sign given by her that the abbess escaped death at the hands of her adherents. From all which it is very certain what they purposed, as might be inferred from a further act of cruelty on their part, when they slew at the tomb of the blessed Radegund a slave of the monastery who had taken refuge there, and never by any repentance abated the increasing flow of outrage. On the contrary, they themselves entered and took possession of the monastery, refusing obedience to the royal command that they should produce their rebel followers for judgement. Far from doing this, they were more determined than before in armed resistance to the king's orders, and set themselves up improperly to resist the count and the citizens with arrows and with spears. And when they came forth again to their public trial they brought out with them, secretly and wrongfully, to their own shame and condemnation, the holy and most hallowed cross, which afterwards they were made to surrender in the cathedral church.[1] All these were signal offences ; but, far from checking them, they ceased not to multiply their misdeeds. And when we ordered them to ask pardon of the abbess for their guilt, and to make good the damage which their wickedness had caused, they refused to do it, but rather sought to compass her death, as they openly avowed. Now, therefore, after we had opened and consulted the canons, it seemed just to us that these nuns be deprived of communion until they do fitting penance, and that the abbess be restored in permanence to her position. In all this we claim to have acted in accordance with your commands, and with ecclesiastical authority, after careful consideration of the canons, and without any respect of persons. For the rest it lieth with your piety and your mightiness by royal authority to compel restitution to their rightful place of the property taken from the monastery and the deeds of gift granted by the kings your fathers which these nuns removed. and now openly detain, regardless of us, refusing of their own free will to give them back, that so your own benefactions

[1] *Ecclesia* ; in which the bishops sat to hear the case.

and those of your predecessors may endure for ever, and the place be restored to proper hands. Furthermore, it lieth with you to deny them permission to return, or even the hope of returning, to the place which in this impious and sacrilegious wise they have laid waste, lest worse things befall. Wherefore, by the Lord's grace, let full restitution be made of all, that under Catholic kings there be rendered unto God all that is His, and religion suffer no loss. Let the prescriptions of the Fathers and the canons be preserved, profiting us in our worship, and adding to your wealth of blessings. May Christ our Lord sustain and guide you ; may He grant you to reign long years, and bestow on you eternal life.

17. Afterwards, when judgement had been made known, the nuns were suspended from communion, and the abbess was restored to her monastery. Then the nuns went to King Childebert, and, heaping wrong on wrong, denounced to him certain persons as not merely having carnal relation with the abbess but even bearing daily messages to his enemy Fredegund. When the king heard this he sent and had these persons brought to him in chains. But when after examination no guilt was found in them, they were bidden depart.

18. Some time before this, as the king was proceeding to the oratory in his house of Marlenheim,* his attendants saw a man unknown to them standing apart, and said to him : ' Who art thou and whence comest thou ? what is thy business here ? we know thee not.' He answered : ' I am one of you ; ' but before the words had left his mouth they cast him out of the oratory and put him to the question. It was not long before he made confession, admitting that he had been sent by Fredegund to kill the king, adding : ' Twelve of us were sent here by her ; six have arrived, while the other six have stayed behind at Soissons to entrap the king's son.[1] As for me, I was waiting my chance to strike King Childebert in his oratory ; but a dread came over me, and I thought no more of carrying out my purpose.' Upon this avowal, forthwith he was savagely punished, and gave the names of his accomplices. Search was made for them in every quarter ; some were cast into prison, others were released with their hands cut off ; some were let go shorn of their ears and noses, to be mocked

[1] Theudebert. Cf. IX. 36.

by all men. Several of those imprisoned, for very dread of these various tortures, killed themselves with their own blades. Others died under their punishment that the royal vengeance might be fulfilled.

19. Sunnegisil[1] was once more delivered over to torture, and was daily flogged with rods and thongs. His wounds festered; but, as soon as the matter passed away and they began to close, they were reopened to renew his suffering. Under these torments he confessed himself guilty not only of the attempt to kill Childebert,[2] but of divers other crimes. In these confessions he even added that Egidius, bishop of Reims, had been the accomplice of Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred in their plot to kill King Childebert.[3] The bishop was instantly arrested and taken to Metz, though he was at the time much enfeebled by a long sickness. There he was kept in durance while the king ordered the bishops to be summoned to examine him; they were to meet at Verdun at the beginning of October. The king was blamed by the other bishops for having ordered this man to be carried off from his city and kept in durance without a hearing; whereupon he suffered Egidius to return to his city, but issued letters, as I have said, to all the bishops of his kingdom, requiring them to attend in the middle of November at the aforesaid city to deliberate upon the matter. It was a season of heavy and unceasing rains, the cold was unbearable, the roads were deep in mire, and the rivers overflowed their banks; but there might be no disobeying the king's command. They met, and were obliged to go on to Metz, whither also the aforesaid Egidius was now present.

The king then declared him his enemy * and a traitor to the country, and deputed the conduct of the prosecution to the ex-duke Ennodius.[4] The duke's first question was this: 'Tell me, O bishop: with what aim didst thou forsake our king, in whose city thou didst enjoy episcopal dignity, to submit thee to the favour of Chilperic, who was ever proven the foe of our lord and king, who slew our lord's father,[5] condemned his mother[6] to banishment, and overran his kingdom? How cometh it that in the very cities which, as I have said, he usurped by unjust invasion, thou didst receive at his hands

[1] Cf. IX. 38. [2] *Chilperici*, in the text, must be a mistake.
[3] Cf. IX. 14. [4] Cf. IX. 7. [5] Sigibert. [6] Brunhild; cf. V. 1.

a grant of domain lands ? ' Egidius answered : ' That I was the friend of King Chilperic I may not deny, but this friendship never grew to the prejudice of King Childebert. The estates[1] of which thou speakest I received by deeds of gift from this my king.' At this he openly produced them, but the king denied having granted them. Otto, referendary at the time,* was now summoned ; the documents bore a studied signature,* and when he came he denied that it was written by him : in the execution of the document his handwriting had been counterfeited. On this charge the bishop was found guilty of deception. Next, letters of his to Chilperic were produced, in which were contained many offensive remarks about Queen Brunhild, likewise letters of Chilperic to the bishop, in which, among other things, the following passage occurred : ' If the root of anything be not cut, the stalk that springeth from the earth will not wither.' Here it was clearly the writer's meaning that Brunhild must first be overcome and her son then struck down. The bishop denied that any such letters had been sent by him in his own name or that he had received any such answers from Chilperic. But a confidential servant of his was called who had preserved shorthand copies of the letters * in the volumes of the bishop's documents, so that there remained no doubt in the judges' minds that they were sent by the accused. Further, agreements were produced purporting to be in the names of Kings Childebert and Chilperic, wherein it was written that after dethroning King Guntram they should divide his kingdom and his cities among themselves.[2] The king denied that he was privy to any agreement of the kind, and cried : ' Thou didst set my uncles against each other to the stirring up of civil war, whence it came that an army was set on foot, and the city of Bourges, the district of Étampes, and the town of Châteaumeillant * were all laid waste and destroyed. In which war many were slain, whose souls, I trow, God's judgement shall require at thy hands.' This charge the bishop was unable to refute. For the documents were discovered together in one of the cases for papers in the muniment room of King Chilperic, and had passed into King Childebert's possession after Chilperic's death, when he took delivery of the treasures removed from Chelles, the

[1] *Villae.* [2] Cf. VI. 3, 22 (31) ; VII. 6.

royal estate in the territory of Paris.[1] The discussion of these points was dragging out its tedious course when Epiphanius, the abbot of the church of the holy Remigius, appeared, and gave evidence that Egidius had received two thousand pieces of gold and many things of price to keep him constant in his attachment to King Chilperic's cause. Envoys who had been sent with the bishop to the aforesaid King Chilperic also gave evidence, saying: 'He left us, and conferred for a long time alone with the king; we knew nothing of the purport of their conference until afterwards, when we learned of the above-mentioned devastation.' The bishop denying these charges, the abbot, who had always been privy to his secret designs, named the place where the gold pieces were delivered, and the person who conveyed them. He narrated all in detail, just as it happened, exposing the plot for the destruction of King Guntram himself and of his kingdom. Convicted on these heads, Egidius now confessed his guilt. When the bishops summoned to judge him heard that, and saw that one of the Lord's bishops had made himself the abettor of so many and great offences, they were sore afflicted, and begged a space of three days to take counsel together. They hoped that perchance Egidius, coming to his right mind, might find some means of clearing himself of the charges brought against him. On the morning of the third day they went in a body to the church, and asked the bishop, if he had any excuse, to declare it. But he in trouble of soul made answer: 'Delay no longer to pass sentence on a guilty man. I confess that I deserve death on the charge of high treason, for I have ever opposed the interests of the king and his mother, and by my counsel again and again were waged wars which devastated many parts of Gaul.' When they heard this the bishops bewailed the disgrace which had befallen their brother, and, though they succeeded in saving his life, they removed him from the priesthood, reading after from the canons the sanctions relating to his crimes. He was straightway taken to Argentoratum, now called Strasbourg,[2] and condemned to exile, while Romulf, son of Duke Lupus,[3] already in priest's orders, succeeded to his dignity; Epiphanius was removed from his functions as

[1] VII. 4.
[2] *Strateburgus*; cf. IX. 36.
[3] The loyal supporter of Brunhild and Childebert; cf. IX. 11.

abbot of the church of the holy Remigius. Great weight of gold and silver was found in the treasure of Egidius. All that was the fruit of his own wicked schemes was removed to the royal treasury ; but all the sums derived from dues and other sources of Church revenue was left untouched.

20. At the same council Basina, daughter of King Chilperic, who, as I have related, was excommunicated with Clotild,[1] prostrated herself before the bishops, beseeching their pardon, and promising to return to the monastery, there to live in charity with the abbess, and no more to transgress the Rule. But Clotild protested that so long as Leubovera remained abbess of the monastery, she would never set foot within its walls. The king begged that both might be pardoned,* so they were received into communion, and bidden to return to Poitiers. Basina, as I have said, was to re-enter the monastery ; Clotild was to live on an estate granted to her by the king, and formerly belonging to Waddo, of whom I have spoken above.[2]

21. The sons of this same Waddo were now ranging the territory of Poitiers, where they committed all manner of crimes, including many robberies and murders. Some time before this date they had fallen upon some merchants, putting them to the sword under cover of darkness, and robbing them of their merchandise. They had also laid an ambush for a man holding the position of tribune,* slain him, and spoiled his goods. Count Macco [3] endeavoured to put an end to these outrages ; but these men sought audience of the king. And when the count came according to usage to pay moneys due from him to the treasury,* they also appeared before the royal presence, offering as a gift a great baldric enriched with gold and gems,* together with a marvellous sword, the hilt of which was covered with gold and stones of Spain. But when the king had assured himself that they had most manifestly committed the crimes of which he had heard, he commanded them to be bound with chains and put to the torture. While the torture was being applied, they revealed the hiding-place of their father's hidden treasure which he had stolen from the possessions of Gundovald, mentioned earlier in this book.[4] Men were

[1] Cf. ch. 16, above.
[2] Cf. VI. 32 (45) ; VII. 28, 34, 38, 39, 43.
[3] Of Poitiers ; cf. ch. 15, 16, above.
[4] Cf. VII. 28, 34, 38–9.

straightway sent to make a search, and found an immense quantity of gold and silver, and of precious objects enriched with gold and gems, which they brought to the treasury. The elder brother was beheaded, and the younger banished.

22. Now Childeric the Saxon,[1] who had been guilty of manifold crimes, murder, riot, and many other evil deeds, betook himself to the city of Auch, where his wife had a property. Informed of his misdeeds, the king commanded that he should be put to death; but one night he made himself so drunk that he could no longer breathe, and was found dead in his bed. It was said that he had been the ringleader in the crime, above recounted, by which the bishops were maltreated at Clotild's command in the church of the blessed Hilary.[2] If it was even so, God thus avenged the wrong of His servants.

23. In this same year so great a splendour shone upon the earth in the night season, that you might deem it noonday; and in like manner fiery globes were seen often traversing the heavens and lighting up the earth. There was uncertainty as to the date of the Easter feast, because Victorius, in his cycle,* wrote that it fell upon the fifteenth day after the new moon. But that Christians might not celebrate the feast on the same moon as the Jews, he added: 'The twenty-second day for the Latins.' Therefore, while many in Gaul kept the feast on the fifteenth day,[3] we for our part celebrated it on the twenty-second.[4] We made most careful inquiry, and found that the springs in Spain which are miraculously filled * were replenished on the day chosen by us. There was a great earthquake at early dawn on Wednesday, the fourteenth of June,[5] when the daylight was just beginning to reappear. In the middle of October there was an eclipse[6] of the sun, and his brightness was so diminished that he gave no more light than the horned moon at five days old. In autumn fell most heavy rains, there were great thunderings, and the waters rose in flood. The plague[7] ravaged the cities of Viviers and Avignon.

24. In the sixteenth year of King Childebert and the thirtieth of King Guntram, a certain bishop named Simon, from the parts

[1] Cf. VII. 3. [2] Cf. IX. 41. [3] 26th March A. D. 590.
[4] 2nd April. [5] *XVIII Kalendas mensis V, die IIII.*
[6] Perhaps that of 4th October A. D. 590 (*L'art de vérifier les dates*, p. 63).
[7] *Lues inguinaria.*

beyond the sea, arrived at Tours. He told us of the destruction of Antioch,* affirming that he had been led captive from Armenia into Persia. For the king of the Persians had invaded Armenia,[1] carried off plunder, and burned the churches ; this bishop, as I have said, was led away captive with all his people. The Persians had on this occasion tried to burn the church of the holy forty-eight martyrs,* mentioned by me in one of my books of Miracles,[2] who suffered in that region. They filled it with piles of wood mingled with pitch and fat of swine, and set blazing torches to the pile. But this inflammable matter would nowhere take fire ; and seeing in this the wondrous work of God, they departed from the place. A certain other bishop, learning that the aforesaid bishop was taken into captivity, sent some of his men with a ransom to the king of the Persians. The king accepted it, and released the prisoner from the chains of servitude. Departing therefore from those regions the bishop came to Gaul, seeking support from the faithful, and thus it was that I heard the story from him, as I have above related.

There was a man in Antioch, having a wife and children, and exceeding charitable ; never in all his life did he suffer a day to pass, from the time when he first had possessions of his own, on which he did not invite some poor man to his table. Upon a day he had gone about the city until the evening without being able to find a single person in need, with whom to share his meal. When night was coming on he went out of the gate, and there found a man in white raiment standing with two other men, at whose aspect he felt an awe pass into him, like Lot in the ancient scripture,[3] and said : ' Peradventure my lord is a stranger ; let him deign to visit his servant's house ; let him eat, and rest himself upon a bed, and in the morning let him go upon his way whithersoever he will.' The foremost of the men, who held a kerchief in his hand, answered : ' And wert thou not able, O man of God, together with thy Simeon,* to save this city from destruction ? ' Then, lifting up his hand, he shook out the kerchief which he held towards one half of the city. And straightway all the buildings fell down, and every structure therein, and

[1] Cf. IV. 27 (40). The Persian invasion took place in 573.
[2] G. M. 95.
[3] Cf. Gen. xix.

there were crushed to death old men and infants, husbands with their wives, and persons of either sex; all perished together. At sight whereof, dazed by the presence of the stranger and by the noise of that destruction, he fell to the ground and became as a dead man. Once more the stranger lifted up his hand with the kerchief as it were over the other half of the city; but the two companions who were with him laid hold upon him and conjured him by a terrible oath to spare the half of the city from ruin. Then was his anger abated; he stayed his hand, and, raising up the man who had fallen to the ground, said to him: 'Go thou to thy home; fear not, for thy wife and thy sons and all thy house are safe, nor hath one of them perished. Thy constant prayers and thy daily almsgiving to the poor have saved thee.' As he said this, they departed from his sight, nor were they seen of him afterward. He returned to the city, and found half of it destroyed and overthrown, with all the people and all the animals; of whom many were later taken out of the ruins dead; only a few were found alive, and they were grievously hurt. But the promise was not vain which was made to this man, so to say, by the lips of an angel of the Lord. For when he came home he found all his household intact; they were only mourning the death of those among his own people who had been at the time in other houses. For the right hand of the Lord was a protection to him and to his house in the midst of the unrighteous, and he was saved from peril of death, even as once was the aforesaid Lot in Sodom.

25. In Gaul the plague * which I have so often named invaded the province of Marseilles,[1] and a great famine afflicted Angers, Nantes, and Le Mans. This was the beginning of sorrow, according as the Lord spake in the Gospels: 'There shall be pestilence and famine, and earthquakes in divers places, and there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and they shall give signs and wonders in the heaven, to mislead even the elect,'[2] as hath befallen in this present time.

A certain man of Bourges, as he himself afterwards related, went into a glade to cut wood required to finish a certain work, when a swarm of flies encompassed him, in consequence

[1] Cf. VIII. 30. [2] Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 22. The last words inaccurately quoted from the Vulgate.

whereof he was as one mad for the space of two years ; from this it is evident that here was an evil device of the Devil. After this he traversed the neighbouring towns and came to the province of Arles,* where he clad himself in skins and gave himself to prayer like a holy man. The Enemy, to deceive him, gave him the power of divining the future. Next, to commit greater crimes, he left his place, and, abandoning the aforesaid province, entered the country of Javols, giving himself out to be some great one, and not afraid to profess himself the Christ ; he took with him a woman, supposed to be his sister, whom he caused to be called Mary. A multitude flocked to him, and brought their sick before him, whom, by laying on of hands, he restored to health. Those who thus came together to him bestowed upon him gold, silver, and raiment. But he, the more readily to beguile them, distributed these things among the poor, prostrating himself upon the earth, pouring forth prayers, together with the woman of whom I have spoken ; he would then rise, and once more bid those who stood round about adore him. He foretold the future, and to some he announced coming sickness, to others losses ; only to few did he promise good fortune to come. All these things he did by diabolical arts, and I know not what cunning tricks. And a vast multitude of the people was led astray by him, and not merely the uneducated, but even priests of the Church ; more than three thousand persons followed him. In the meantime he began to rob and despoil many whom he met upon the road, making free gift of the spoil to those who had no possessions. Bishops and citizens he menaced with death if they refused to worship him. Entering the territory of Le Velay, he proceeded to the place called Anicium,* and halted with his whole band near the neighbouring churches, disposing his men like an army, as if to attack Aurelius, at that time bishop of the diocese. He then sent before him, as messengers to announce his arrival, naked men, who leapt and performed antics as they went. The bishop, astounded at these doings, sent to him stout fellows to ask of him the meaning of his proceedings. One, who was foremost among them, first bowed down as if to kiss his knees, thus impeding his movements, and commanded him to be seized and stripped ; he then in a trice drew his sword and cut him to pieces. So fell

and died this Christ, who should rather be called Antichrist, and all his following were dispersed. The woman Mary was put to the torture, when she disclosed all his visionary schemes and his tricks. The men whose wits, by his devilish cunning, he had deranged so that they believed in him, never wholly recovered their senses, but ever professed him to be Christ, and this Mary to be partaker in his divinity. And throughout all the land of Gaul there arose many, attracting to themselves by such deceptions weak women who in a frenzy proclaimed them to be saints ; and so they magnified themselves among the people I myself saw many of them, whom by sharp reproof I strove to recall from their errors.

26. Ragnemod,* bishop of Paris, died.[1] His brother, the priest Faramod, was candidate for his bishopric, but a certain merchant named Eusebius, a Syrian by race,* offered many gifts for the post and was appointed to succeed. The episcopate once his, he dismissed the whole household of his predecessor, appointing Syrians of his own kin to serve in the bishop's house. Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges, also died ;[2] Eustasius, deacon of Autun, obtained his see.

27. Among the Franks of Tournai there arose no slight feud because the son of one of them often angrily rebuked the son of another, who had married his sister, because he neglected her for light loves. When the offender failed to amend his ways, ill feeling grew so bitter that the brother fell upon him and slew him, together with many of his people. He was himself laid low by the other's following, and at last there was none left of either party, save one sole survivor for whom no adversary remained. In consequence of this quarrel their kinsmen took up the feud, and were more than once admonished by Queen Fredegund to cease from enmity and be reconciled, lest from this obstinate dispute yet greater evil should grow. But when she failed to calm them with conciliatory words she rid herself of both with the axe. At a banquet to which she had invited many guests, she placed the three enemies[3] on the same bench. The meal was prolonged until night covered the earth.* The table was removed after the Frankish

[1] A. D. 591 ; cf. V. 7, 12 (18), *32* ; VI. 19 (27) ; VII. 4, 16 ; IX. 6 ; X. 14.
[2] Cf. VI. *39*.
[3] The reason for this particular number is not clear.

fashion, and they were left on the bench where they had been set. They drank on until not only they themselves but the servants were drunken, and these men lay sleeping helplessly in the corners where they had dropped. Then three men with axes, obeying the queen's orders, took their stand behind the three enemies. While these went on with their talk, they swung their axes and striking, so to speak, as one man, cut the victims down ; whereupon the feast broke up. The names of the slain were Harivald, Leudovald, and Waldin. When the news of this reached their kinsmen, they kept a close watch on Fredegund and sent messengers to King Childebert demanding that she should be arrested and put to death. The men of Champagne were called out ; but, as the king delayed, she was got away by the aid of her own people and escaped into another place.

28. After this she sent messengers to King Guntram who addressed him as follows : ' Let my lord the king come to Paris ; let him send for my son, his nephew, and bid him receive the consecration of holy baptism ; let him with his own hands receive the child from the sacred font, and deign to treat him as his own son.' At these words the king assembled the bishops, namely, Aetherius of Lyons,[1] Syagrius of Autun,[2] Flavius of Chalon, and others whom he chose, bidding them go to Paris, and telling them that he himself would follow later. There were present at this assembly many from his kingdom, both officers of the household and counts, to make all necessary arrangements for the expenses of the court. But Guntram, though he had made up his mind to go, was prevented from starting by a painful affection of the feet. Upon his recovery he went to Paris, and thence to the domain of Rueil * in the territory of that city. Thither he caused the child to be brought, and bade preparation for the baptism to be made in the village of Nanterre. While these things were being done there arrived envoys from King Childebert, with this message : ' It was no part of thy recent promise to thy nephew Childebert that thou shouldst make his enemies thy friends. But so far as we see, thou keepest nothing of thy pledge, but rather disregardest thy promise and settest this boy on the royal throne in the city of Paris. God shall judge,

[1] Cf. IX. 41. [2] Cf. V. 5 ; IX. 23, 41.

for thou forgettest thine own promise, freely given.' * To this the king replied : ' To the promise which I made to my nephew Childebert I shall not be false. He ought not to take offence if I receive from the sacred font his cousin, my own brother's son ; the call to perform this office is one that no Christian should refuse. As for me, God best knoweth that I seek to act without any subtlety, but in the singleness of a pure heart, for if I do not so, I dread to incur the divine anger. No indignity is done to our race if I take up this child. For if lords receive their servants at the sacred font, how should it be unlawful for me to receive one so near me in blood, and make him my son by the spiritual grace of baptism ? Depart therefore, and tell your lord this, that the pact which I made with him I am minded to keep intact, and if it be not annulled by any fault on his side, it shall never be annulled by me.'

After this speech, the envoys withdrew, and the king, approaching the sacred font, presented the boy for baptism. And receiving him again, he desired him to be named Lothar ; for he said : ' Let the boy grow and fulfil the meaning of this name ; * may he one day enjoy a power equal to that of the former Lothar whose name he hath received.' The ceremony ended he invited the boy to his table, and loaded him with many gifts. He was invited by his nephew in return, and departed enriched with numerous presents, deciding to return to Chalon.

29. I must now speak of the miracles and death of the abbot Aredius,* who in this year quitted this earth and at the summons of the Lord passed to heaven. He was a native of Limoges and of free birth, being sprung from parents in no mean station. He was sent in his youth to King Theudebert, and became one of the noble youths attached to the royal household.* At that time Bishop Nicetius was at Trèves, a man of eminent holiness who enjoyed great fame among the people alike for the admirable eloquence of his preaching, and for his good works and his miracles. Noticing the boy in the palace, and discovering in his face I know not what quality that seemed divine, he bade him follow him. So Aredius left the royal palace and followed after him. And going into the bishop's cell,* they talked together of the things relating to

God ; the youth then besought the holy bishop to correct, to teach, to influence him, and to instruct him in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Thereafter he dwelled with the bishop, consumed with ardent zeal for this study, and had received the tonsure. One day, while the clergy were chanting psalms in the church,[1] a dove descended from the ceiling, and lightly fluttering round him, perched upon his head, for a sign, as I hold, that already he was filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit. He sought to drive the bird away, not without confusion, but after circling round a little while, it settled once more upon his head, or on his shoulder ; and not only in the church, but even when he went into the bishop's cell, it kept him company continually. This happened for several days, to the wonder of the bishop. Afterwards this man of God, filled, as I have said, with the Divine Spirit, returned to his own country, his father and brother being dead, to console his mother Pelagia,* who had none of her kindred to look to but this son alone. His time was now all devoted to fastings and prayers, and he besought her to be responsible for all the care of his house, whether in respect of the discipline of the servants, of the cultivation of the fields, or the tilling of the vineyards,* that there might be no interruption of his prayers. He claimed but one thing for himself, the privilege of superintending the erection of churches. What need to say more ? He built churches of God in honour of the saints, sought and obtained their relics, made tonsured monks from those of his own household, and founded a monastery * in which not only the Rule of Cassian * was observed, but also the Rules of Basil and other abbots who instituted the monastic life. His holy mother provided for every monk his food and raiment. But this heavy toil was not enough to hinder her from singing the praises of God ; even when she was engaged on any work, she was ever constant in offering prayer to the Lord, as it were a fragrance of incense finding favour in His sight. In the meantime the sick began streaming from all sides to the holy Aredius, and he restored them to health by laying on of hands with the sign of the Cross. Were I to attempt to make several mention of them, I should never be able to go through their number or record their names ; this one thing I know, that whoever

Ecclesia : the cathedral church.

went to him sick returned from him whole. I will only set forth some few facts concerning his greater miracles.

He was once making a journey with his mother on his way to the church of the blessed Julian the martyr.[1] They came with evening to a certain place which was very dry and sterile for want of running water. His mother then said to him: 'My son, we have no water; how therefore can we abide here this night?' But he prostrated himself in prayer, and for a long while poured forth supplication to the Lord; then, rising up, he fixed a stick which he carried in the ground,* and after making it revolve two or three times, he drew it out with great content; and soon so great a flow of water followed that they not only first drank of it themselves, but afterwards were able to water their beasts. A very short time ago he was on a journey, when a rain-cloud rapidly came up. As soon as he saw it he bowed his head a little over the horse which he rode, and stretched forth his hand towards the Lord. And when his prayer was over, lo! the cloud was divided into two parts, and all round them rain came down in torrents; but upon themselves there fell hardly a drop. A citizen of Tours, Wistrimund, surnamed Tatto, suffered from violent toothache, which caused a swelling of the jaws. He complained of it to the holy man, who laid his hand upon the place, whereupon forthwith the pain was driven away and never afterwards revived to cause further trouble. It was the patient himself who told me the story. As for the miracles which the Lord wrought by his hands through the power of the blessed martyr Julian, and of the blessed confessor Martin, I have recorded most of them in my books of Miracles, as he himself hath related them.[2]

After these and many other miracles performed by Christ's aid, he came to Tours when the feast of the blessed Martin was over, and after a short sojourn told us that he should not be kept much longer in this world, and that his dissolution was surely near. He bade me farewell and departed, giving thanks to God that it had been granted him to kiss the tomb of the holy bishop before he passed away. Upon his return to his cell, he made his will, set all his affairs in order, and

[1] At Brioude, a great place of pilgrimage; cf. II. 10 (11).
[2] V. P. xvii; V. S. J. 41; V. S. M. ii. 39; iii. 24; iv. 6; G. C. chs. 9, 102.

made the holy Martin and the holy Hilary his heirs ; he then began to ail and was attacked by dysentery. On the sixth day of his sickness, a woman, often vexed by an unclean spirit, from which the holy man had not been able to deliver her, bound her hands behind her back, and began crying aloud, and saying : ' Run, O citizens ! leap for joy, O people ! go forth to meet the martyrs and confessors who are now come together for the passing of the blessed Aredius. Lo, here is Julian come from Brioude, Privatus from Mende ; here are Martin from Tours, and Martial from Aredius's own city. Here, too, are Saturninus from Toulouse, Denis from Paris, and many another now in heaven to whom ye pray as confessors and martyrs of God.' When she thus cried aloud at nightfall, her master put her in bonds ; but it was impossible to hold her ; she burst the bonds and rushed to the monastery, uttering these same cries. Soon afterwards the holy man gave up the ghost, not without true testimony that he had been taken up of angels. During his funeral, when the grave closed upon him, he delivered the woman from the evil of the infesting demon, together with another woman vexed by a yet more evil spirit. And I believe it to have been by God's will that he should not heal these women in his lifetime, in order that his obsequies might be glorified by this miracle. And after they had been celebrated, a certain dumb woman with a wide gaping mouth came to his tomb and kissed it ; after which she received the gift of speech.

30. In April of this year[1] a terrible pestilence destroyed the people in the territory of Tours and in that of Nantes ; the attack in each case was followed by a slight headache, soon after which the patient died. But Rogations * were held with rigid abstinence and fasting, while alms were also given to the needy ; thus the fierceness of the divine anger was averted and there was relief.

In the city of Limoges many persons were consumed by fire from heaven for dishonouring the Lord's Day * by transacting public business. For this day is holy, which in the beginning first saw the creation of light, and was made witness of the Resurrection of the Lord ; therefore the rule should be faithfully observed by Christians that no public work be done

[1] 591.

upon it. In the territory of Tours, also, some persons were burned by this fire, but not on the Lord's Day.

There was a great drought which kept back the pasture; as a result a serious disease prevailed among the flocks and herds which left few to transmit their kinds; as Habakkuk the prophet foretold: 'The sheep shall fail from want of food, and there shall be no oxen in the stalls.'[1] This pest raged not only among domestic animals but even among the wild beasts. For throughout the forest glades a multitude of stags and other beasts were found dead in pathless places. The hay, sodden by rain and flood, was ruined; the harvests of grain were scanty, but the vintage abundant; the acorns appeared but did not ripen.

31. IN THE NAME OF CHRIST HERE BEGINNETH THE ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOPS OF TOURS

Though in the foregoing books I have said somewhat of the bishops of Tours, yet it hath seemed well to return to them in the present place, that I may tell their order and number from the time when the first preacher of the Gospel came to Tours.

The first bishop, Gatianus, was sent by the pope of Rome * in the first year of the emperor Decius.[2] There was then living in Tours a multitude of pagans addicted to idolatry, some of whom he converted to the Lord by his preaching. But sometimes he had to conceal himself from the attacks of the powerful, who if they found him, would often subject him to railing and abuse; for this cause he used secretly to celebrate the holy mystery on the Lord's Day in crypts and hiding-places with the few Christians whom, as I have said, he had converted. He was a very pious and God-fearing man; had he not been such a one, never would he have forsaken his houses, his kinsfolk, and his country for love of the Lord. In this manner he lived of his own choice in the city for fifty years, died in peace, and was buried in the cemetery of the quarter belonging to the Christians. The see then remained vacant for thirty-seven years.

In the first year of the emperor Constans, Litorius was

[1] Hab. iii. 17.

[2] Cf. I. 28 (30).

consecrated second bishop ; he was a citizen of Tours and of great piety. He it was who built the first church erected in the city of Tours, for the Christians were now numerous ; for the first basilica, he converted the house of a certain man of senatorial family. In his time the holy Martin began to preach in Gaul. He held the see for thirty-three years and died in peace ; he was buried in the aforesaid basilica, which to-day bears his name.

The holy Martin was consecrated third bishop in the eighth year of Valens and Valentinian. He was a native of the city of Sabaria in Pannonia.[1] For the love of God he first founded a monastery in the city of Milan in Italy ; but because he boldly preached the holy Trinity, the heretics beat him with rods and drove him out of Italy ; it was thus that he came to Gaul. He converted many heathen, broke down their temples with their statues, and wrought many miracles among the people. Before he became bishop he raised two men from the dead, while afterwards he raised one.[2] He translated the body of the blessed Gatianus, interring him near the tomb of the holy Litorius in the aforesaid church called by that bishop's name. He prevented Maximus from turning his sword upon Spain to slay the heretics,[3] deeming it enough that they should be removed from the churches and the communion of the Catholics. When his earthly race was run, he died at Candes,* a village in the territory of his city, in the eighty-first year of his age, and was brought thence by water to be buried at Tours in the spot where his tomb is now worshipped.[4] We have read three books written by Sulpicius Severus on his life.* Even in these present times he still manifests himself by many miracles. In the monastery now known as the Greater,* he built a church in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul.* And in many villages—I mean Langeais, Sonnay, Amboise, Ciran, Tournon, and Candes—he built churches,* after destroying pagan shrines and baptizing the heathen. He occupied the see for twenty-six years, four months, and twenty-seven days,[5] and it remained vacant twenty days.

[1] Cf. I. *36*.
[2] Cf. I. 30 (39).
[3] Cf. I. 34 (43).
[4] Cf. I. 35 (48).
[5] This statement does not agree with the figures given at the end of the Fourth Book.

Brice [1] was consecrated fourth bishop in the second year of the joint reign of Arcadius and Honorius. He was a citizen of Tours, and in the thirty-third year of his bishopric was accused of adultery by his fellow citizens,[2] who expelled him, and appointed Justinian in his place. Brice betook himself to the pope of Rome.* Justinian followed him, but died in the city of Vercelli. The citizens of Tours, still persisting in their malignity, chose Armentius as bishop. Brice remained seven years with the pope, when he was found guiltless of the imputed charge, and bidden to return to his city. He erected the small basilica above the body of the blessed Martin,* in which he also was interred. As he entered the city by one gate, Armentius was carried out dead by another, after whose burial he received back his throne. He is said to have founded churches in the villages of Clion, Brèches, Ruan, Brizay, and Chinon ; * the years of his episcopate were forty-seven. When he died he was buried in the church which he had erected over the holy Martin.

Eustochius was consecrated the fifth bishop,[3] a holy man and God-fearing, and by birth of a senatorial family. He is said to have founded churches in the villages of Braye, Yzeures, Loches, and Dolus.* He also caused to be built the church within the city walls, in which he deposited the relics of holy Gervasius and Protasius, the martyrs, brought out of Italy by the holy Martin, as is related in a letter by the holy Paulinus.* He held the see for seventeen years, and was buried in the church which Bishop Brice built over the holy Martin.

The sixth bishop consecrated was Perpetuus,* likewise said to be descended from a senatorial family, and to have been a relative of his predecessor. He was very rich, and owned property in many cities. He pulled down the earlier basilica which Bishop Brice had erected over the holy Martin, and built another of greater size and wondrous workmanship, to the apse of which he translated the blessed remains of the venerable saint. It was he who instituted the fasts and vigils to be observed during the course of the year ; of these we to-day preserve a written list, the order being as follows :

[1] Cf. II. 1. [2] Cf. II. 1. The year was 397. [3] Cf. II. 1, *14*.

Fasts.

After Pentecost, the fourth and sixth days of the week to the Nativity of Saint John.[1]

From the first of September to the first of October, two fasts each week.

From the first of October to the burial of our lord Martin,[2] two fasts each week.

From the burial of our lord Martin to the Nativity of our Lord, three fasts each week.

From the Nativity of the holy Hilary [3] to the middle of February, two fasts each week.

Vigils.

On the Nativity of the Lord, in the cathedral church.

At Epiphany, in the cathedral church.

On the Nativity of Saint John, in the church of our lord Martin.

On the anniversary of the episcopate of Saint Peter,[4] in his own church.

On the twenty-seventh of March, for the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the basilica of our lord Martin.

At Easter, in the cathedral church.

On Ascension Day, in the basilica of our lord Martin.

On the day of Pentecost, in the cathedral church.

On the Passion of Saint John,[5] in the baptistery of the basilica.

On the day [6] of the apostles Peter and Paul, in their own church.

On the day of the holy Martin,[7] in his own church.

On the day of the holy Symphorian,[8] in the church of our lord Martin.

On the day of the holy Litorius,[9] in his own church.

On the day of the holy Martin,[10] in his own church.

On the day of the holy Brice,[11] at the church of our lord Martin.

On the day of the holy Hilary,[12] at the church of our lord Martin.

[1] 14th June. [2] 11th November. [3] 13th January. [4] 22nd February.
[5] 29th August. This feast was kept twice in the year.
[6] 29th June. [7] 4th July. [8] 22nd August.
[9] 13th September.
[10] 11th November. There were two feasts of St. Martin in the year.
[11] 3rd November. [12] 13th January.

Perpetuus built the church of Saint Peter, in which he placed the ceiling of the earlier church of the holy Martin, which is still preserved in our own day ; he also erected the church of Saint Laurence at Montlouis.* He built churches in the villages of Esvres, Mougon, Barrou, Balesmes, and Vernou. When he made his will* he bequeathed all his possessions in divers cities to these churches, assigning no small part of his property to Tours. He occupied the see for thirty years, and was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The seventh bishop consecrated was Volusianus,* [1] of a senatorial family, a holy man, of great wealth, and related to his predecessor Bishop Perpetuus. In his time Clovis was already reigning over some of the cities of Gaul. On account of this the bishop was held in suspicion by the Goths, who feared that he wished to subject them to Frankish rule ; they therefore condemned him to banishment in Toulouse, where he died. In his time were built the village of Manthelan [2] and the church of Saint John at Marmoutier. He occupied the see seven years and two months.

The eighth bishop consecrated was Verus. He also was held in suspicion by the Goths for his zeal in the aforesaid cause, and sent into exile, in which he ended his days. His property he bequeathed to the churches and to persons of good desert. He held the see eleven years and eight days.

The ninth was Licinius, a citizen of Angers, who, for the love of God, went into the East,[3] and visited the Holy Places. Returning thence he founded a monastery upon a property of his own within the territory of Angers. Afterwards he fulfilled the duties of abbot in the monastery in which the holy abbot Venantius was buried,* and finally was elected bishop. In his time King Clovis returned as victor to Tours after defeating the Goths. He occupied the see twelve years, two months, and twenty-five days, and was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

In the tenth place Theodore and Proculus * were appointed to the see by command of the blessed queen Clotild,[4] whom they had followed from Burgundy. There they were already bishops, but had been expelled from their cities by their

[1] Cf. II. *26*. [2] Cf. VII. 47. [3] Cf. II. *39*.
[4] Queen of Clovis (II. 20 (29)), a Burgundian princess.

enemies. They were both very old men, and together they governed the church of Tours for two years, and were buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The eleventh bishop was Dinifius,[1] who also came from Burgundy. He reached the episcopate through the choice of the aforesaid queen, who endowed him with certain property from the royal domain, granting him the power to dispose of it as he would. And he took the better way, leaving the most part to his church ; some portion also he gave to the deserving. He held the see ten months, and was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The twelfth was Ommatius,[2] of senatorial family, a citizen of Clermont, who was exceeding rich in lands. Having made his will, he distributed his wealth among the churches of the towns in which his possessions lay. He erected within the walls of Tours, and adjoining them, a church consecrated to the relics of the holy Gervasius and Protasius. He began to build the church of Saint Mary * within the city walls, which he left unfinished. Having occupied the see four years and five months, he died, and was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The thirteenth, Leo, was abbot of the church of the holy Martin before he was consecrated bishop. He was a worker in wood, of which he made turrets covered with gold ; * some of these are still preserved among us. He was also accomplished in other kinds of work. He held the see for six months, and was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The fourteenth bishop to be consecrated was Francilio, a member of a senatorial family, and citizen of Poitiers, who had a wife named Clara, but no sons. Both he and his wife were very rich in lands, which for the most part they presented to the church of the holy Martin, though some they left to their kinsfolk. Francilio had occupied the see two years and six months when he died, and was buried in the basilica of the holy Martin.

The fifteenth was Injuriosus,[3] a citizen of Tours, a man of low degree, yet of free birth. It was in his time that Queen Clotild[4] passed away. He completed the church of Saint Mary

[1] Cf. III. 2. [2] Cf. III. 17. [3] Ibid.
[4] II. 32 (43) ; III. 6, 28 ; IV. 1.

within the walls of Tours ; the church of the holy Germanus was also erected in his time. The villages of Neuilly and Luzillé were now founded. By his institution tierce and sext were said in the cathedral church, a usage which is continued in the name of God to this day. He was bishop sixteen years, eleven months, and twenty-six days, and was interred in the church of the holy Martin.

The sixteenth, Baudin, was referendary of King Lothar before being consecrated as bishop.[1] He had sons, and was much given to charity. He distributed among the poor the money which his predecessor left, a sum amounting to more than twenty thousand pieces of gold. In his time was built the second village of Neuilly. He instituted the common table for canons.* He held the see five years and ten months, and when he died was buried in the church of the holy Martin.

The seventeenth, Gunthar,[2] was abbot of the monastery of the holy Venantius before he was consecrated. During his tenure of office he was a man of great discretion, and was often sent on embassies between the kings of the Franks. But after his consecration he became addicted to wine, until he seemed almost half-witted. This weakness so affected his understanding that he could not recognize guests whom he well knew, and often assailed them with taunts and abuse. He held the see two years, ten months, and twenty-two days. When he died he was buried in the church of the holy Martin. The see then remained vacant for the space of a year.

The eighteenth bishop to be consecrated was the priest Eufronius,[3] belonging to one of the families which I have above called senatorial, a man eminent in holiness, and a cleric from his early years. In his time the city of Tours with all its churches was burned in a great conflagration ; two of the churches he himself afterwards restored, leaving the third and most ancient deserted. And afterwards the church of the holy Martin was itself burned by Wiliachar when he took refuge there after the revolt of Chramn ;[4] at a later time this bishop, with aid from King Lothar, roofed it with tin. In his time the church of the holy Vincentius was built. Churches were erected in the villages of Thuré, Céré, and Orbigny.* He

[1] Cf. IV. 3.
[2] Cf. IV. 4, 11.
[3] Cf. IV. 15.
[4] Cf. IV. 13 (20).

held the see seventeen years, and died when he was over seventy years of age;[1] he was buried in the church of the holy Martin. And the see was vacant nineteen days.

The nineteenth bishop was myself, Gregory, the unworthy. At the time when I succeeded to the cathedral church of Tours, in which the blessed Martin and the other bishops of the Lord were consecrated to the episcopal office, it was all ruined * and destroyed by the fire. I rebuilt it greater in size and height than before, and dedicated it in the seventeenth year after my consecration. I learned from priests far advanced in years that the relics of the martyrs of Agaune * had been placed in the church by the men of old time. In the treasure of the church of the holy Martin I discovered the reliquary; the relics had fallen into great decay; they had been translated to this place on account of their miraculous power. While vigils were being celebrated in their honour, the fancy took me to visit them once more by the light of a taper. I was narrowly examining them, when the custodian of the church * said to me: 'There is here a hollowed stone covered by a lid, but what it may contain I know not at all; I learned that my predecessors in this office were in like manner ignorant. I will bring it, that thou mayst carefully investigate its contents.' He brought it, and I, of course, opened it, when I found within a silver casket containing not only relics of the witnesses of the sacred legion, but also others of divers saints, both martyrs and confessors. We also found other stones hollowed in the same way, in which were relics of the holy apostles and other martyrs. Marvelling at this gift, divinely granted, and rendering thanks to God, after vigils celebrated and masses said, I placed all in the cathedral church.* In the cell of the holy Martin close to the cathedral church[2] I placed relics of the martyrs Cosmas and Damian. I found the walls of the holy basilica[3] burned with fire,* and ordered them to be painted and decorated by the skill of our craftsmen * with a richness equal to that which they had known before. I caused a baptistery to be erected close to the basilica, in which I placed relics of Saint John and of Sergius the martyr; in the earlier

[1] He is said to have died on the 4th of August, which allows us to conclude that Gregory became bishop on the 24th of August.

Ecclesiae.

[3] The church of St. Martin.

baptistery I placed those of Benignus the martyr. In many places within the territory of Tours I dedicated churches and oratories which I enriched with relics of the saints; but it were overlong to recount them in their order.

I have written ten books of History, seven of Miracles, and one on the Lives of the Fathers. I have composed one book of commentaries on the Psalms; I have also written one book on the Offices of the Church.* These works may be written in an unpolished style, but I adjure all of you, bishops of the Lord, who after me in this my lowliness shall govern the church of Tours, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the day of Judgement terrible to all sinners, if ye would not depart confounded from the Judgement, to be condemned with the Evil One,* never to let these books be destroyed or rewritten, by choosing out some parts and omitting others, but to leave them all complete and intact in your time just as I myself have left them. But whoever thou art, O priest of God, if our Martianus * hath instructed thee in the seven arts, which is to say, if by grammar he hath taught thee to read, by dialectic to discuss propositions for argument, by rhetoric to know the different metres, by geometry to reckon the measurements of surfaces and lines, by astronomy to observe the courses of the stars, by arithmetic to compute the parts of numbers, by music to bring into one harmony songs of sweet accent and modulations of sound; if in all these things thou shalt be so skilled as to hold my style inelegant, even so, I pray thee, remove naught of that which I have written. If aught therein please thee, I refuse thee not permission to translate it into verse; but leave my work complete. I completed the writing of these books in the twenty-first year after my consecration. Although in what has gone before I have set down the list of the bishops of Tours, with the years of their tenure of office, I have not computed the total number as in a chronicle, because I have not been able exactly to discover the intervals between the several consecrations.

The following, then, is the whole sum of the years of the world:

From the beginning to the Deluge, MMCCXLII years.

From the Deluge to the passage of the Red Sea by the children of Israel, MCCCCIV years.

From the passage of the Red Sea to the Resurrection of our Lord, MDXXXVIII years.

From the Resurrection of our Lord to the passing of the holy Martin, CCCCXII years.

From the passing of the holy Martin to the above-mentioned year, I mean the twenty-first of my consecration, which is the fifth of Gregory, pope of Rome, the thirty-first of King Guntram, and the nineteenth of Childebert the younger, CXCVII years. The sum of all which years is MMMMMDCCXCII.*

HERE ENDS, IN THE NAME OF CHRIST, THE TENTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY

NOTES

BOOK I

Preface. *Trained in the art of ordered composition.* The words are *quisquam peritus dialectica in arte grammaticus.* Gregory does not here give to *ars dialectica* the strict sense of logic; he rather means the art of exposition, which we commonly call 'writing'.

Heretics . . . catholics. By heretics here are meant the Arians, chiefly represented by the Visigoths. The Visigoths remained Arian until the conversion of Recared in 587.

The accomplished writer (*philosophantem rhetorem*) *. . . the man of plain speech* (*loquentem rusticum*). In the old Roman schools *rhetor* signified one who had pursued the advanced course of literary studies, which included more than rhetoric in the modern sense, corresponding somewhat to 'humane letters'. In the same way, *philosophans* implies the thought and phraseology of a high general culture, rather than a purely philosophic treatment. *Rusticus sermo* in the late Latin writers always means common speech, the speech of ordinary men, untutored in the grammar and rhetoric of the schools.

First shall Antichrist come. In the text the words *Neronem et*, inserted before *Antechristum prius esse venturum*, have been erased. The text is corrupt; the last two letters of *venturum* have been rewritten by another hand, and erasure has followed.

Eusebius . . . Jerome. The chronicle of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (d. 340), was written in Greek. The second book was translated into Latin by S. Jerome, and continued down to the year 378. The Greek original has only been preserved in a few fragments, but the whole work exists in an Armenian version, translated into Latin (A. Schöne, *Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo*, 1866 and 1875). Schöne may also be consulted for Jerome's version of the chronicle (*Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, 1900). Cf. A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'hist. de France*, p. 42, and J. B. Bury's edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (1909), i, Appendix, p. 560.

Orosius, a Spanish priest of Tarragona, wrote, at the beginning of the fifth century, a chronicle from the Creation down to his own day, at the suggestion of S. Augustine. It has no historical importance except in the part dealing with his own times. The text has been edited by K. Zangemeister (1889). For the authors who have written on Orosius and his works, see A. Molinier, as above, p. 43, and U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources hist. du Moyen Âge: Bio-bibliographie*, cols. 3434 and 3435.

Victorius. This writer was a native of Aquitaine who in 541 drew up a table of dates for Easter (*Cursus Paschalis*) at the request of Pope

Hilary I. See M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* ix: *Chronica Minora, Saec. IV–VII*, tom. i (Berlin, 1892), pp. 669 ff., ed. by Th. Mommsen. Cf. also the books cited by U. Chevalier, as above, col. 4668. Cf. n. to X. 23.

5. *Who called him Zoroaster, which is to say, living star.* This derivation, which is purely fanciful, is not obtained from the original Persian form Zarathustra, but from the Greek version Zoroaster, which might be regarded as a combination of the two Greek words: ζωρός (pure) and ἀστήρ (star).

6. *And their own selves.* The words of the text are: *quorum vana cogitatione simul et lingua ipsiusque confutans Deus.*

This is Babylon, built by the giant Hebron, son of Chus. Nimrod should be read for the Hebron of the text. In *De cursu stellarum*, 3, Gregory places Babylon as the second of the Seven Wonders of the World. The reference to Orosius is *Hist.*, Bk. II, 68.

Five aripennes. The *aripennis* (later *arpent*) was both a linear and a square measure. As a measure of length it usually contained 125 feet, or 25 paces. Another *aripennis* had 120 feet, or 24 paces, constituting a half-*jugerum*, and divided into twelve equal parts called *perticae* (perches). See B. Guérard, *Le polyptyque de l'Abbé Irminon* (1844), Part I (Prolegomena), p. 165. Cf. also V. 21 (28), and n. on p. 544.

7. *Who begat Abraham.* The names of the descendants of Noah in the Vulgate are as follows: Sem, Arphaxad, Sale, Heber, Phaleg, Reu, Sarug, Nachor, Thare.

Nine hundred years. A blank space to contain four letters, or figures, occurs after the DCCCC of the text. Other MSS. have DCCCCXLII.

As Severus relates in his chronicle. This statement has not been verified. For Sulpicius Severus (*c.* A. D. 353–410) cf. H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bolland.* xxxviii; U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge: Bio-bibliographie, s. v.* Sulpice Sévère; and A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'hist. de France* (*Manuel de bibliographie hist.*), 1901, p. 43. He wrote *Historiae Sacrae* in two books, as well as his Dialogues and Letters on S. Martin, and his Life of the saint. Cf. also notes on pp. 487 and 602 below.

8. *A hundred and seventy years.* In Job xlii. 16 the number is given as 170.

9. *Bowed down before him.* The text uses the word *procidere*, the Vulgate *adorare*.

10. *Dwellers on the Nile.* This translation involves the emendation of *incolae* into *Nilicolae*.

Monasteries. The most famous centre of monastic settlements was the Natron valley in the desert of Scete, west of Cairo.

Another of the same name. Babylon in Egypt was on the Nile at Old Cairo. Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (1884), i, pp. 155 ff.

The granaries larger at the base than the top are clearly the Pyramids, which medieval tradition ascribes to Joseph. They were in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian Babylon.

The aforesaid river, coming from the east, flows west in the direction of the Red Sea (*Ante dictus vero fluvius ab oriente veniens, ad occidentalem plagam versus Rubrum mare vadit*). The passage is obscure, and is perhaps to be explained by supposing Gregory to have believed in an old tradition that the sources of the Nile were in India.

Clysma. Now Tell Kolzum at the head of the Gulf of Suez. It was an important arsenal in Roman times and is mentioned by Ptolemy and by Lucian. Cf. British Museum, *Greek Papyri*, vol. iv (1910), by H. I. Bell, Intr., p. xxxiii. It is also mentioned in the *Peregrinatio* of Silvia (Aetheria) *c.* A. D. 385.

15. *Three hundred and ninety years.* Gregory omits the four last kings: Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. Further, the whole reign of David and the first seven years of Solomon are counted twice. At the close of Book IV he counts 390 years from the building of the Temple to the Babylonian captivity.

16. *Which Joseph is counted as the fourteenth.* Joseph is really thirteenth.

17. *In their tongue.* The word dynasty is of course of Greek derivation.

Cenchris . . . was twelfth king of the Egyptians. The meaning is, 'within his dynasty', as in the case of Thephei lower down.

18. *The first imperial ruler was Julius Caesar.* This erroneous view was commonly believed in the Middle Ages.

In the nineteenth year of his reign. Lyons had really been founded in 43 B. C.

21. *The Acts of Pilate.* The text has *Testam Pilati*, an obvious error for *Gesta Pilati*. This is an apocryphal book widely accepted in the Middle Ages. Cf. Harnack, *Altchristliche Litteratur*, III. i, p. 603. It is translated by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 94 ff.: *The Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate.* A critical edition by E. von Dobschütz, now in preparation, will be included in the Berlin Corpus of Greek Ante-Nicene Christian writers.

The walls were restored to their former place. This detail is to be found in the *Acts of Pilate*, xv. 5, 6.

22. *Vanquished Hell.* The word used for Hell is Tartarus, as in the well-known hymn of Fortunatus, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, and elsewhere.

23. *Six hundred and sixty-eight years.* The figures DCLXVIII have been erased in the MS., but occur in the text of Arndt in the M. G. H.

24. *A Manichaean.* A strange statement, in view of the fact that Manes, the Persian founder of the Manichaean sect, lived in the third century after Christ.

Likewise Herod the King. In this passage the accounts of the death of Herod the Great and Herod Agrippa I in Eusebius are confused. Cf. Acts xii. 23.

28. *The Adversary.* i. e. the Evil One. The words used are *pars adversa*, a common euphemism for the Devil.

Marcion and Valentinus. Two heresiarchs of the second century. Marcion, of Sinope, died after A.D. 157; Valentinus, of Pharbetis in Egypt, a gnostic, was in Rome about A.D. 140, and died in the East about A.D. 161. For the literature relating to them see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above, cols. 3020 and 4617.

Justin the philosopher. Justin the martyr, born at Sichem (Nablus) in Samaria. He was converted to Christianity about A.D. 134, and martyred at Rome on 13 April, A.D. 168.

In Gaul also. The allusion is especially to persecutions at Lyons and Vienne in A.D. 177, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The early history of Christianity in Gaul is concisely treated by C. Bayet in Lavisse, *Hist. de la France illustr.*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 2 ff. The documents for the evangelization of Gaul are scanty, and much fictitious matter was invented in later times to fill the *lacunae*. Even the events of the third century are insufficiently known. One point is clear, that the early Christianity of the country was derived from the East, notably from Asia Minor. Pothinus and Irenaeus both came from that part of the world, and other names connected with the history of the early years (Attalus, Alexander) had a like origin. For the position of early Gallican Christianity in relation to that of other parts of the Christian world, the reader may consult A. Harnack's *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (1902). For the martyrs of Lyons, cf. G. de Montauzan, *Du forum à l'amphithéâtre de Fourrières; les martyrs de l'an 177* (1910); Vachez, *L'amphithéâtre de Lugdunum et les martyrs d'Ainay* (1887). Dom Ruinart, in § 61 of his Preface to the *History*, is concerned to show that Gregory admits a date earlier than the sending of the seven bishops (I. 28 (30)).

29. Photinus, or Pothinus, bishop of Lyons from 150, died in prison at an advanced age after rough usage in the persecution of 177. Irenaeus, his successor, died on 28 June, A.D. 202. For works relating to them, see U. Chevalier, as above, cols. 2264–6 and 3810.

28 (30). *Babillas*, more correctly Babylas, saint and martyr, was bishop of Antioch about A.D. 236 and died 24 January, A.D. 250. For Babylas and the three boys who died at the same time, see *Acta Sanctorum*, January, ii, pp. 569, 570 (1643).

Xystus (Sixtus) = Sixtus II, saint and martyr, who died 6 August, A.D. 258.

Laurentius the archdeacon = S. Laurence the martyr, archdeacon of Rome, who suffered 10 August, A.D. 258.

Hippolytus, saint, bishop of Portus, the port of Rome, died 22 August, A.D. 238.

Novatianus, the heresiarch, was consecrated antipope at Rome in A.D. 251.

For all the above see *Dict. of Christian Biography*, and the references given by U. Chevalier, as above, under their respective names: Babylas, Sixte, Laurent, Hippolyte, and Novatien.

The history of the Passion of the holy martyr Saturninus. S. Satur-

ninus (Sernin) was martyred at Toulouse, of which city he was bishop, on 29 November, about A. D. 257. For references, see Chevalier, as above, s. v. *Saturnin*. The passage quoted occurs in the second chapter of the history of the saint's Passion, though it is not there stated that six other bishops were sent to Gaul. These are all well-known Gallican saints, references for whose lives will be found in Chevalier; for references for SS. Trophimus, Martial, and others, see the same authority.

Dionysius, bishop of Paris. There are two Passions of S. Denis, called from their first words the *Gloriosae* and the *Post Beatam*. The first alone has authority, and appears to be a ninth-century version of an original existing in the sixth century (L. Levillain, review of G. Kurth, *Études franques* (1919), in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, lxxx (1919), p. 258).

The Capitol. i. e. at Toulouse. The end of Saturninus is mentioned in a poem of Sidonius (*Letters*, ix. 16). The memory of the Capitol is still perpetuated by the name of a street in Toulouse, adjoining its site.

31. One of their disciples. This was S. Ursinus of Bourges, for whom see G. C., ch. 79, S. A. Bennett in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*, and the references given by Chevalier, as above, col. 4606.

Leucadius the first senator. Members of the old landed aristocracy of Gaul appear to have been called 'senators' by courtesy long after the connexion of the province with Rome had been severed, because their families had in old days held high official rank. Cf. note to IV. 8 (13) on p. 519.

Lusor, son of this Leucadius, was buried in a marble sarcophagus in the crypt of a church in the territory of Bourges; S. Germanus worshipped before this tomb (G. C., ch. 90).

29 (32). *Cornelius . . . Cyprian.* For Cornelius, Pope, 251–2, and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, 248–58, see the references given by U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above, cols. 1049 and 1087–90.

Chroc, king of the Alamanni . . . overran Gaul. These events concerning Chroc (cf. also ch. *34*) are recorded by Fredegar, *Chron.* ii. 60, who, however, calls him king of the Vandals. He adds details not mentioned by Gregory, stating that this king destroyed Mayence and Metz, and giving the name of his captor at *Arles*, 'a certain soldier named Marius'. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours*, p. 324, thinks that these events may have happened in the fifth century. Cf. II. 1 (2).

A Chrocus or Crocus, king of the Alamanni, took an active part in the proclamation of Constantine as Augustus, at York in 306 (C. M. H. i, p. 3).

The shrine . . . Vasso Galatae. This passage has been sometimes translated: 'which the *Gauls* (*Galatae*) call Vasso,' but an inscription found at Bittburg near Trèves, bearing the words MERCURIO VASSO GALATI, suggests that the last word really forms part of the title. The site has been identified with that of the temple of Mercurius Dumias on the Puy de Dôme (A. Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 514). Mercurius Dumias was the Keltic god Teutates, identified by the Romans with Mercury. Cf. C. Jullian, in C. M. H. ii, pp. 463–5. The adornment of the interior walls with marble and mosaic should be noted:

such work, afterwards characteristic of Christian churches, was introduced either from Italy, which had learned it from late Hellenistic sources, or direct from east Mediterranean cities, perhaps Alexandria or Antioch.

33. The martyrs Liminius . . . Antolianus . . . Cassius and Victorinus. Liminius was martyred at Clermont about 255 (*Dict. Christ. Biogr.* iii, p. 726). Cassius, Victorinus, and more than six thousand other martyrs died at the same place *c.* 264, see *Acta SS., Mai,* iii. 454 ; Bollandists, *Bibl. hag. lat.* (1901), p. 1330.

The wretched state of heathendom (*relictis fanaticis sordibus*). The adjective *fanaticus* is used, as above, ch. *31*, for pagan or heathen.

34. Privatus, bishop of Javols. His martyrdom may have taken place in 265 or 266. Cf. J. Gammack's article in *Dict. of Christian Biography* ; Duchesne, *Fastes épisc. de l'ancienne Gaule*, ii, p. 54, places it before the Council of Arles (A. D. 314). For Privatus, see the references given by U. Chevalier, *Répertoire*, as above, col. 3823.) The see of Javols (Gévaudan) became later that of Mende. Cf. iv. 26 (39).

35. Quirinus, bishop of . . . Siscia. This saint was martyred in 308, the place being now known as Sissek, in Croatia. For Quirinus, see the list of works given by U. Chevalier, as above, col. 3858.

36. Sabaria. The town was on the site of the modern Szombathely (German, Stein-am-Anger) in Hungary. Cf. Sozomen, iii. 14 ; Sulpicius Severus, *De Vita B. Martini*, ch. i ; S. Schönwisner, *Antiquitatum et historiae Sabariensis . . . libri VIII* (Budapest, 1791) ; and Ruinart's note to this passage.

Put to death his son Crispus . . . and his wife Fausta. Gregory here repeats the story as given by Sidonius (*Letters*, v. 8), who was the first to state that Crispus was killed by poison. The story of Fausta and her step-son, which has been compared to that of Phaedra and Hippolytus, is told by Gibbon in his eighteenth chapter. (Cf. O. Seeck, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxiii (1890), pp. 63 ff.)

The venerable wood of the Lord's Cross was discovered. There are Syriac, Greek, and Latin versions of the legend that Judas discovered the Cross for S. Helena. The authorities are given by Bury in his illustrated edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (1909), vol. ii, Appendix 20. The following books may be mentioned : J. Gretser, *De cruce Christi*, ii. 530 ff. ; O. Holder, *Inventio verae crucis* (1889) ; E. Nestle, *De sancta Cruce* (1889) ; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, pp. 326 ff. (1890) ; and *Acta SS.*, 4 May, i, pp. 445 ff.

Eusebius . . . Jerome. For the chronicle in question, see Gregory's preface to this Book, and n. on p. 481.

The priest Juvencus. Caius Vettius Aquilinus, a priest of Spain and Latin poet about A. D. 330. His metrical version of the Gospels is extant. For references to Juvencus see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. : Bio-bibliographie*, col. 2706.

37. James of Nisibis. This saint was bishop of Nisibis *c.* 325 and his active life followed his consecration. When besieged by the Persians, Nisibis is said to have been delivered by his intercession. Swarms of

gnats and flies threw the horses and elephants of Shapūr II into confusion and he raised the siege. Cf. Bollandists, *Bibl. hag. gr.* (1895), p. 55, and *Bibl. hag. lat.* (1899), p. 611; E. Venables in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*

Maximinus, . . . bishop of Trèves. S. Maximin, elected in 332. For his life, see the article by S. A. Bennett in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* A list of the works relating to him is given by Chevalier, as above, col. 3170. Gregory relates in G. C., ch. 91, that his tomb was fatal to perjurers who swore falsely before it.

38. In the nineteenth year of Constantine the younger. This is a mistake, this prince being slain in March 340, in the fourth year of his reign (cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xviii).

The monk Antonius. S. Antony the Great. He was born in 251, became a monk in the Thebaïd in 285 and abbot in the Fayûm in 305, dying in 356. His life by Athanasius may be read in Migne's *Patr. Gr.*, xxvi, pp. 835 ff. A bibliography of works relating to him is given by U. Chevalier, as above, cols. 282–4.

Hilary, bishop of Poitiers. Consecrated 350–5, exiled in Asia 356–60, died 366–8. His treatise *De Trinitate* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* x, col. 25) was written during his exile. For his life see *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*, s. v. Hilary, and for references, U. Chevalier, as above, col. 2147.

30 (39). *Martin now began to preach in Gaul.* The miracles of Martin are recorded by Sulpicius Severus (see note to X. 31 on p. 602), by Gregory himself, and by Fortunatus (*Vita S. Martini*). For Sulpicius Severus and his life, see H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxviii (1920), pp. 5–136. Cf. also the same writer in *Analecta*, xliii, pp. 86 ff., *Les miracles de S. Julian et de S. Martin*, where references to recent works are given.

And endowed with many virtues. The words of the MS. are: *multis virtutibus aeditus.* In Late Latin the word *virtus* generally means 'miraculous power' or 'miracle'; but if *aeditus* stands for *praeditus*, it may be taken here in its older and wider sense.

31 (40). *Melania.* There are two saints of this name, of whom the second was grand-daughter of the first. The elder was born at Rome of a noble family in 343, widowed in 365, visited Egypt in 371, and died at Jerusalem in 410. (See W. H. Fremantle's article in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*) Her son, here called Urbanus, is commonly styled Publicola. Her grand-daughter followed in her footsteps and also died in Jerusalem (439). Both founded monasteries. Cf. Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, *Santa Melania giuniore, Senatrice Romana* (1905).

32 (41). *The enforcement of military service upon all monks.* 'The emperor [Valens] had observed that many of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt, and he directed the Count of the East to drag them out of their solitude, and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens. The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal

statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment . . . marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria . . . and it is reported that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign ' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxv).

Valens fled. The death of Valens at the battle of Adrianople (9 August, 378) is described by Gibbon, ch. xxvi.

Orosius. Cf. p. 481.

44. The church house. This was the house adjoining the church, where the bishop or priest lived. Cf. Introduction, p. 343. With the story of Stremonius told here, cf. that of Felix, bishop of Nantes, in G. C., ch. 77.

In a crypt at Chantoin. This place was a suburb north-east of Clermont (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 497).

45. Hillidius . . . excellent in virtue. The name is generally spelled Illidius, as it is by Gregory himself in his account of the saint in V. P., ch. ii ; the modern form is Allyre. Illidius was bishop of Clermont *c.* 370, and died *c.* 385. The word *virtus* may have the meaning here given in the translation. But it is possible to take it as ' wonder-working power '. Cf. note to 30 (39) above.

47. Injuriosus. This was one of the names adopted in early Christian times as a mark of humility. After the first centuries it was doubtless handed down as a family name. Cf. Calumniosus (VIII. 30). The best-known Injuriosus was the bishop of Tours of that name, several times mentioned in the History.

Forsaken by Christ. This story is one of many like tales found in the lives of the early saints intended to glorify the celibate life. In the *Acta* of S. Thomas, Christ Himself appears to the daughter of the king of Andrapolis and her bridegroom, and enjoins continence (cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxii, p. 138).

By the fourfold stream of the Lamb. The Lamb is represented in early Christian art standing on the mount of Sion (Rev. xiv. 1), whence flow the four rivers of Paradise ; the rivers were regarded as symbols of the four Gospels. Cf. H. Leclerq, in Cabrol's *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, article *Agneau*, sect. iv.

Loathed are thy chambers. The word used is *solaria.* The *solarium* (later medieval ' solar ') was a large upper chamber : *cubiculum maius ac superius* (Ducange). Such rooms were only found in the houses of the wealthy.

Armed with the sign of the Cross (*armatus crucis vexillo*). The meaning probably is that he made the sign of the Cross upon himself. Cf. n. to VII. 38.

35 (48). *Full of virtues.* Cf. notes to chapters 30 (39) and *45* above.

Candes. This village was at the confluence of the Loire and Vienne, between Tours and Angers. Gregory has much to tell elsewhere of the *cellula* of S. Martin there, in which was shown the place where the saint used to lie. It naturally became an important place of pilgrimage. Candes is again mentioned in the history (VIII. 40 ; X. 31).

Know that his first monastery was at Milan. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *De Vita B. Martini*, ch. iv: *Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit.* This was during the banishment of S. Hilary from Gaul. Martin had received the diaconate from Hilary at Poitiers, and had then returned to see his parents in Pannonia. On his way back to Gaul, he learned of Hilary's banishment and established himself at Milan until 360, when Hilary returned to Poitiers. He then rejoined him.

Deprived of priestly benediction. The words are: *sine benedictione sacerdotali*, which may either mean priestly or, more specifically, episcopal benediction, *sacerdos* being regularly used for ' bishop '.

Five thousand five hundred and ninety-six years. V̄DLXLVI = 5,000 + 500 + 50 + 46.

BOOK II

1. *Brice.* S. Brice died about 443. For works relating to him see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above: *Bio-bibliographie*, cols. 697–8. Sulpicius Severus (*Dialog.* i. 20) relates a story of the unreasonable conduct of Brice towards Martin. There also Brice is said to have been accused of various irregularities inconsistent with the monastic virtues. Martin was urged to remove from the priesthood a man so troublesome to himself, and against whom so much was said. Martin replied: *Si Christus Iudam passus est, cur ego non patiar Brictionem?* For Sulpicius Severus, cf. note to I. 7.

1 (2). *Attacked Spain.* This was in the autumn of 409, the earlier invasion of Gaul having taken place three years before. The Vandals were accompanied by the Suevi and Alans, and may have followed the main road from Bordeaux to Pampluna. Cf. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), i, pp. 191–2.

Whose man conquers. The idea of single combat was that war was a judgement of God; it was sometimes possible to let the issue be determined by single representatives of the opposing armies. The champions were not always important persons, but their attendants; in the present passage the word used is *puer*. The same principle was adopted in Frankish law; cf. the episode of Chundo (X. 10). Cf. Introduction, p. 209.

Trasamund had the kingdom. This is not correct. The successor of Gunderic was Genseric, or Gaiseric, under whom the Vandals crossed into Africa in 429. Trasamund or Thrasamund, grandson of Gaiseric, succeeded to the throne in 496, and married a sister of Theodoric, the great Ostrogothic king, in 500. Gregory's short account of the Vandals contains more than one error, as does that of Fredegar (*Chron.* ii. 60), who makes Trasamund successor of Chroc, described by him as king of the Vandals instead of the Alamanni (cf. I. 29 (32) above). He makes Trasamund cross to Africa after leaving Spain.

The Christians. This means the Catholics, as opposed to the Arians. Trasamund was following the example of his uncle Huneric and his brother Gunthamund. (Cf. Bury, as above, ii, p. 125.)

To be re-baptized. Arians insisted that a change of belief demanded fresh baptism. Catholics condemned re-baptism. Cf. S. Augustine, Letter xxiii, to the Donatist bishop, Maximin, where he calls it: *immanissimum scelus.*

As far as Tangier (*Iulia Traducta*). For the passage of the Vandals into Africa under Gaiseric in 428, cf. Bury, as above, ii, pp. 245–6. They were invited by Count Boniface, who was at odds with the Court of Ravenna. When he was attacked by the imperial general, the Goth Sigisvult, he appealed to the Vandals as his only possible supporters.

Huneric . . . was elected by the Vandals to rule over them. Another mistake. Huneric was the uncle of Trasamund, and succeeded Gaiseric, his father, in 477, whereas Trasamund only succeeded to the kingdom in 496, and died in 523. A third mistake lies in the statement that he was elected : he succeeded in due course by hereditary right, in accordance with Gaiseric's law of succession. Fredegar (*Chron.* ii. 60) repeats the error that Huneric succeeded Trasamund.

2 (3). *Its whole form is dissolved.* Doubtless the argument is suggested by the words : *Ye are the salt of the earth.* The Catholics are compared by their bishop to salt, made from (sea) water, but losing its consistency and visible substance if placed in water a second time. Catholic baptism gave them that substance which lends them worth ; if they permitted themselves to be immersed in Arian fonts, that substance and that worth would be lost.

Eugenius . . . Vindemialis and Longinus. Eugenius became bishop of Carthage in 479. Exiled to Gaul, he died at Albi in 505. See *Analecta Bolland.* (1883), ii, Appendices 63–6, and numerous other references in U. Chevalier, as above : *Bio-bibliographie*, col. 1397.

Here are fifty pieces of gold. In G. C., ch. 13, a similar story is told of an Arian bishop in Spain in the time of Leuvigild. The discomfiture of Cyrola is repeated in full by Fredegar (*Chron.* ii. 60). The passage on p. 42 from the words 'For so great an anguish' down to 'God is not mocked' is one of the additions made by Gregory when he revised the History.

Revocatus . . . revoked (*Revocatus est revocatus a fide catholica*). Here Gregory puns upon a proper name, after a fashion only too popular with late Roman writers, Sidonius being a conspicuous offender. Gregory the Great shows the same leaning towards such puns in his famous remark, '*non Angli sed angeli*', and Bede is several times guilty (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15 ; iii. 2 ; *Hist. Abb.* § 1.)

He was succeeded by Childeric. Again a mistake. Huneric died at the end of 484, but Childeric did not come to the throne till 523. Gelimer (written by Gregory 'Gelasimer') should really be styled Geilamir, as his coins show. He succeeded, after deposing Childeric, in 530. The removal of the latter was made by Justinian the *casus belli* which he desired to find. (Cf. Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), ii, pp. 125 ff.) Fredegar repeats Gregory's mistakes (*Chron.* ii. 60), but writes Ghildemer for Gelimer. He adds the curious story of the marriage

of the two friends, Justinian and Belisarius, to two sisters of light reputation. Gelimer, instead of being sent to Galicia, is said by him to have been dispatched to the Persian wars.

By the empire. The word actually used by Gregory is *respublica*, which he frequently applies to the East Roman Empire. Cf. ch. 11 (12) below.

3 (4). *Athanaric, king of the Goths.* The Gothic king of this name who persecuted the Christians lived long before the Vandal kings just mentioned, so that the words ' at this time ' must be taken in a very general sense. His persecution caused Ulfilas to lead the Christian Goths across the Danube (Jornandes, *De reb. Goth.*, ch. 51). At a later time Athanaric led his whole people across that river, making an agreement with the Emperor Theodosius.

4 (5). *Aravatius.* For the question whether there is confusion between this bishop and S. Servatius, see A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'hist. de France* (1901), p. 53. G. Kurth, *Hist. poétique des Mérovingiens*, p. 66, and others have argued that the two should be regarded as the same person, facts connected with the one having been inserted in the Life of the other.

Formed the design of visiting Rome. For pilgrimage to Rome in the sixth century from Gaul cf. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, p. 54. The story of the journey of Aravatius is given by Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 1).

5 (6). *Attila, king of the Huns.* For Attila, see Bury, as above, i, pp. 272 ff. Attila's career is described by Gibbon in his thirty-fourth chapter.

Anianus. He died (*c.* 453). For his *gesta* see refs. given by U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge : Bio-bibliographie*, s. v. *Agnan*, and A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'hist. de France*, p. 54.

Aëtius. Commander in the parts of Gaul still remaining to the Empire. Cf. note to ch. 7 (8) below.

Cast forth and flung back the enemy. The siege of Orleans is mentioned by Sidonius (*Ep.* viii. 15), who says that the city had actually fallen before succour arrived. Prof. Bury (*Hist.*, as above, p. 292) thinks that this statement may contain rhetorical exaggeration, and that the enemy may not have entered the city. The exaggeration of Sidonius may have led to the ecclesiastical legend of the later *Vita Aniani*.

The plain of Méry. The *Mauriacus Campus* may be the plain of Méry-sur-Seine, between Troyes and Pont-sur-Seine, though some authorities prefer Moirey (Aube, arrondissement de Nogent, canton de Marcilly). In the *Lex Burgundionum*, xvii. 1, the battle is called *Pugna Mauriacensis*. The place of battle is given by Jordanes (ch. 36) and Hydatius as the *Catalaunian Plains*, ' which probably denoted nearly the whole of Champagne ' (Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), p. 293). There are difficulties in the precise location of the site, but the choice would seem to lie between Méry and Moirey. On the whole geographical question, see A. Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, 1878, pp. 334–40.

6 (7). *The king of the Franks.* The name of this king is not mentioned.

The story of the poor man who overheard S. Peter and S. Paul is repeated by Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 1).

Strangled by his brothers. Aëtius persuaded Thorismund to return home to guard against treachery on the part of his brothers. The Visigothic king at the time succeeded in establishing himself on the throne; but two years after the battle, during his absence from home, his two brothers Theuderic and Frederic stirred up a rebellion. Thorismund returned and, after encounters with his brothers, was assassinated (453). Cf. L. Schmidt in C. M. H. i. 281.

7 (8). *Renatus Frigeridus.* His full appellation is Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, as to which Gibbon remarked that the three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a semi-barbarian. The works of this writer, again quoted in the next chapter, have not been preserved, and his style is only known from Gregory's extracts. Cf. Wattenbach, *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen* (1873), i. p. 78.

Aëtius. This famous man was born at Silistria; his father was a native of Lower Moesia. In his childhood he had first been given as a hostage to Alaric, king of the Goths; afterwards he was again sent as a hostage, this time to the Huns, with whom he remained for a long period, forming a friendship with their king, Rugila. Gibbon's account of the career of Aëtius will be found in chapters xxxi and xxxiii of the *Decline and Fall.* Cf. also Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), i, p. 241.

Occila (*Optila*). There were two murderers, Optila and Thraustila. The degenerate Valentinian's madness in destroying the saviour of the Empire is indicated in the well-known line of Sidonius (*Carm.* vii. 359):

Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens.

8 (9). *Concerning the kings of the Franks.* Fredegar, who borrows freely from this and the following chapters, adds the legend that the Franks were of Trojan origin, on which see the note to Fredegar, *Chron.* iii (iv). 2 (M. G. H., *Script. rerum Merov.*, ii).

Sulpicius Alexander. His works are unknown to us; he is only mentioned by Gregory in this passage.

Germany. This means the Roman province on the left bank of the Rhine.

Carbonnière. This forest was a part of the Ardennes, which once extended far towards the west. It is now represented by the forests of Vicogne, Fagne, Mormal, Soignes, and Tirault; cf. A. Maury, *Forêts de la Gaule et de l'ancienne France*, p. 54, and A. Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 154.

The Jovinians. The legion was so called from Jovius, one of the names of the Emperor Diocletian.

The Roman province. i. e. of *Germania.* Cf. note above.

Arbogast. The celebrated Frankish leader in the Roman service, who played so conspicuous a part in history under Gratian and Theodosius, occupying the position of Master of Both Services (*magister utriusque militiae*). Cf. Fredegar, *Chron.* iii. 3; Gibbon, ch. xxvii.

Chiefs. The word used is *regales*, ' petty kings '.

Chamavi. They lived north-west of the Bructeri, towards the Yssel ; for Julian's conquest of them see Gibbon, ch. 19. The Ampsivarii, next mentioned, dwelt to the north on the middle Ems. The Chatti occupied a wide territory between the Sieg and the Fulda.

Alans. The text has Alamanni, which is a mistake. For Respendial and Goar, cf. Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), i, p. 186.

Also tyrant. His father had proclaimed him Caesar, in 409. For the tyrant Constantine and his son, see Bury's illustrated edition of Gibbon, vol. iii, App. 17 ; and *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire*, i, pp. 188–94.

One of his dependants. Olympiodorus (*Fr.* 16) says : τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα, which might mean either servant or son ; cf. Bury, *Hist.*, as above, p. 192, and his ed. of Gibbon, iii, p. 359.

Master of the offices. This official had jurisdiction over the imperial household. He was master of ceremonies, arranged audiences for foreign ambassadors. He had some of the duties of a foreign minister. But he also controlled the State post, the secret service, and the royal bodyguard ; cf. Bury, as above, i, p. 30.

The siege undergone by Constantine. The tyrant was besieged in Arles by Constantius, general of Honorius.

Jovinus. Cf. Bury, *Hist.*, as above, i, p. 194. The elevation of Jovinus is placed not before, but after the death of Constantius.

Formerly chief of the secretaries. The text has *ex primitivorum notariorum*, but *primicerio notariorum* must be intended.

The Byzantine *primicerius* was a high civil servant, at the head of a staff commonly known as the *schola* of *tribuni et notarii*. Among their principal employments were the transcription of minutes of the meetings of the Imperial Consistory, and the editing of the *Notitia* of all military and civil offices in the Empire. But in addition to this they had to perform the most various duties : to attend cases of *lèse-majesté*, to go upon diplomatic or political missions, to supervise public works or works of defence, to act as paymasters of troops, to represent the emperor on the occasion of religious disputes, &c. The *tribuni et notarii* were thus a body versatile in accomplishments and of wide general experience, often attaining to high positions in the State. The *primicerius*, when he retired, ranked as a pro-consul, or might receive the title of honorary, or even active, Master of the Offices. His lieutenant was known as the *secundicerius*.

The Government departments had their own staffs of *notarii*. Doubtless many of these were skilled in shorthand, thus doubly deserving the title of *notarius*, which was sometimes used for the ταχυγράφος pure and simple. (See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des antiq.*, s. v. *Notarii*).

The patriciate. The title of Patrician, a very high mark of honour, was given from about the middle of the fifth century to the emperor's

principal statesman and director of affairs, who generally held the highest military command. Cf. Bury, *Hist.*, as above, i, p. 252.

Count of the domestics. This officer was commander of the *Domestici*, a section of the imperial guard which could be sent away from the Court on special service. Their counts were not dependent on the Master of Soldiers (Bury, as above, i, p. 38). Cf. p. 516.

Stilicho. Orosius says this of the Vandals, not of Stilicho (*Hist. adversus Paganos*, vii, ch. 40).

The remaining chroniclers. Reading *historici reliqui* instead of *reliquere*.

From Pannonia. This is only a conjecture.

Thuringia. The region of this name on the lower Rhine; cf. Introduction, pp. 89, 90.

Country districts and cities (*pagi* and *civitates*). Cf. Introd., p. 202.

Long-haired kings. Long hair was the mark of royalty. See Introduction, p. 383, and cf. chs. 21, 30 (41); III. 18, 19; IV. 24; VIII. 10.

This is proved. He means, the existence of local kings. When Clovis was consolidating his power, he removed these kings from his path in order to become sole ruler. See Introd., pp. 94–5.

Consular Fasti. To the lists of consuls were added records of important occurrences in their years of office. This passage shows that, like Marius of Aventicum, Gregory drew upon Gallican *fasti*, which used consular, not imperial years (Mommsen, M. G. H., *Auct. antiq.* xi (1894): *Chronica Minora: Marius of Aventicum*, p. 229.

Dispargum, in the land of the Thuringians. For these Thuringians see the note above, and Introd., p. 171. Dispargum, described as a *castrum*, a term which came to mean a town of secondary rank, may have been on the site of Duisburg, though this is not certain. (Cf. A. Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 619; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Bury's illustrated ed., 1909), ch. 35, vol. iii, p. 479.)

Merovech. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 9) relates a legend that this prince was not the son of Clodio, but of a sea monster encountered by this king's wife while bathing. Cf. K. Müllenhoff, *Die Merovingische Stammsage*, in *Zeitschr. für Deutsches Altertum*, vi, p. 432. For Clodio and Merovech, see G. Kurth, *Clovis* (2nd ed. 1901), vol. i.

10 (11). *Avitus.* The story of the offences of Avitus is more fully given by Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 7).

Aegidius. Afranius Syagrius Aegidius, whose real post was Master of Both Services in Gaul. For Aegidius, see Bury, *Hist.*, as above, pp. 331, 333, 346. He was the father of the Syagrius who represented Rome in Belgic Gaul in the last years of Childeric.

11 (12). *Childeric*, father of Clovis. The whole story of Childeric's early adventures is derived from national legend (Junghans, *Geschichte der Könige Childerich und Chlodovech*, pp. 6 ff. and 140).

Thuringia. This may have been the Thoringia on the lower Rhine (cf. above, ch. 9 (10), and Introduction, pp. 89, 90). Fortunatus, in his Life of Radegund (princess in the great Thuringia), describes Bisin as father of Hermanfrid and Berthar, the queen's father and uncle (*avo*

rege Bissino), but if the Thuringia on the lower Rhine was an emigrant settlement, the name might occur in the royal family in both places. Bisin is also mentioned in ch. 2 of the *Vita Sanctae Radegundis* by Baudonivia (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.*, ii) as Bessinus.

A friend. Later chroniclers give his name as one Biomad, who had won the confidence of Aegidius. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 11) calls him Wiomadus.

Solidus. The gold piece current in the Empire, called *nomisma* in the east Roman provinces. This remained the standard gold coin, and retained its proper weight without much variation for many centuries after Constantine. Seventy-two went to make a pound of gold, and in ordinary transactions the weight, rather than the nominal value, was considered, the purity of the metal being guaranteed by the mint. Cf. Introd., p. 224.

Rome. The word *respublica* is again used as in ch. 2, above.

The two. Aegidius and Chilperic.

Basina . . . came to Childeric. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 12) tells a tale of Basina three times rousing Childeric in the night, bidding him go outside the palace (*ante aulas palaciae*), note what he sees there, and each time bring her word. The first time he sees lions and leopards ; the second time, bears and wolves ; the third time there appear lesser beasts. 'Even so', she says, 'shall be thy descendants.' This supposed prediction of degeneracy in the Merovingian royal line is clearly inserted from popular legend.

12 (13). *Paulinus bears witness.* The passage quoted is not to be found in the writings of Paulinus of Nola.

While the bishops were seated together. These were the other bishops of the province, summoned by the metropolitan to attend the election (cf. p. 288).

14. He judged it unworthy of such miracles. The new church of Perpetuus is described by Sidonius, *Ep.* iv. 18.

17. The story of deeds done of old time. The book may have been an early illuminated Bible, but, if so, one imported from Italy or the Christian East. We know, for example, that the mosaics in the nave of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome probably reproduce the miniatures of an illuminated MS. ; the thirteenth-century mosaics in the vestibule of S. Mark's at Venice certainly copy a Bible of the type represented by the Cotton Genesis in the British Museum.

13 (18). This and the following chapter are disconnected in statement and difficult to understand ; their facts may be derived from the short entries in early annals (cf. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, pp. 534–49).

Childeric fought at Orleans. Gregory gives no hint as to his opponents. The allusion may be to the engagement at Orleans in 463, when Aegidius defeated the Visigoths ; it would then be assumed that Childeric was fighting under Roman standards : he seems to have always maintained the federal bond with the Roman Empire.

The statement in Fredegar that his adversary was Odovacar must rest on a misunderstanding of this chapter.

Odovacar, with his Saxons. Piratical Saxons had occupied the wooded islands in the Loire between Saumur and Angers, from which bases they were able to harass the Romans.

The Bretons. These were the recent immigrants from Britain who, under their chief Riotham, aided Count Paul against the Visigoths, Childeric on his part lending similar aid to the Roman arms. Riotham is mentioned by Sidonius, *Ep.* iii. 9, and Jornandes, *Getica*, ch. xlv. Cf. also Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale*, v, p. 314; L. Schmidt in C. M. H. i. 283.

Déols (*Dolensis vicus*) is on the Indre not far from Châteauroux; it is mentioned again by Gregory (G. C., ch. 92) as containing a sculptured marble sarcophagus still in the crypt of the village church (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 466).

The church house. Cf. p. 488.

After Count Paul had been slain. Fredegar assumes that Childeric was responsible for Paul's death. But as both seem to have been fighting on the same side, this must be an error.

14 (19). *Their islands.* i. e. those in the Loire.

Odovacar made a treaty with Childeric. Odovacar, after his defeat at Angers, probably lent his services to Rome. It is not known where Childeric and Odovacar inflicted this defeat on the Alamanni.

15 (20). *Victorius* receives a better character from Sidonius, who was his friend, and followed him into Italy (*Letters*, trs. Dalton, vol. i, pp. xiv, xxxvii, xliv, lxxx; ii, p. 134).

The seven cities. Clermont, Bourges, Rodez, Cahors, Limoges, Gévaudan, and Velay.

In the twenty-seventh year. This appears to be inexact. Euric's reign lasted only seventeen years.

21. The hill of Chantoin (*Mons Cantobennicus*). For Chantoin (*Cantobennum*: Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 497), cf. above, I. 44.

Sidonius. Sidonius Apollinaris, the late Roman writer. He was Prefect of the City at Rome in 467; the daughter of Avitus, whom he married, was named Papianilla.

Abraham. Cf. V. P., ch. iii, and Sidonius, *Ep.* vii. 17.

22. The preface to the book which I wrote. This book has not survived.

23. Wherefore dost thou abandon us, O good shepherd? The episode of the dying saint surrounded by his flock uttering these lamentations is something of a stock motive, and is repeated almost in the same words of other bishops or abbots.

16 (24). *A great famine afflicted the Burgundians.* This famine, which Ecdicius, brother-in-law of Sidonius, helped to relieve, was more probably that which devastated Auvergne, and was chiefly stemmed by Bishop Patiens of Lyons.

Put to flight a multitude of Goths with ten men. This exploit is also vividly described by Sidonius (*Ep.* iii. 13). Ecdicius had really eighteen men.

A letter of Sidonius giving him eloquent praise. i. e. *Ep.* vi. 12

Bishop Patiens is often mentioned in the pages of Sidonius, who was a great admirer of his character.

17 (25). *Blocked with briars.* Cf. Sidonius, *Ep.* vii. 6. This method of closing a church is mentioned elsewhere by Gregory.

Novempopulana and Aquitaine. Novempopulana was the country between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, afterwards known as Vasconia, or Gascony (cf. Introduction, p. 173). The region here rendered by Aquitaine is, in the text, *Gemina Germania,* or ' the two Germanies '. The context, and the letter of Sidonius mentioned immediately after, show that Gregory means ' the two Aquitaines ', i. e. the country between Garonne and Loire, of which the eastern half was *Aquitania Prima,* the western *Aquitania Secunda.* Gregory calls it ' Germany ', as being under the Visigoths, while Auvergne was still Roman.

A letter . . . in which these facts are recorded. i. e. Sidonius, *Ep.* vii. 6.

18 (27). *Clovis.* Gregory's sources for the history of Clovis are examined by G. Kurth, *Études franques* (1917), Étude xv. For Clovis himself see Introd., p. 45.

Syagrius, king of the Romans. Syagrius is mentioned by no Latin author but Gregory, unless he is identical with the person to whom Sidonius addresses two of his letters (v. 5 and viii. 8). He never had the rank of king ; he was perhaps Master of the Soldiers, in which office he may have succeeded Count Paul. His territory was bounded towards the north by the Somme and the Meuse ; on this side the Franks were his neighbours.

Himself also a king. This seems to be the sense of *quia et ipsi* (ipse) *tenebat* in the text. Ragnachar was one of the petty Salian kings to whose rule Clovis ultimately put an end. Cf. Pfister in C. M. H. ii, p. 110.

To Alaric at Toulouse. This was Alaric II, successor of Euric as king of the Visigoths, whose capital was still at Toulouse.

After the craven habit of the Goths. The Franks, after the great victory of Clovis, affected a contempt for the Visigoths, which the later prowess of that people, both in Septimania and in Spain, does not justify. Cf. 27 (37) below.

The bishop of that church. According to the chronicle of Fredegar, his name was Remi. We may assume that S. Remi, bishop of Reims, is intended. (Cf. iii. 16.)

The field of March. The Franks in the earlier years of their power were reviewed by the king under arms upon the first day of March in every year. The story of Clovis and the ewer may be based on some real event, though in its actual form it has a legendary air. It is repeated by Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 16), who also describes the vessel as *urceus.*

The Thuringians. Cf. ch. 9 above.

19 (28). *Chilperic and his consort.* The murder of Chilperic and his consort was never forgotten by Clotild, who, when the time came, sent her sons to conquer Burgundy and avenge her parents' blood on Gundobad's son Sigismund (III. 6). An Athanaric was mentioned by Gregory in ch. 3 (4), but he seems to be mistaken in connecting this king of the Goths with the Burgundian line.

20 (29). *Clotild* (*Chrotchildis, Chrothildis,* &c.). The *Vita Sanctae Chrothildis,* probably written in the tenth century, is based upon Gregory, but includes certain additions of a legendary character from the *Gesta Francorum* ; it is therefore of slight historical value (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii (1888), pp. 333 ff.). Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 17) says that the name of Clotild's sister, before she became a nun, was Sideleuba ; he adds (*Chron.* iv. 22) that she built a church in the suburb of Geneva. Fredegar also gives the legend of Aurelianus, the messenger of Clovis, sent to the Burgundian Court to report upon the appearance of Clotild. Aurelianus, disguised as a beggar, revealed himself to the princess, showing her the signet of Clovis.

Sister and spouse (*soror atque coniux*). Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* i. 47. Fredegar says nothing about these classical comparisons in his account of the conversion of Clovis.

In the white raiment (*in albis*). The white robe was received after emerging from the water of baptism. Cf. note to ch. 22 (31) below.

21 (30). *The Alamanni.* (Cf. Introduction, p. 171.) The territory of this people extended at this time as far north as the Main. The site of the battle, which was fought in 495 or 496, is held by some to have been Zülpich in Rhenish Prussia, between Bonn and Jülich (cf. below, ch. 27 (37). Others consider that the place was in the region of the upper Rhine, citing a passage in the Life of S. Vaast, where it is stated that, after the battle, Clovis returned home by Toul.

Yielded themselves to Clovis. In fact, only the northern Alamanni submitted, those on the left bank of the Rhine and in the country between the Neckar and the lower Main. The southern Alamanni moved south into Rhaetia and passed under the protection of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths (cf. Introduction, p. 171, n. 3), who took them under his protection, finding them a new home in Pannonia.

22 (31). *To impart the word of salvation to the king.* The date and place of the baptism of Clovis have afforded matter of much controversy. In the second part of his preface to the Life of S. Vaast (*Ionae vitae sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis,* in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum,* from the *Monumenta Germaniae historica* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905)) B. Krusch maintained that the king was baptized not at Reims, but at the basilica of S. Martin at Tours in 507–8. He based his argument on a passage in a letter of Nicetius, bishop of Trèves, to Chlodosvind, queen of the Lombard Alboin and granddaughter of Clovis, written *c.* 561–8 (M. G. H., *Epistolae,* vol. iii ; *Ep. Merovingici et Karolini aevi,* i, pp. 335–7). In this letter it is said of Clovis : *humilis ad Domni Martini limina cecidit, et baptizare se sine mora promisit.* It seems to be certain that Clovis did visit Tours before his baptism, but after a full consideration of the evidence derived from this chapter of Gregory, the letter written to Clovis by Avitus, bishop of Vienne, excusing his absence from the ceremony (M. G. H., *Auctores antiquiss.,* vi, p. 75 ; G. Kurth, *Clovis,* i, pp. 335–7), and the above-mentioned letter of Nicetius, we may decide

with Kurth, d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Bull. de la Soc. nat. des antiq. de France*, 1906, pp. 171–3), and L. Levillain (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, lxvii (1906), pp. 472 ff., and xc, p. 261 ; *Le Moyen Age*, 1909, p. 203), that Reims must after all be retained as the place, and the year 496 as the date of the ceremony. Levillain suggests that the sequence of events was as follows. First, attempts of Clotild to convert her husband failed. Then came the vow of Clovis in the desperate battle with the Alamanni. After this he was secretly catechized by S. Remi, but hesitated to change his faith for political reasons. Meanwhile the Arians in their turn attempted his conversion to their sect. To settle the question whether the Catholic or the Arian faith was best, Clovis went to Tours, and was finally persuaded by the miracles which he there witnessed, perhaps at the time of the Feast of S. Martin on the 11th November. He now promised to be baptized, and as soon as possible after his return the rite was performed at Reims on Christmas Day. This theory appears successfully to reconcile the account of Gregory with the letters of Avitus and Nicetius, and to justify the statements of our author. It may be noted that none of the three early authorities who refer to the baptism mention the place where it occurs ; Reims is first mentioned by seventh-century writers. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 21) inserts in his account the following picturesque anecdote. S. Remi was reading the story of Christ's Passion, when Clovis shouted in a loud voice : ' Had I and my Franks been there, we would have avenged him ! ' In the Life of S. Clotild, ch. 7 (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii) it is related that a dove appeared carrying two *ampullae* of oil for use by S. Remi. Clovis (Chlodovechus, Chlodoveus) received at baptism the latinized name of Ludovicus, which, under the form of Louis, was borne by so many later kings of France.

The font. The word used is *lavacrum*. The ceremony of baptism for adults has been described by L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, pp. 296 ff. : his account has been summarized in English by H. H. Howorth, *St. Augustine of Canterbury* (1913), pp. 78 ff. The candidate stood in the *lavacrum*, immersed up to the middle, water being poured, or allowed to stream, over his head three times ; before entering the water he had been anointed on the breast with oil of the catechumens, administered by a priest. (For unction at baptism, and trine immersion, see F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, pp. 370 and 411.) On issuing from the water he received a second unction on the breast (in later times on the head), again administered by priests, this time not with ordinary oil, but with *chrism* (cf. V. 28 (38)).[1] After this he was led to the bishop, who again anointed him with *chrism*, but on the forehead. For references to anointing at baptism, see *Dict. of*

[1] In the second of the two letters once attributed to S. Germain, giving an account of the Gallican Mass, and notes on other services (see Introd., p. 335, n. 2), the baptismal chrism is mentioned as made from resin of lentisk, because that part of the Cross to which Christ's hands were nailed was of this wood (P. Batiffol, *Études de liturgie et d'arch. chrét.* (1919), p. 275.

Christ. Antiq., s. v. *Unction* (2), p. 200. The letter of Gregory the Great to Leander, bishop of Seville, is important (*Ep.* i. 41). The ceremony thus completed, the new Christian became a ' candidate ' (*candidatus*) by being robed in the customary white garments, which he retained for some days, during which time he was said to be *in albis*. At the end of this period, the white garments being removed, the whole rite of baptism was accomplished.

In the sixth century, baptism, as administered to adults, and perhaps even to children, was by ' affusion ' rather than by dipping or full immersion ; the latter practice does not seem to have become the rule until the ninth century, the Council of Chelsea (816) ordering that priests were not merely to pour the water over the head of the infant, but wholly to immerse the child. Arians used trine immersion, which had always been the usage of the Roman Church. After the conversion to Catholicism of the Visigothic King Recared, Gregory the Great, in 587, to mark a distinction from the old Arian practice, ordered that in Spain only one immersion should be used (*Ep.* i. 41). Of value to the student as producing classified archaeological evidence, is the monograph of C. F. Rogers, *Baptism and Christian Archaeology*, in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1903), v, p. 301). The evidence adduced supports the judgement of Duchesne (*Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 302, and *Églises Séparées*, pp. 93, 95) that the early usage was for the person about to be baptized to stand in a basin sometimes sunk in the ground, sometimes standing upon it, the water seldom reaching the waist, and generally much shallower. If running water from a spout at a high level was available, the officiant placed the head of the catechumen under the flowing water, or directed the flow over it with a vessel of the *patera* form ; where there was no spout, he poured water over him from the *patera*. In short, the ' immersion ' of the ancient texts does not mean submersion ; it means affusion. The bishop stood at the side of the basin, generally at a rather higher level, and sometimes at a desk. As soon as the priest had performed his part, the bishop stepped down, received the newly baptized, and applied the *chrism*. This is the action described in such phrases as *suscipere de sacro lavacro* and the like, frequently employed by Gregory.

Sicamber. The Sicambri, once dwelling on the Sieg, were settled by Rome on the Rhine ; some are mentioned as living on the Waal. In these new seats they became connected with the Franks, whose kings in Merovingian times often styled themselves Sicambrians, regarding the name as a mark of honour.

A book of his life. This is perhaps the short Life attributed to Fortunatus (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* iv, pt. ii, p. 64 ; *Bibl. hag. lat.*, No. 7150).

More than three thousand. Hincmar, in his Life of S. Remi, says that a part of the Franks deserted Clovis for Ragnachar.

His sister Albofled. A sister of Clovis of this name married Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, about 497, and died in 526. Gregory is therefore in error as to her speedy death.

Lanthechild. Cf. *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iii. 624 (1882). Of her Gregory uses the words *chrismata est.* Cf. note on 22 (31) above.

23 (32). *Gundobad and Godigisel.* The events recorded in this chapter are related by Gibbon in his thirty-eighth chapter. As Pfister has remarked (C. M. H. ii. 112), the attack of Clovis upon Burgundy left Gundobad for the time being stronger than before. Marius of Aventicum (Avenches) mentions the battle at Dijon under the year 500 (cf. M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chronica Minora*, ii, p. 234).

Dijon (*Divione castrum*). Dijon was not a *civitas*, but one of those places which, though fortified, was for administrative purposes a town of the second rank, having neither its own count, nor its own bishop (cf. Intr., p. 160). Gregory was familiar with the place through its connexion with his ancestor Gregory, bishop of Langres, and mentions it elsewhere in the History (III. 19; IV. 10 (16), 24 (31); V. 5), as well as in his other writings, G. C., ch. 42; G. M. ch. 50; V. P. vii. 2, 3. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 210, and the article by H. Leclercq, in Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de liturgie*, s. v. *Dijon.*

These barbarians. The word sounds strange, used by one Teutonic prince of another. But the culture of the Burgundians was superior at this time to that of the Franks, through the presence of a greater number of Gallo-Romans in their country. Aridius, to whom the king was speaking, was himself a Gallo-Roman. Fredegar (iii. 23) tells this story, sometimes repeating Gregory's words.

24 (33). *The Franks who were with him.* Fredegar (iii. 23) says that they numbered five thousand, and that Gundobad put them to the sword.

Milder laws among the Burgundians. These were embodied in the *Lex Gundobada* and the Roman law of Burgundy, which have been preserved. The former was chiefly designed to regulate the relations between Burgundians and Gallo-Romans. Disputes between Gallo-Roman and Gallo-Roman were judged by the Roman law. The Lex Burgundionum, edited by Bluhme, is printed in M. G. H., *Leges*, vol. iii. Cf. also Introduction, p. 207.

25 (34). *The holy bishop of Vienne.* This was Avitus, whose name is mentioned farther on in the chapter; as noted above, he had written a congratulatory letter to Clovis after the latter's baptism. His *Dialogi cum Gundebado rege*, and his homily to the king, in a letter urging him to abandon Arianism, will be found in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* vi, pt. i (ed. O. Seeck), pp. 1 and 12; his letters to the king on pp. 29, 32, and 54. Later he converted Sigismund, son of Gundobad (III. 5), to Catholicism. The literary references to Avitus are given by U. Chevalier, *Répertoire*, as above: *Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 396; A. Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, p. 76.

Both that taught by Eutyches and that of Sabellius. Sabellius, a priest at Ptolemaïs, A. D. 250, proclaimed heretical doctrine as to the Trinity and the divine nature in Christ. This doctrine persisted despite the persecution of its adherents. Eutyches, an archimandrite, was re-

garded as his successor. About 440 he denied the orthodox doctrine as to the twofold nature of Christ, recognizing only the divine. His heresy was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

His admirable letters. The letters of Avitus are published in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* vi. Nos. 2, 3, and 28, to which reference is specially made in this passage of Gregory, will be found in that volume, pt. ii, pp. 15, 22, and 60.

Rogations . . . instituted by Mamertus. For these public prayers or litanies, cf. also Sidonius, *Letters*, v. 14 ; vii. 1. In the second of these letters, written to Mamertus himself, Sidonius tells how he has encouraged by these prayers the citizens of Clermont, then besieged by the Goths. Rogations were ordered at times of public calamity, but regularly held before Ascension Day. Cf. iv. 5, 8 ; ix. 6, 21 ; x. 30, and Introduction, p. 339.

26 (35). *Alaric . . . sent envoys.* Fredegar (iii. 24) says that Alaric only feigned friendship, and that Clovis detected this.

36. *The book containing his life.* This forms a part of Gregory's own work, V. P., ch. iv.

27 (37). *The history of the abbot's Life.* Two Lives of Maxentius are extant, but it is doubted whether they are as old as Gregory's time. Maxentius has been credited with a Life of S. Viventius (*Hist. litt. de la France*, iii, p. 81).

Vouillé (*Campus Vogladensis*) on the Auzance, an affluent of the Clain. The place lies south of Poitiers, on the Roman road from that city to Nantes (Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule*, pp. 576 ff.). Fredegar mentions the battle in two places (ii. 58 and iii. 24). He adds in the latter place that Clovis made gifts out of Alaric's treasure to the churches of S. Martin and S. Hilary at Tours and Poitiers.

As their habit is. Cf. note to ch. 18 (27) above.

The fight at Zülpich. Cf. ch. 21 (30) above. For Zülpich (Tolbiac) see III. 8, note.

Apollinaris. This was the son of Sidonius. Cf. III. 2, below, where he is found as a successful candidate for the see of Clermont, owing to the family influence of his mother and aunt. For letters of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, to him, see n. to III. 2.

Amalaric. The young prince was taken under the protection of the great Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who secured for him Septimania, north of the Alps, himself taking over the adjoining territory of Provence between the Isère and the Durance. (Cf. Cassiodorus, *Var.* viii. 10. 8, and Introduction, p. 94). His reign was really rather longer than twenty years. He married Clotild, daughter of Clovis, whose ill usage at his hands led to his death. Cf. III. 10.

Theuderic. Fredegar (iii. 24) says of the prince's expedition that it resulted in his taking cities : *circa maritima.*

28 (38). *Conferring the consulate.* For this investiture, which greatly enhanced the dignity of Clovis, especially among the Gallo-Romans, see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxviii. Cf. also note on p. 503.

Mantle (*chlamys*). This was the military type of cloak, fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder.

The church of the city (*ecclesia civitatis*). i. e. the bishop's cathedral church within the walls, from which S. Martin's church was distant more than a mile. It is Gregory's usual practice to describe the principal church or cathedral church in a *civitas* as *ecclesia*, using the word *basilica* for the other churches.

Consul or Augustus. It does not appear that Clovis himself was described as Augustus; at the beginning of the Salic Law (ed. Behrend, p. 125) he is styled Proconsul. It seems probable that Gregory carries too far back the assumption by Frankish kings of the imperial title Augustus, which was only adopted by later kings: it is seen, for example, on the coins of Theudebert. In any case, it is not at all likely to have been conferred by the emperor. 'The expression *tamquam consul* seems to be equivalent here to *ex consule*, the official title of honorary consuls' (Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), i, p. 464).

29 (40). This chapter shows us Clovis putting into action his policy of securing the sole monarchy over the Franks, by removing all possible rivals from his path.

Sigibert: 'the Lame' (cf. ch. 27 (37) above). This Sigibert was king of the Ripuarian Franks, who lived to the east of the Maas; he controlled both banks of the Rhine, his power extending as far as Fulda; his capital was Cologne. The death of Sigibert is rather differently described by Fredegar (iii. 25).

The forest of Buchau (*Buconia silva*), otherwise *Buchonia* or *Buchovia*, lay between Hesse on the north and Franconia on the south.

They raised Clovis upon a shield. In the same way his grandson Sigibert was raised at Vitry (IV. 36 (51): *collectus est ad eum omnis exercitus, impositumque super clipeum sibi regem statuunt*. So also was the pretender Gundovald at Brives-la-Gaillarde: *ibique parme superpositus, rex est levatus. Sed cum tercio cum eodem girarent, cecidisse fertur, ita ut vix manibus circumstancium sustentari potuisset* (VII. 10; cf. also VII. 14: *Gundoaldum manifeste regem levatum*). It has been suggested that the Franks only had recourse to this ceremony when there was a possibility that the succession might be disputed; where the crown passed in the ordinary way of succession, it does not seem to have been employed (Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, pp. 224 ff.). The custom, which prevailed in ancient Germany (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 15), was regularly practised in the East Roman Empire, and is mentioned by the historians Ammianus, Libanius, Zosimus, Corippus, Codinus, and Zonaras; it is recorded as early as the fourth century as a regular part of the coronation ceremony. In the Byzantine ceremony this hoisting of the new sovereign took place in the presence of the army and the people. It preceded a formal coronation by the bishop, during which the emperor stood erect, holding the shield in one hand, a spear in the other. The emperor then proceeded to the

church and laid his diadem on the altar; after making the usual gifts to the clergy, he resumed the diadem. The elevation on the shield represented the military and civil element in a ceremony which also comprised a religious element. On the subject of the raising on the shield as part of the Byzantine coronation ceremony, see J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (*Revue de l'histoire de religions*, lxxvi (Paris, 1917)), pp. 19, 20; and Sickel, *Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10 Jahrhundert*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, vii (1898), pp. 511 ff. The chief literary authority is the *Book of the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, Book I. Various works of art of earlier date represent the scene, which occurs for example on a silver dish of the sixth century found in Cyprus and now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, though in that case unhistorically inserted in the history of David.

And did that which was pleasing in his sight. These words read strangely, but the orthodoxy of Clovis covered many sins. Cf. the prologue to Book III.

30 (41). *Chararic.* This king ruled over the Salian Franks, perhaps at Thérouanne in the Pas-de-Calais.

Cut off their hair. Cf. note on p. 494 above.

31 (42). *Leudes.* The word here means the king's friends; primarily it denotes all taking the oath of fealty. Cf. Ducange, s. v., and Introduction, p. 386.

The gold which Clovis had given them was false. Cf. M. Prou, *Cat. des monnaies françaises de la Bibl. Nationale: Les monnaies mérovingiennes*, p. lxiii; see also Introduction, p. 224.

32 (43). *The church of the Holy Apostles.* Or church of S. Peter. Afterwards Ste Geneviève. Cf. p. 510.

In the eleventh year . . . of Licinius. There is an error here, Licinius not having been consecrated until 511.

BOOK III

Prologue. *Arius.* The career of the famous heresiarch is related by Gibbon in his twenty-first chapter. The story of his death, which occurred in 336, is derived from Athanasius. The hostility between the Catholics of Merovingian Gaul and the Arians of the Visigothic kingdom was bitter until the conversion of Recared in 587 put an end to the long dispute. Arius and his beliefs were abominated by Gregory, and the arguments with which he met and confounded members of the sect are recorded by him with much complacency.

Driven into exile. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was banished to Phrygia in 356 because he had requested the Emperor Constantius to stop the persecution of Catholics by Arians. He continued his protests during his banishment, took an active part on the Catholic side at the Council of Seleucia in 359, and after visiting Constantinople issued a powerful

invective against the emperor. He was allowed to return to Poitiers in 360, and remained the chief pillar of the faith, as established at the Council of Nicaea, until his death in 368. For the literature concerning S. Hilary, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge : Bio-bibliographie*, cols. 2147–9.

Godigisel, Gundobad, and Godomar. These were kings of Burgundy. Godigisel certainly points Gregory's moral, since he played traitor to Gundobad his brother, by whom he was finally slain (II. 24 (33)). But Gundobad himself does not provide so apposite an instance, since he had a long and prosperous reign, though never renouncing his Arian belief. Godomar, a son of Gundobad, and last king of Burgundy, may more justly be claimed by Gregory. For though he defeated and slew Chlodomir at Vézeronce, preserving his kingdom for ten years, he was overthrown by the Franks in 534 (III. 11).

The omission by Gregory of Sigismund, son and successor of Gundobad, causes some surprise. For Sigismund renounced Arianism, restored the monastery of Agaunum (S. Maurice d'Agaune, in the Valais), and reformed the Church at the Council at Epaône in 517. Yet not only was he defeated by the Frankish kings Chlodomir, Childebert, and Lothar in 523, but taken as a prisoner to Gaul and flung by order of Chlodomir into a well, together with his wife and children. For the Burgundian kings mentioned above, see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xxxviii ; Pfister in C. M. H. ii, ch. iv, pp. 112, 117.

1. *And divided it in equal measure between them.* This was the first of the two great divisions of Gaul between the descendants of Clovis. Cf. Introduction, p. 137.

Of a good presence and capacity. The promise of capacity was fulfilled. Cf. Introduction, p. 49.

Amalaric . . . asked of them their sister in marriage. Amalaric was the son of Alaric II, defeated and slain at Vouillé (II. 27 (37)). During his minority his kingdom had been protected and ruled in his name by Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

2. *Licinius, bishop of Tours.* In X. 31 Gregory calls him a native of Angers. He was ninth bishop, his date being given as 511 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 639).

Eufrasius or Euphrasius, saint, was bishop of Clermont from 506 to 514–15.

Quintianus. This saint, who was bishop of Rodez in 506 (cf. V. P., ch. iv), was driven out in the manner described in ch. 36 of this book. He became bishop of Clermont about 515, and died in 525. See Bennett in *Dict. Christ. Biogr.*, s. v. *Quintianus*.

Alcima and Placidina. Alcima was the sister, and Placidina the wife (cf. Dalton, *Letters of Sidonius*, vol. i, pp. xiv, xv). In G. M., ch. 64, Gregory tells of a magnificent ciborium over an altar in a church at Clermont erected by these two ladies.

Apollinaris. The son of Sidonius, who was present at the battle of Vouillé (II. 27 (37)). Cf. Dalton, as above, p. xiv and vol. ii, p. 177. Four

letters of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, are addressed to Apollinaris (Nos. 33, 36, 51, and 52, M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.*, vi, pt. i, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1883)).

Obtained the succession to the bishopric. For the theory and practice of episcopal elections in Gaul see Intr., p. 288. The present is one of the obvious cases of abuse. The king in question is Theuderic, king of the Ripuarian Franks, to whom Auvergne had fallen at the division of Gaul after the death of Clovis.

3. *The Danes and their king.* 'Chlochilaich' or Chrochilaich, the 'king' here mentioned, is otherwise known as Hygelac, kinsman of the Beowulf of the Anglo-Saxon epic; this raid of his against the Frisians was one of his great exploits. Six obscure tribes in the middle part of the Cimbric promontory or peninsula, between the Cimbri and the Saxons, were united as early as the sixth century under the national appellation of Danes.

4. *The Thuringians.* Cf. third note to ch. 7, and Introduction, p. 171.

Radegund. The story of Radegund (cf. Introduction, p. 67) is chiefly derived from the *Vita Sanctae Radegundis Reginae* by her friend and adviser Fortunatus, and from the supplementary Life by Baudonivia, also a contemporary, and a nun of the queen's monastery of the Holy Cross. Baudonivia's 'Life' was written in the early years of the seventh century with the object of recording incidents not elsewhere recorded; it is published in M. G. H., *Scriptores rer. Merov.* ii (1885), pp. 364 ff. There is also much of interest in the minor poems of Fortunatus (cf. Introduction, p. 84), and in incidental passages of Gregory's works. A bibliography of works relating to Radegund will be found under *Radegonde* in U. Chevalier's *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliographie*, col. 3864.

Amalaberg. Daughter of Amalafred, sister of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. After Hermanfrid's death, she returned to Italy with her children, and was afterwards brought to Constantinople by Belisarius (Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* i. 31–2; iv. 12). A daughter of hers married Audoin, king of the Lombards.

5. *Sigismund.* This prince had first married Ariagna or Ostrogotho, daughter of Theodoric, king of Italy. He was converted to Catholicism by Avitus, bishop of Vienne (II. 25 (34)), and after his death was canonized. (The *Passio Sigismundi* is published in M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii, pp. 333 ff. See also Jahn, *Geschichte der Burgundionen*, ii, pp. 504 ff.) The story of the murder of his son Sigeric is told by Gregory in a way which suggests amplifications and legendary additions; but the fact of the murder is attested by Marius of Aventicum under the year 522. According to Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 33), Sigismund was raised to the kingdom (*sublimatur in regnum*) at the domain of Quadruvium (Carouge, or le Carre) near Geneva. For the literature relating to S. Sigismund, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above: *Bio-bibliographie*, col. 4247.

The monastery of Agaune. Now S. Maurice d'Agaune (cf. M. Besson, *Monasterium Acaunense*, Freiburg, 1913). The monastery lies in the Valais, not far from the foot of the S. Bernard. S. Maurice was leader

of the Theban legion (*legio felix*), said to have been martyred on the spot. It had long been a place of pilgrimage when Sigismund enlarged or rebuilt the monastery in 515. Cf. also n. on p. 604; Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule*, p. 239; and the bibliography in U. Chevalier, *Répertoire*, &c.: *Topo-bibliographie*, col. 2735. The treasure of the abbey is described by E. Aubert, *Le trésor de l'abbaye de St. Maurice d'Agaune*, and by M. Besson, as above.

Perpetual chants. The text has *psallentium*, meaning, primarily, chanting of psalms.

His daughter. Her name was Suavegotha.

6. *My father and my mother.* Chilperic and his queen. Gundobad, Chilperic's brother, had caused Chilperic to be put to the sword and his consort, Clotild's mother, to be drowned (II. 19 (28)). King Sigismund was cousin of Clotild, but, as son of her father's murderer, the object of her blood-revenge.

The blessed abbot Avitus. This was S. Avitus, abbot of S. Mesmin de Micy, near Orleans, whose day is 17 June. See *Analecta Bolland.* (1883), ii, Appendix, pp. 57–63, and other references given by Chevalier, as above, *Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 396.

His father-in-law. He had married Sigismund's daughter, Suavegotha (cf. the end of ch. 5).

S. Péravy-la-Colombe, just north of Saint-Sigismond (formerly called Saint-Simond), canton of Patay, arrondissement of Orleans, Loire (Longnon, *Geogr.*, p. 345). The bones of Sigismund were brought back to Agaune by Venerandus, fifth abbot (*Passio Sigismundi*, ch. 10). The murder of Sigismund is mentioned by Marius of Aventicum under the year 523, Maximus being consul (cf. M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chronica Minora*, ii, p. 235).

Vézeronce. On the Isère, in the ancient diocese of Vienne (cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, p. 425).

Theudovald . . . Gunthar . . . Chlodovald. It follows from ch. 18 that these boys were regarded as joint heirs of Chlodomir. Apparently their uncles were their guardians.

7. *The murder of your kinsfolk.* The allusion is probably to Ripuarians slain in old wars with the Thuringians.

Possession of that region. The part of the Thuringian kingdom lying north of the Unstrut came into the hands of the Saxons, who are said to have aided Theuderic. That king kept for himself the region south of the river; the land in the Main valley did not become Frankish until later. The name Thuringia was now attached only to the middle of the old kingdom, from the Unstrut to the crest of the Waldgebirge. The conquest of Thuringia forms the subject of a poem by Fortunatus, *De excidio Toringae*, the poem being placed in the mouth of Radegund. Cf. D. R. Liebmann, *Der Untergang des thüringischen Königreichs in den Jahren 531–5* (Meiningen, 1911).

Built . . . a monastery in Poitiers. See IX. 42.

That her name was held great among the peoples. For her contemporary biographers see above, n. to ch. 4, p. 506.

8. *The city of Zülpich* (*Civitas Tulbiacensis, oppidum Tulbiacense*). Cf. II. 27 (37). Zülpich is in Rhenish Prussia, about 25 kilometres south-south-east of Cologne, a circumstance which makes it unlikely that it really had a bishop, as the use of the word *civitas* implies. Nothing is known of a bishopric here, and we may assume that the word *civitas* is loosely used.

9. *Arcadius, a man of senatorial family in the city.* This family was no other than that of the well-known Sidonius Apollinaris, whose grandson the unworthy Arcadius was (cf. *Letters of Sidonius*, trs. O. M. Dalton, Introduction, p. li). His father was the younger Apollinaris, who had fought at Vouillé (ch. 2, above), and had afterwards, through social pressure applied by his wife, Placidina the elder, and his sister Alcima, been consecrated bishop of Clermont. His four months' tenure of that office before his death was very far from creditable, and it would seem that the bad character of his son was in part inherited. Arcadius, having instigated the plot to detach Auvergne from Austrasia and hand it over to Childebert, king of Paris, was the first to desert the cause which exposed the country to the vengeance of Theuderic (ch. 12, below). He fled to Bourges, and afterwards appeared at Childebert's Court at Paris. Here we find him playing a servile part as the instrument of his new master in the events leading to the foul murder of Chlodomir's young sons (ch. 18, below). Arcadius is mentioned by Avitus of Vienne in two letters addressed to his father Apollinaris (Letters xxxvi and li in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* vi, pt. i).

A few yards. Text: *super duabus iugeri partibus*, hardly appropriate to the description of a dense mist. Giesebrecht would read *perticis* for *partibus*; *pertica iugeri* would mean a pole. Cf. B. Guérard, *Le polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon*, pp. 176 ff., and Ducange, s. v. *Pertica* and *Iugis*, where the *pertica arpennalis* or *agripennalis* and the *pertica iugialis* are discussed.

The Limagne of Auvergne. This is a valley of lower Auvergne opening to the north. Its rich volcanic soil has caused it to be compared to one great orchard, and made its fertility famous throughout France. Cf. V. 25 (33).

10. *Went to Spain.* The text says *Hispania*, meaning any territory of the Visigothic kings of Spain. It may be either Septimania (cf. Intr., p. 145), the land held by the Visigoths north of the Alps between the Pyrenees and the Rhône, or the north-east corner of Spain. A pleasing episode, a visit of Childebert to the eremite Eusicius, as he passed on this expedition, is mentioned in G. C., ch. 81.

Amalaric. See II. 27 (37); III. 1, note.

The city. Barcelona. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 30) says by an error that 'Childeric' killed the Visigothic king. In the same book (ch. 41) he gives the place as Barcelona.

Near her father Clovis. In the church of the Holy Apostles, afterwards Ste Geneviève. Cf. II. 32.

All of pure gold and adorned with precious stones. For the silversmith's work and jewellery of the Merovingian period, see Introduction,

p. 430. The work of the Goths was, if anything, superior, as we know from the fine examples at Monza and Ravenna and from the votive crowns of Guarrazar, Madrid, and in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.

To cathedral and monastic churches. Though Childebert was guilty of many crimes, Fortunatus gives him a character for piety (*Carm.* ii. 14 ; vi. 8). See Introduction, p. 48. Gregory uses here two distinctive words for church : *ecclesia* and *basilica.* As above observed, he usually confines the former word to the main church of the *civitas,* i. e. the cathedral church, *basilica* being used for other churches, including those of monasteries.

11. *We shall desert thee.* An instance of the independent spirit of the Austrasians. Cf. Introduction, p. 195.

Lothar and Childebert marched into Burgundy and besieged Autun. This was in 534. Cf. Marius of Aventicum, for that year ; and Introduction, p. 103.

12. *Quintianus.* Cf. II. 36 ; III. 2, above.

Which were brought together there. For the use of churches as depositories in times of danger, see Introduction, p. 321.

13. *The strong place of Vollore* (*Lovolautrum,* or *Involautrum castrum*). There are two communes, Vollore Montagne and Vollore Ville, 4 kilometres south-south-east of Thiers (Thigernadus). Cf. V. P. iv, § 6 ; A. de Valois, *Notitia Galliarum,* p. 288 ; and Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle,* p. 503.

Chastel-Marlhac (*Meroliacense castrum*). The place is in Cantal, arrondissement Mauriac, canton of Saignes (Longnon, as above, pp. 505–6).

A ransom of one triens for each man's head (*adquiverunt obsessi . . . singulos trientes dare in redemptionem*). The *triens* was a small gold coin, as its name implies, the third of a *solidus* or *aureus* (cf. Introduction, p. 223). As the *solidus* was not so large as the English sovereign, the total sum for the fifty men seems very small.

An official (*quidam Litigius ex monitoribus*). The word *monitor* has apparently the general sense of overseer. Possibly the duties of such *monitores* under the Frankish kings were connected with the raising of men required for the king's armies (Giesebrecht).

14. *A king like himself* (*quia rex sum, sicut et ille*). Members of Frankish royal families were apt to speak of themselves as kings or queens. We may compare the proud claims of the two nun-princesses in the monastery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers : *Nolite super me, quaeso vim inferre, quae sum regina, filia regis, regisque alterius consubrina,* says Clotild, who had never been a queen in the usual sense (X. 15). Munderic may, however, have been the son or grandson of one of the petty kings killed by Clovis when he was securing his position as sole ruler of the Franks (cf. II. 30 (41), 31 (42)).

Vitry (*Victoriacum castrum*). This is Vitry-le-Brûlé in the department of the Marne, arrondissement and canton of Vitry-le-François. This Vitry was the only *Victoriacus* in the Frankish part of Theuderic's

dominions described in medieval documents as *castrum* or *castellum* (Longnon, as above, pp. 408–10).

15. *Slaves of those to whose custody they had been committed.* The text is: *ad servicium publicum sunt addicti, et quicumque eos ad custodiendum accepit. Servitium publicum* would imply servitude on a royal domain, since in Merovingian times the king was the State. The hostages were enslaved when Childebert I and Theuderic broke a treaty of peace to which they had sworn (cf. Fredegar, *Chron.* iii. 37).

Nephew of the blessed Gregory, bishop of Langres. Consequently, Attalus was remotely connected with Gregory of Tours, a fact which may have made his story traditional in the family of Armentaria, Gregory's mother. This would explain the fullness of the narrative.

Ten pounds of gold. Cf. Introduction, p. 224.

The ford of the Moselle. Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*, thinks that Gregory should have written Maas.

If on His holy day we beg thee for some food. On Sunday nothing was eaten before Mass.

He enfranchised Leo. This chapter is of interest in connexion with servitude in Gaul in the sixth century.

16. *Bongéat.* Formerly written Bonghéat, 32 kilometres east-south-east of Clermont; the church of the village is still dedicated to S. Julian (Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, p. 496).

A carriage. The word is *basterna*, properly a litter, carried sometimes by mules. But the word is probably here used for a wheeled vehicle.

17. *Injuriosus . . . fifteenth bishop after the blessed Martin.* This does not agree with the statement in the list of bishops of Tours at the end of the History. Injuriosus was consecrated in 529, dying in 546.

18. *Whether we should cut their long locks.* The wearing of the hair long was the sign of royal blood among the Franks. Cf. II. 8, 30 (41); IV. 24; VIII. 10.

Governors (*nutritores*). The royal *nutritor*, or *nutricius*, was a person of gentle or noble birth, appointed generally to supervise the welfare and conduct of young princes. The appointment of the *nutritor* to a king during his minority was a matter of State importance. Thus after the death of Sigibert in 574, the Austrasian notables nominated Gogo, one of their own number, to the post (V. *46*; VI. 1). On the death of Gogo's successor, Wandalen (VIII. 22), Brunhild, the queen-mother, always in opposition to the notables, announced that she herself intended henceforth to undertake the duties, with which act her period of independent policy began (Introduction, p. 70).

Church of Saint Peter. This church, built by Clovis and Clotild, was identical with that sometimes called the Holy Apostles, and was afterwards Ste Geneviève (G. C., ch. 89). Here met the Council before which Bishop Praetextatus was tried (V. 12 (18), and in it the miserable Leudast took sanctuary (V. *49*).

The third child, Chlodovald. This boy Chlodovald, or Clodoald, was canonized, and is known as S. Cloud. His Life, written in the mona-

stery of S. Cloud in the ninth century, is based upon this chapter (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii (1888), pp. 349 ff.).

Cut off his hair. Which was worn long, he being a prince of royal blood. Cf. above, p. 510.

19. *This bishop.* Cf. above, ch. 15, and below, IV. *15*, V. *5*; Gregory of Langres was an ancestor of Gregory of Tours. See also Introduction, p. 3.

A fortified place (*castrum*). This word usually signifies a town of the second rank, but here stress is laid on the walls. Cf. Introduction, p. 160. For Dijon see Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, pp. 210 ff.; cf. II. 23 (32).

(*A*) *smaller stream.* The Suzon.

Why the place is not styled a city, I cannot say. Langres was the seat of the bishopric, and the *civitas* of the region.

20. *A certain king.* This was Wacho, king of the Lombards, who at this time dwelt beyond the Danube. He was an ally of the East Roman emperor, and refused to aid the Goths against him in Italy in 539. (See Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* ii. 22; Procopius calls him Waces.)

21. *The strong place of Dio* (*Deae castrum*). Dio is in Hérault, arrondissement of Béziers, canton of Lunas (Thomas, *Dict. topographique du département de l'Hérault*, p. 57; Longnon, p. 611).

Cabrières (*Capraria*). The commune of Cabrières is also in Hérault and the arrondissement of Béziers, but in the canton of Montagnac.

Béziers (*Biterris urbs*). This place is also called by Gregory *civitas*, and more correctly, since it had bishops from about 400. It seems to have reverted to the Visigoths, for its bishops did not attend Frankish Councils, while the holder of the see was present at the Council of Toledo in 589 (Longnon, as above, p. 611).

24. *Dogs.* This is a conjecture, supposing that the *catinis* (dishes, probably of silver) may be a mistake in the MS. for *catulis*. The combination of horse and dog is natural; that of horse and silver bowl improbable.

25. *Showed himself a great king.* For the career of this prince, probably the most capable of all the Merovingians, see Introduction, p. 49. His private character was hardly as perfect as Gregory would have us believe; here, as in other cases, such as that of Guntram, benefaction to the Church cancelled many defects. The History itself records actions on the part of Theudebert which detract from a character otherwise much above the Merovingian average (cf. III. 31 and Introduction, p. 50). G. Kurth, *Études franques* (1917), p. 255, observes that, with the exception of the Thuringian expedition, the events in the lives of Theuderic, Theudebert, and Theudebald form but a thin narrative in the History, where these kings move ' as in a penumbra '.

27. *Met in assembly.* This passage is one of those which show us the free Franks jealous of their old right of counsel and criticism as against the Crown. Another conspicuous case occurred when Lothar, Theudebert's uncle, refused to march against the Saxons, while the Ripuarians were determined that he should (IV. 9 (14)). On this

question of the rivalry between the throne and the free Franks, represented by the notables, see Introduction, pp. 191 ff.

28. *In a forest.* Fredegar describes this as Arelaunum. It is identified with the forest of Brotonne on the south side of the Seine opposite Caudebec (Longnon, p. 137).

Twenty stadia. More than two miles and a quarter, the stadium measuring approximately 202 yards. Cf. p. 517.

29. *King Childebert went into Spain.* There seems to be some doubt as to the date of the expedition. It has often been ascribed to 542 (as by Pfister, in C. M. H. ii, p. 119), but Altamira gives the year as 533 (*ibid.*, p. 162), and this makes it follow naturally, at short interval, Childebert's victory over Amalaric in Septimania. The kings left Gaul by way of Novempopulana, and before advancing to Saragossa, took Pampeluna. The resistance of the people of Saragossa gave the Visigoths time to send two armies to their relief, one under King Theuda, the other under his general Theudegisel. It was the approach of these armies which really caused the Frankish retreat. The Franks were roughly handled by the Visigoths; but Theudegisel was bribed to let them cross the Pyrenees in safety, carrying with the spoils of their campaign the *magna spolia* mentioned by Gregory. Among these spoils was the stole of S. Vincent, patron saint of Saragossa, who died at Valencia in 304. It may be noted that Lothar struck coins with the legend: *Victory over the Goths.*

It will be seen that essential facts as to the campaign are omitted by Gregory. They are recorded by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in his History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, which goes down to 624; his chief sources were Orosius, Prosper, Idatius, Maximus of Saragossa, and John of Biclar. Isidore is the principal authority for the period from the first quarter of the sixth century to 624; he is edited by Mommsen (M. G. H., *Chronica Minora*, ii, pp. 241 ff.); cf. also H. Hertsberg, *Die Historien und die Chroniken des Isidorus von Seville*, 1874.

The tunic of the blessed martyr Vincent. Childebert founded a church in which were placed the relics which he had brought from his expeditions to Spain; among the most important of these was the *stola* of S. Vincent. The church was first known as the church of the Holy Cross and S. Vincent, the former title probably given in honour of a cross taken from Amalaric (see next page), but by the seventh century it was known as S. Vincent alone. When S. Germain (d. 576) was buried there it became known as Saint-Germain; and though the building of Childebert was destroyed by fire in 856, the name of Saint-Germain-des-Prés has ever since been preserved. From the poem of Fortunatus, *De horto Ultrogothae reginae* (*Carm.* v. 8), we know that the original building adjoined the gardens of the royal palace of the Thermae, which Childebert made his principal residence. It was a large church of great magnificence, rivalling the *ecclesia* or cathedral of Paris close to the site of Nôtre-Dame (P. Batiffol, *Études de littérature et d'arch. chrét.* (Paris, 1919), Étude on the cathedral church). The poem of Fortunatus, *De ecclesia Parisiaca*

(*Carm.* ii. 14), describes S. Vincent, and not, as the title would suggest, the cathedral. The relics and plate of S. Vincent were famous, the plate containing many of the Visigothic gold chalices, patens, and other vessels taken by Childebert from Amalaric (III. 10). The famous 'Charter of Childebert' has been shown to date from long after the death of the founder (J. Quicherat, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xxvi (1865), pp. 513 ff.). In S. Germain were buried many of the Merovingian kings and queens: Childebert I, Ultrogotha, Chilperic, his queen Fredegund, Childeric II, his queen Bilichild, and their young son Dagobert. Little or nothing now remains. For the history of these tombs, see Montfaucon, *Les monuments de la monarchie française*, vol. i; Ruinart, Appendix to his edition of *Gregory of Tours*, cols. 1370 ff.; Bouillart, *Hist. de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*; and the summary, with references, by Dom Leclercq in Cabrol's *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, article 'Saint-Germain-des-Prés', section vi. The register of the estates of the abbey by Abbot Irmino *c.* A. D. 800, known as the *Polyptych* of Irmino, often cited in these pages, is the source of much of our information as to agricultural economy in Frankish times (ed. B. Guérard, Paris, 1844).

30. *Theuda.* This king, whose name is sometimes written Theudis, was an Ostrogoth who had governed the Visigothic kingdom for Theodoric when that king was regent for the young Amalaric. He had settled in Spain and married a wealthy woman. After the defeat of Amalaric by Childebert (III. 10), and his subsequent death in 531 at the hands of his soldiers (*Chron. Caesarum* in M. G. H., *Chronica Minora*, ii, p. 223), Theuda was called to the Visigothic throne (cf. Altamira, in C. M. H. ii. 162; Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire*, ii, p. 286). Theuda reigned from 531 to 548. He was murdered at Seville in the latter year by a man who simulated madness.

Theudigisel was raised. Apart from his military service, we know no more of him than that he was a man of immoral conduct, and that in 549 he too was assassinated in Seville (Altamira, as above, p. 163). The verb used for his elevation by Gregory is *levare*. But as raising on the shield was a practice common to the Teutonic kingdoms and the Byzantine Empire, and was, among the Franks, the method of proclaiming a king who did not succeed in the normal way of inheritance (cf. note to II. 29 (40), we may perhaps assume that it is indicated here.

While they lay at the board (*in recubitu*). Cf. V. 20; the Roman recumbent position was apparently preserved, as by aristocratic Gallo-Romans in Gaul.

31. *And left his queen with a little daughter.* This chapter is full of inaccuracies. The queen of Theodoric was Albofled or Audofled, who, as Gregory says, was sister of Clovis. But she was dead in 526, the year of his own death, and her daughter Amalasuntha, far from being a little girl (*parvula filia*), had been married ten or eleven years to Eutharic, an Ostrogoth of royal lineage. She had a son, Athalaric, eight years of age, during whose minority she acted as regent. She had received a Roman education, and attempted to bring up the boy in the

Roman manner, which made her unpopular. In 534 the death of Athalaric made her position so dangerous that she proposed marriage to Theudahad, her cousin, a cultivated but rapacious man, whom she had previously offended by forcing him to make certain restitutions. The marriage took place, and Theudahad was proclaimed king. Once secure of his position, he proceeded to revenge the injuries which he conceived himself to have suffered at her hands. She was seized and imprisoned on an island in Lake Bolsena in Tuscany, probably his own property; there she was killed by the relatives of certain Goths whom she had caused to be slain for conspiring against her. The Secret History of Procopius suggests that it was the Empress Theodora, not Theudahad, who instigated the murder of Amalasuntha. The latter, as regent, had been in diplomatic relations with Justinian; the empress, therefore, feared that the Ostrogothic queen might obtain too much influence over the emperor. (Cf. Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. 165–6, who thinks the story less incredible than Hodgkin and others.) Apart from the facts of her relationship to Theodoric, and of her death while Theudahad was upon the throne, Gregory's paragraphs about Amalasuntha are fantastic. Her private character, so far as history reveals it, was untarnished; her fault was the ambition of a strong mind, which sometimes led her into cruel political actions. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 46) says that Childebert I and Theudebert received from 'Theothatus' fifty thousand *solidi* as *wergeld* for her death.

It should nothing harm us. This story and the deduction from it illustrate the intensity of Gregory's feeling against the Arians.

Caused a bath to be heated. This would be a vapour bath, in the form of a chamber heated by hypocausts.

If thou make not composition. The *wergeld* for a person of royal blood was not fixed at a regular sum, as in the case of those of lower rank: a special bargain had to be made. Giesebrecht (*ad loc.*) cites the tale in Fredegar, that in the time of Clovis the Goths came secretly armed to a conference between that king and Alaric the Visigoth. The Franks discovering this, declared that there had been a plot to murder Clovis, and demanded a *wergeld* for their king. Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who was called upon to fix the amount, decided that a mounted Frank should ride to the Court of Alaric holding his spear erect, and that the *wergeld* should consist of such a quantity of gold pieces as should bury horse, rider, and spear in one great heap of coins.

32. *Marched into Italy.* For Theudebert's ambiguous conduct during this expedition, see Introduction, p. 105.

As far as Pavia (*Ticina civitas*). This invasion took place in 539.

Buccelin. For the adventures of Buccelin and Leuthar, which really took place after Theudebert's death, see Introduction, p. 107. Agathias, the principal authority, gives his name as Butilin.

Lesser Italy . . . Greater Italy. These expressions are here used for the northern plain and the rest of the country respectively.

To humiliate Belisarius, he put him once more in his old post of count

of the stables. This is another error. Belisarius was given a post of great dignity, being made commander of the imperial bodyguard. Fredegar (*Chron.* ii. 61) says that after his defeat by Buccelin 'he lost his fame and his life' (*nomen vitamque amisit*).

To Theudebert. It was really to Theudebald, the son and successor of Theudebert.

Took Sicily. This is a fiction. The island was not even entered by Buccelin, who died on the Volturno in 533. See IV. 19.

33. *Versed in rhetoric*. Rhetoric here is used in the wider sense of classical times, and practically means polite knowledge.

34. *As soon as, by exercise of their industry, they have won such a return*, &c. This chapter is of interest for the light it throws on commercial activity in sixth-century Gaul.

35. *Agyric*, or *Ageric*. S. Airy, bishop in 554. Syrivald, his persecutor, had been a subject of Theuderic, and it was the death of this king which enabled Ageric's son Syagrius to revenge his father.

Syrivald's estate named Floriacus. This is Fleurey-sur-Ouche, 15 kilometres west of Dijon (Longnon, p. 213).

36. *King Theudebert fell ill*. Agathias says that a savage buffalo charged a tree while Theudebert was hunting, and caused a heavy branch to fall on him, inflicting mortal injury. This account may be easily reconciled with that of Procopius (*De bell. Goth.* iv. 24) and the statement of Gregory, both of whom ascribe the king's death to lingering illness, for such injuries need not have been immediately fatal.

Parthenius. This man, as his name shows, was one of those educated Gallo-Romans employed by the more masterful of the Frankish princes to further the aggrandizement of the royal power at the expense of the privileges enjoyed by the free Franks. One of these was an immunity from certain taxation, which the kings, with their ever-increasing expenditure, were most anxious to abolish. The clever Gallo-Romans showed them the financial possibilities of the Roman fiscal system, and the bolder spirits, a Theudebert and a Brunhild, were not slow to follow their advice. But it proved a dangerous course, both for the princes and for their instruments. Cf. Introduction, p. 192.

BOOK IV

1. *In which the most blessed Genovefa is also interred*. For this reason the church was afterwards called Ste Geneviève. In II. 43 the church is described as the church of the Holy Apostles. For the life of Ste Geneviève, see R. Poupardin in *Bull. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, xxxviii (1911), 'Une nouvelle édit. de la Vie de Sainte Geneviève'; G. Kurth, *Études franques* (1919), Étude XI.

2. *Should pay a third part of their revenues to his treasury*. For taxation under the Merovingian kings, see Introduction, p. 220.

3. *Fearing the power of the blessed Martin*. The king was afraid that

sickness or disaster might overtake him or his family through the anger of S. Martin, manifested through his remains buried in his church outside Tours.

Ex-domestic (*ex domestico*). The position of chief of the domestics at a Merovingian Court was a high one, and only held by persons of standing. This officer was not a military commander, like the Great Domestic in the East Roman Empire, nor was he chiefly concerned with the protection of the king's person, but he was responsible for the economy of the Court and for the administration of royal domains. By degrees the office seems to have become administrative in a wider sense, and the holder could represent the king in the provinces in the same way as a count; but we gather from Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 16, that a domestic, if lower than a duke (cf. VI. *11*), was of higher rank than a count. There were *domestici* of lower grade subordinate to the chief officer bearing the title, and from their number were drawn the men who received the revenues of secondary palaces and royal villas in the provinces (Fustel de Coulanges, *Hist. des inst.* iii, pp. 157 ff.). When the office of Mayor of the Palace rose to prominence, that of the domestic declined, the Mayor taking over his more important functions.

4. *The Bretons.* See Introduction, p. 174.

Felix, bishop of Nantes. This bishop, who died in 582, was not congenial to Gregory, and, indeed, he had charged Peter, our author's brother, with the murder of his bishop, Tetricus of Langres. Gregory accuses him of boastfulness and verbosity (V. 5), and of having given asylum to his enemy, the priest Riculf (V. *49*); Fortunatus, however, gives a more favourable judgement of his character. For this bishop see also V. 24 (31); VI. 9 (16).

Another count of that region (*alium comitem regionis illius*). Gregory probably uses the word count here for a chief exercising authority over his tribe: a few lines below he says *comites, non reges appellati sunt*, i. e. by the Franks, who after the time of Clovis claimed over the country a suzerainty which they were seldom able to enforce.

Let his hair grow long again. Perhaps this was less to show his royal rank than to mark his return to secular life. But probably all the Bretons wore their hair long, and the wearing of it so was not a mark of royal rank, as among the Franks (cf. note on II. 8 (9)).

5. *As I have above related.* This is not exact. Gregory has mentioned Quintianus, bishop of Clermont, in III. 2 and 12, but has said nothing of his death. This he records, however, in V. P., ch. vi.

Gall. S. Gall succeeded S. Quintianus about 527, and held the see until his death in 551.

The plague. Cf. Introduction, p. 421. This may have been the first recorded appearance of the oriental plague in Europe. Gregory has occasion to mention it many times in the History (IV. *31*; VI. 14; VII. 1; IX. 21, 22; X. 1, 25).

Rogations. See II. 25 (34); IV. 8; IX. 6, 21; X. 30; and Introduction, p. 339.

About 360 stadia. The procession went this distance from Clermont to the church of S. Julian at Brioude, on which place see Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, pp. 492 ff. As to the distance covered we are left in some uncertainty. Ducange describes *stadium* as *mensurae species, sed ignata prorsus*; others give its length as a little over two hundred yards. On this computation, the distance from Clermont to Brioude would be approximately forty miles.

Which writing was called Tau by the people. The text is *unde a rusticis hic scriptos Tau vocabatur.* This may be merely intended for *hoc scriptum.* But if *scriptor Tau* is read, we should translate: 'for which reason he (Julian) was called the Tau-writer.' The people were thinking of Ezek. ix. 4, and may have believed that Julian himself made this sign of the Cross on the houses to preserve them from the plague. The Greek letter *tau*, the form of which was T, was early regarded as a type of the Cross by Christians. In accounts of the plague in Italy we hear of indelible marks seen by visionaries on the clothes of doomed persons, and on houses; spectres were also seen; allusion is made to these things in the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great (cf. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, p. 213). The scene of the writing of the *Tau* sign on the lintels was a favourite subject in later medieval art, especially in the twelfth century. It was represented with other scenes (Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, the Spies carrying the grapes, and the Widow of Sarepta carrying crossed sticks) as one of the antitypes of the Crucifixion. For this typological symbolism, cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du 12^me siècle en France*, 1922, p. 138.

6. *The king is a boy.* The king was the young Theudebald, son of Theudebert. This proposed election at Clermont is one of the rare examples in which first the local bishops ignored the king, and subsequently the king in his turn ignored them.

According to canonical precept. See Introduction, p. 273.

7. *Escorted . . . by the bishops and chamberlains.* i. e. as a mark of honour. The *camerarii* were officers of the royal household attached to the king's person. They were under the *cubicularius* and were also concerned with the custody of the royal treasure. (Cf. n. to VII. 21 on pp. 565–6.)

5 (8). *King Agila.* This king succeeded Theudegisel, successor of Theuda or Theudis (III. 30), in 549. Agila was detested by the Catholics, whom he, as an Arian, hated and oppressed. Athanagild, a Visigothic noble, determined to depose him, and obtained the support of the Emperor Justinian, who sent an army under his general Liberius. The Byzantine forces seized the larger towns on the Mediterranean coast, especially in Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia; they held Cartagena, Malaga, and Cordova (Jordanes, *Get.*, ch. 58; Isidore, *Chron.* 399; and *Hist. Goth.*, p. 286). They helped Athanagild to defeat Agila, who withdrew to Merida and was there assassinated by his own troops (554). He was succeeded by Athanagild. (See Altamira, in C. M. H., vol. ii, p. 163; Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), ii, pp. 286–7.)

The Byzantine expedition must have landed before 551, because Jordanes, writing in that year, mentions it (Bury, as above, p. 287).

The cities which it had wrongfully invaded. Liberius had encroached by seizing all the land between the Guadalquivir and the Yucar, together with other territory (Altamira, as above, p. 164) ; he was doubtless supported by those Spanish Catholics who remembered the old Roman tradition. Athanagild, as Gregory says, did recover a few places (Isidore, as above), but a Byzantine province had been established in Baetica, which was held by the East Roman Empire for some seventy years. Its limits are not definitely known ; but it included districts and towns to the west as well as to the east of the Straits (e. g. Cartagena, Corduba, Assidonia). It was placed under a military governor (cf. C. I. L. ii. 3420), who may or may not have been subordinate to the governor of Africa (Bury, as above, ii. 28. For the limits of this province, cf. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, v, p. 178. The Empire lost its last territory in Spain in 629, when the Algarves were conquered by Duke Svinthila (Altamira, as above, p. 175).

6 (9). *Vuldetrada.* This princess was a daughter of Wacho, king of the Lombards. Her elder sister, Wisigard, had married Theudebert, her bridegroom's father (III. 20, 27) ; her mother was the Gepid princess Austriguna.

Buccelin was slain by Narses. Cf. III. 32 ; Marius of Aventicum, *Chron.*, year 555 (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chron. Min.* ii) ; and Introduction, pp. 107–8.

To enter the circle of the moon. The text is *Tunc in circolum lunae quinta stilla ex adverso veniens introisse visa est.* Giesebrecht reads this in the sense that a star entered the circle on the fifth night.

Lothar succeeded to his kingdom. As Childebert was without male issue, Theudebald's death meant the reunion of all Frankish Gaul under the dominion of Lothar I, whose possessions were now even greater than those of Clovis.

Garivald. Duke of Bavaria.

7 (10). *The Saxons rebelled.* We are not told how Saxons became tributary to the Franks. This first rebellion marked the beginning of a series of revolts on the part of the indomitable pagan Saxon people, of which an end was not made until Carolingian times. See Introduction, p. 183. Marius of Aventicum, Gregory's contemporary, mentions in his *Chronicle* two expeditions of Lothar against the Saxons—one in 555, the other in the following year. The devastation of Thuringia he connects with the second of these expeditions—in 556. Cf. ch. 9 (14) below.

11. Martyrarius. This official is described by Ducange as *Custos ecclesiae qui sacras in ecclesia reliquias custodit.* He cites the will of S. Yrieix (Aredius), leaving sacred vessels and other objects to be guarded ' by the aforesaid *martyrarii* '. *Martyrarii* are mentioned in Canon 13 of the second Council of Orleans ; and from other allusions to them it may be inferred that they were drawn from the subdeacons or deacons.

As if possessed (*quasi per inergiam*). The 'energy' (ἐνέργεια) is that of an evil spirit, the possessed being described as ἐνεργούμενος; whence the French word *énergumène*.

12. As our own Sollius says. i. e. Sidonius, whose names included those of Caius and Sollius. The passage is in the first letter of his second book (*Ep.* ii. 1), where he is speaking of the predatory Roman governor Seronatus. This governor wrongfully seized lands for which, in his arrogance, he refuses to pay, *nec accipit instrumenta desperans*; this is the phrase here repeated by Gregory. The difficulty lies in the last word, especially as applied to Cautinus, for the context shows that the bishop took great care to obtain the title-deeds. It might be said of Seronatus that, expecting sooner or later to be arraigned, he did not trouble about documents because he knew that it would be hopeless to prove his title; but the same could not be said of Cautinus, who had nothing to fear from justice, except perhaps that administered by an episcopal council. If the passage could bear the interpretation that whenever he failed to get title-deeds he was in despair (mad with vexation), the difficulty would vanish; but *nec accipit* can hardly yield that meaning without putting a strain on the words.

The holy martyr Cassius. He is said to have died with Victorinus, Maximus, and 6,266 other martyrs at Clermont about A. D. 264.

Dead long ago (*grandaevi cuiusdam hominis*). The word *grandaevus* is used in a loose sense; it can hardly here have its strict meaning of far advanced in age.

8 (13). *Senatorial families.* The senatorial families, so frequently mentioned, were probably an aristocracy of Gallo-Roman descent, whose ancestors had enjoyed senatorial rank under the Empire. If we suppose them to have formed an exclusive provincial nobility, the expression *ordo senatorius*, used elsewhere by Gregory, would not be inappropriate. The senatorial class would then represent a *noblesse* 'd'autant plus fière de son origine que son recrutement était tari, et d'autant plus vaniteuse de son titre que celui-ci ne répondait plus à rien de réel' (L. Levillain, reviewing G. Kurth's *Études franques*, in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, lxxx, p. 253). As Levillain points out, Gregory himself exhibits this family pride, and clearly associates with the word senator birth as well as wealth. Kurth, in the work above mentioned, Étude XIII: *Les sénateurs en Gaule au VI^e siècle*, sees in the 'senators' chiefly rich men and large landowners. In Italy the Senate continued to exist under the Ostrogoths, and is frequently addressed by Theodoric in the letters written for him by Cassiodorus. It remained in existence after the coming of the Lombards down perhaps to 590, but in the Byzantine and Papal city it was a mere shadow.

Firminus . . . Evodius. These are the names of members of well-known families in Auvergne, members of which were friends of Sidonius, both names occurring in the list of his correspondents (*Ep.* iv. 8; ix. 1, 16). Firminus received the rank of count. Cf. below, ch. *35*.

King Chramn. All the sons and daughters of the Merovingian

royal houses were spoken of as kings and queens, and claimed the title. Cf. the claim of Clotild in X. 15.

Sallust. In his *Catilina*, ch. 3.

9 (14). *The land of the Franks* (*Francia*). Here, as usually, except in IX. 20, this term is used for the country of the Ripuarians, or Eastern Franks, soon (in the time of Sigibert) to be called Austrasia. At the time described by Gregory in this book, the eastern territories are called Francia because in them the Teutonic element was least affected by contact with the Gallo-Roman: it was 'the Frankish land' *par excellence*. But the word, while sometimes retaining its earlier and narrower significance, soon acquired a wider meaning. Cf. P. Lauer, 'De la signification du mot France aux époques mérov. et carolingienne', in *Mém. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris et de l'Île de France*, xlii (1915); and G. Kurth, *Études franques* (1919), Étude III, *Francia et Francus*.

Making his progress round it. This was the formal progress of a new king after his accession. Cf. ch. 10 (16) below, and VII. 10, n. on p. 564.

Our usual tribute, which we have paid to thy brothers and thy nephews. The Saxons meant Theuderic, Lothar's brother, Theudebert his nephew, and Theudebald his great-nephew, successively kings of the Ripuarians, whose territory Lothar I, surviving them all, had now inherited. The Saxons, in their frequent risings, appear to have had the upper hand in many encounters, both with Lothar (ch. 16 and 17 below) and with later kings. Yet Fredegar in his seventy-fourth chapter mentions a tribute of five hundred head of cattle imposed by Lothar, and only remitted by Dagobert in 631.

We know that they are liars. The subsequent history of the relations between the Franks and the Saxons leads us to suspect that the discontented Frankish warriors may well have been right. Saxon rebellions were again and again repeated, regardless of agreements. Cf. Introduction, pp. 183–5.

Then, furious with the king, they rushed upon him. This episode has been noticed in the Introduction (p. 108) as showing how far a Frankish king still was from safety in despotism if he risked too much in a particular direction, and how carefully he had to consider the opinions of the free Franks. This was especially the case in Austrasia, where the rivalry between the throne and the aristocratic party was always more acute than elsewhere.

15. They brought him their formal agreement in favour of Eufronius. This was called *consensus*. The royal sanction and permission to proceed with the consecration of the new bishop were given in the royal diploma (*praeceptio*). For the procedure in episcopal elections, see Introduction, p. 288.

The blessed Gregory. This was Gregory, bishop of Langres, great-great-grandfather of Gregory of Tours, who naturally records with complacency the royal estimate of his family: *Prima haec est et magna generatio.*

10 (16). *The Black Mountain.* This place is probably represented by

the hill village of Saint-Georges-Nigremont, Creuse (arrondissement d'Aubusson). In accepting this attribution, Longnon (*Geogr.*, p. 526) agrees with Jacobs and Deloche.

All the territory through which I have made my progress. The act of perambulating his territory imposed on a king the obligation of defending it.

In an earlier book. There is no earlier mention of Tetricus in the History, but in V. P., ch. vii, this bishop is described as son and successor of Gregory of Langres.

The clergy placed on the altar three books, &c. We find this use of *Sortes Biblicae* adopted by other persons mentioned in the History: thus Merovech, while in sanctuary at Tours, essayed it (V. 8). The present is an example of an oracular appeal similar to that of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, and it is interesting to find the clergy themselves resorting to it. It was usual at this time for a lesson from the Old Testament to be read, as well as the Epistle and Gospel. See Introduction, pp. 336–7.

The churches, where he was given bread to eat. The words 'without the walls' are required to make the meaning clear, as Chramn did not enter the walled town. The churches were probably those of S. Paschasia and S. Benignus, which were side by side and outside the Roman walls (Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, p. 212). By bread *eulogiae* may be indicated.

The Frankish land. i. e. Austrasia. Cf. ch. 14, above.

The city of Deutz (*Divitia civitas*). The use of the word *civitas* would imply that Deutz at this time was the seat of a bishopric. But when it begins to be mentioned in documents, it is already subordinate to Cologne (Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 11).

11 (17). *The daughter of Wilichar.* This Wilichar was first called Duke of Aquitaine by Aimoin (*Hist. des Français*, ii. 30). But it seems more probable that the Wilichar here mentioned is the same as the *Willicharius sacerdos* of ch. 13 (20) below, since there is evidence for his presence in Tours about the time of Chramn's sojourn, and he had a daughter named Theoda, to whom that prince may have become attached (see note to ch. 13 (20) below). There was a count of Orleans with a very similar name, Wiliachar, or Villachar (cf. VII. 13; X. 9), who might possibly be intended.

12 (18). *The duke Austrapius.* This man must have been governor of Touraine and Poitou for Lothar I. According to Baudonivia (*Vita Sanctae Radegundis*, ii. 5), he, together with Pientius, bishop of Poitiers, helped Radegund to build her monastery of the Holy Cross in that city. At the close of Lothar's reign he entered the Church, and was consecrated bishop at *Sellense castrum* (see below), a temporary bishopric having been made for him out of the diocese of Poitiers, to which he had been promised the succession by Lothar.

The judge of the place (*iudex loci*). The judge of a *civitas* like Tours was ordinarily the count, but the phrase *iudex loci* may sometimes be used by Gregory of the *vicarius* or representative of the count in a *pagus* or division of the *civitas*. In the absence of the count, a *vicarius*

would doubtless represent him even in the chief city (Introduction, p. 203). Cf. also IV. 31 (45).

At Chantoceaux (*Sellense castrum*). This place, formerly Châteauceaux, is in Maine-et-Loire, arrondissement of Cholet (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 572–6). For the meaning of *castrum* as a secondary town, see Introduction, p. 160.

His town. i. e. *Sellense castrum.*

The Theifali. The Tiffauges. For this people, see Introduction, pp. 172–3.

19. *The bishop Médard.* S. Médard was successively bishop of Vermand, Noyon, and Tournai; he died about 545 (June 8). His life is related by Fortunatus, who states that he was of a noble Frankish family.

It was to Médard, then bishop of Noyon, that Radegund went first when she abandoned the Court of Lothar I (Fortunatus, *Vita S. Medardi*, 19; Baudonivia, *Vita S. Radegundis*, 12). In G. C., ch. 93, Gregory says that he himself often saw the fetters broken from the limbs of prisoners before S. Médard's tomb.

A church over his tomb, which . . . Sigibert completed and furnished. The church of S. Médard at Soissons was of great splendour; Fortunatus in several places lauds Sigibert for his share in its embellishment (*Carm.* ii. 20).

Shackles of prisoners lying . . . broken. The falling asunder of fetters and chains when prisoners entered the basilica of S. Médard is related by Fortunatus in the above-mentioned poem, and in his prose *Vita S. Medardi*, 12. Several Gallican saints were celebrated during their lives and after their deaths for their power of releasing prisoners (cf. Introduction, p. 309). The setting free of prisoners and captives lay near to the heart of many good men in Merovingian times.

13 (20). *In the church of the blessed Vincent.* Cf. III. 29, note. The religious virtues of Childebert, who died in 558, are praised by Fortunatus in *Carm.* ii. 14, though, as noted elsewhere, his share in the brutal murder of his nephews throws a different light on his character (Introduction, pp. 99, 100).

Vultrogotha and her two daughters. The queen's name is also given as Ultrogotha or Ultrogotho. Her daughters' names were Chlotberg or Chrotberg, and Chlothsind or Chrotesind. Fortunatus tells us that Charibert, son of Lothar, on inheriting his share of his father's kingdom, recalled his aunt and cousins from banishment, and established them at Paris (*Carm.* vi. 4, 21–4). In the same book he describes the garden of Ultrogotho, which had been planted by Childebert (*Carm.* vi. 8). The piety of this queen is recorded by Gregory in V. S. M. i. 12.

Willichar the priest (*Willicharius sacerdos*). Cf. ch. 11 (17), above. The reference there to the connexion between Chramn and a daughter of Wilichar has suggested the reading of *socer eius* for *sacerdos* (see below). But in V. S. M. i. 23 we are told that at the time of Chramn's conspiracy, *Wiliachar, presbyter*, was freed from his chains by the miraculous power of S. Martin. In V. S. M. iii. 13 we are further told that Theoda, daughter

of Wiliachar the *presbyter*, was cured by S. Martin of some affection of the feet. The mention of the priest's imprisonment suggests that he may have been in some way implicated in Chramn's affairs. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 54) calls him Quilliachar, and describes him as Chramn's father-in-law (*socer eius*) ; the mistake noted above is therefore an old one. Of the restorations undertaken by Lothar at the church of S. Martin after the fire caused by Wiliachar, Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 54) says *Postea a Chlothario condigne recuperatur et stagno coperitur.* The king's restoration may not have been complete, or there may have been another fire, for Gregory himself carried out restorations. In X. 31, describing his own episcopate, he says that he repaired the walls of the holy basilica (of S. Martin), burned by fire, and caused his craftsmen to adorn and paint them with all the splendour in which they were seen before. Fortunatus (*Carm.* x. 6) speaks of the basilica of Martin as if it had fallen into complete ruin and had been rebuilt by Gregory, like the cathedral church. The church of which he speaks was originally built, he says, on the spot where Martin divided his cloak, giving half to the beggar. One of his couplets runs :

Invida subruerat quam funditus ipsa vetustas
Ut paries liquidis forte solutus aquis.

Another :

In senium veniens, melius revirescere discens,
Diruta post casum firmius acta situ.

Such a description does not agree with Gregory's account. The restoration by King Lothar followed the damage so soon that *vetustas* could have had nothing to do with the matter. The church, wholly rebuilt by Gregory, was the cathedral church inside the city which had been destroyed by fire and left untouched by Gregory's predecessor Euphronius. It had remained in a state of ruin for a number of years, and the expression used by Fortunatus might be applied to it by a stretch of poetical licence. The poet, who often visited Tours, must have known both churches well. In the title of the poem he describes the building as *ecclesia Toronica*, a phrase which could properly apply to no church but the cathedral. Either, therefore, the gift to the beggar took place, not on the site of the church where Martin was buried, but on that of the cathedral built by his immediate predecessor in the see, Litorius, or Fortunatus has made a mistake (cf. X. 31). It may be noted that Sulpicius Severus describes the gift to the beggar as having taken place in a vestry and not out of doors.

The plain of Romagnat (*Romanicus or Romaniacus campus*). This plain is identified by Longnon (*Géogr.*, p. 510) ; the district of Romagnat, a village less than a mile to the south of Clermont.

Chanao, count of the Bretons. i. e. chief. The Corbie MS. has Chonoo. Both versions may be identical with the Chanao of ch. 4.

Chramn . . . stretched on a bench and strangled with a kerchief. The death of the prince is mentioned by Marius of Aventicum (*Chron.*, year 560).

14 (21). *In the fiftieth year of his reign.* The text has *anno quinqua-*

gesimo I, the *I* being an addition inserted to bring the passage into accord with the figure given a few lines lower down. Lothar enjoyed an exceptionally long life for a Merovingian king.

Cuise . . . Compiègne. The forest of *Cotia* was later known as the forest of Compiègne, which derives its name from the royal villa of *Compendium*, here mentioned (Longnon, as above, pp. 154, 401).

15 (22). *Made lawful division.* Cf. Introduction, p. 139.

Paris . . . fell to Charibert. Fortunatus (*Carm.* vi. 4) extols Charibert as a second Childebert, and congratulates Paris upon having its own king once more.

16 (23). *The Huns.* The Avars are meant ; cf. also ch. 22 (29) below, and Introduction, p. 186. Justinian had subsidized them as *foederati* pledged to defend his frontiers. This first invasion of Merovingian territory probably took place in 562, while Justinian was still alive. Cf. Paul the Deacon, *De gestis Langobard*, ii. 10.

The domain of Ponthion (*Villa Pontico*). This royal domain may be identified with Pontion (Marne). Cf. Longnon, as above, pp. 405–6.

17 (24). *The patrician Agricola.* The title patrician was commonly given to the governor (*rector*) of Provence. Cf. 23 (30), 29 (42) below.

It ill agreeth to say (*Incongrue hoc : Vae mihi et filius meis !*). Altering the punctuation, we might read, *exclamasse fertur incongrue hoc : Vae mihi*, &c. : ' He is said to have interrupted with the exclamation : Woe then to me and to my sons ! '

18 (25). *Magnar.* Otherwise, Magnachar. Cf. V. 11 (17), where Guntram, the *rex bonus* of the present chapter, has the two sons of Magnar slain on the charge that they had spoken ill of Austrechild, successor of Marcatrude in his affections. Marcatrude is said by Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 56) to have been accused of dabbling in witchcraft, and of immorality : she was, he says, a *herbaria* and a *meretrix*.

Austrechild. A woman of a spiteful and ruthless temper. Cf. V. 27 (35). Fredegar, as above, says she was an *ancilla* of Marcatrude, as Fredegund had been the handmaid of Audovera. The death of the two sons whom she bore to Guntram is mentioned by Marius of Aventicum under the year 577 (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chronica Minora*, ii (1894)).

19 (26). *Charibert.* The text has Sigibert, an obvious error.

Was taken as a bride to Kent (*quae postea in Ganthia virum accipiens est deducta*). This brief and incomplete notice is typical of Gregory's allusions to England, of which country he seems to have known little or nothing (cf. IX. 26, and Introduction, pp. 187–8). The daughter in question was Adelberg (Ethelberg) or Bertha, queen of Ethelbert, king of Kent. For Bertha (Bercta), cf. Bede, ed. C. Plummer (1896), i. 25 ; ii. 5.

Marcovefa. Cf. V. 47.

They formally chose Heraclius (*consensum fecere in Heraclium*). For this stage in the election of a bishop, cf. Introduction, p. 288.

The apostolic see. In this case the metropolitan see of the province,

i. e. Bordeaux. The passage shows that at this time the title was still given to sees in Gaul (cf. IX. 41, 42), though the king's answer implies that already it was beginning to be regarded as proper to Rome.

Men of religion. Here probably clergy, perhaps bishops.

Excommunicated them both. Rather because Marcovefa had been a nun, than because the Church forbade marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

20 (27). *Brunhild, daughter of King Athanagild.* This is Gregory's first mention of the famous princess who was destined to play so great a part in Merovingian history (cf. Introduction, p. 69). With his eulogy of her qualities we may compare the words of Fortunatus :

> *Pulchra, modesta, decens, solers, grata atque benigna ;*
> *Ingenio, vultu, nobilitate potens.*

(*Carm.* vi. 3 : a panegyric of Sigibert and Brunhild). Their espousals are celebrated in the two earlier poems of the same book.

For Athanagild, Brunhild's father, see ch. 5 (8) above. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 57) says that Sigibert sent Gogo, his ex-governor (*nutritor*), as head of the mission which solicited the hand of Brunhild.

Received the holy chrism (*chrismata est*). For the use of chrism in baptism, see II. 22 (31) n. on p. 499.

Until this day. Brunhild long survived Gregory, dying a violent death in 614. (Cf. Introduction, p. 134.)

21 (28). *He already had several wives* (*plures uxores*). His only known lawful wives were Audovera, mother of three sons, whom he had put away and relegated to a monastery in order to wed Fredegund, and Fredegund herself, whom he now temporarily dismissed.

Galswinth. The nuptials and death of Galswinth are sung by Fortunatus (*Carm.* vi. 7), who inevitably avoids any suggestion of foul play connected with her end.

Baptized. The word used is *chrismata*, as in the case of Brunhild, noted above.

She was found dead in her bed. The text has *repperit*, suggesting that Chilperic made the discovery. But perhaps the active verb is a mistake for the passive. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 60) says that Chilperic had her suffocated.

A great miracle to all who saw it. The wonder is mentioned by Fortunatus in the above-mentioned poem. Miracles connected with lamps suspended at tombs are frequently recorded by Gregory in his books in honour of the martyrs and confessors (cf. Introduction, pp. 254, 257).

22 (29). *The Huns, who were versed in magic arts.* The Avars are really intended here, as in ch. 16 (23) above. Justin II, on his accession in 565, defied the Avars, who were intimidated by his resolute tone. They turned their arms once more against Austrasia, rather than against the Empire, the result being the attack recorded here and by the Byzantine historian Menander (*Frag.* 14). The year was probably

566. The possession of magical power was commonly attributed to peoples coming from little-known regions, whether in east or north.

Gagan. i. e. Chagan or Khan, which, as Gregory rightly says, was not a personal name but a title, meaning ' chief ' or ' king '.

23 (30). *Wishing to take the city of Arles.* That is, to seize Guntram's share in addition to his own. At the division made on the death of Lothar I, this *civitas* had been divided between King Guntram and his brother Sigibert.

Bishop Sabaudus. The name is commonly spelled with a *p*. Sapaudus (552–86) was the intermediary between the pope and the Gallican Church. He received the powers of vicar apostolic from Pelagius in 557, his death occurring nine years later (VIII. 39). Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, i, p. 259.

24 (31). *A . . . prodigy occurred at . . . Tauredunum.* For the disputes as to the locality of this *castrum*, see Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 233–5. It would seem that to produce the effects described, the blocking of the Rhône must have taken place not very far from its issue into the Lake of Geneva. A probable theory places the site at Les Évouettes, near Chessel. The event is also mentioned by Marius of Aventicum (*Chron.*, year 563). He says that the flood carried away the bridge of Geneva, together with the mills and a number of men, penetrating right into the city. The diocese of Marius included the eastern part of the north shore of the lake (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chron. Min.* ii (Berlin, 1894)).

The disaster in Auvergne. The words are *clades Arverna*, which were applied to this terrible visitation of the plague in 571 as ' the disaster ' above all others.

For visitations of the plague in Gaul, cf. Introduction, p. 421.

A star, by some styled comet. Cf. the *De cursu stellarum*, ch. 34. In that passage Gregory describes the significance of the comet. When it seems to have a flaming diadem, it portends the death of a king. When it has a long ray like a sword, glowing red, and spreads its hair abroad darkly (*si autem gladium ferens, rutilans, cum nigrore sparserit comas*), it announces ruin to the country (*patriae excidium*) ; even so it appeared, he says, in Auvergne during this plague. He goes on to say that the appearance of a comet preceded the death of Sigibert (*nam et priusquam Sigibertus rex obierit, crinita multis apparuit*), and that another announced the death of Lothar I. Cf. ch. 36 (51) below (where, however, nothing is said to show that the *fulgor* traversing the sky was a comet). In 14 (21) above, where Gregory describes the death of Lothar I, nothing is said of signs in the heavens.

32. The monastery of Randan (*monasterium Randanense*). The small town of Randan in Puy-de-Dôme has perpetuated the name.

Nor ate meat. The word is *pulmentum*, on which Ducange says : *obsonium quod praeter panem est, vel pani additur.* It might therefore mean fish or eggs as well as meat.

34. About three cori. Cf. British Museum, *Greek Papyri*, iii, by H. I. Bell, p. 103. The word is commonly used for liquid measure.

35. Son of . . . Evodius. The text has Euvodus, but Evodius is probably the correct form. In ch. 8 (13) above, mention was made of another son of Evodius, by name Salustius. Evodius is here described as *senator*, but this only means that he was of a senatorial family; cf. above, 8 (13).

Obtained from the Jews store of costly things. The Jews were recognized dealers in works of art in sixth-century Gaul; King Chilperic, a connoisseur, had his own dealer, a Jew named Priscus. Cf. VI. 5, 10 (17), and Introduction, p. 177. In the Letters of Gregory the Great we read of a Jew who managed to buy the church plate of Venatro from the clergy (F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, p. 384).

He would often make the barbarians drunk. By 'barbarians' Gregory, as a Gallo-Roman of aristocratic descent, means the Franks. The aristocratic family of Evodius would seem to have intermarried with the Franks, for Beregisil is a Teutonic name. But it was not an unknown occurrence for Gallo-Romans to take Teutonic names for their material advantage.

From the line of Hortensius, &c. Quintianus made this prediction because Hortensius refused to pardon one of his kinsmen. Gregory tells the whole story in V. P. iv. 3.

Their nomination. This was the *consensus*, or document signed by the electors, already more than once mentioned. Cf. also Introduction, p. 288. Avitus was a friend of Gregory's own family, and had introduced him to the study of the Scriptures (V. P., ch. ii). Cf. Introduction, p. 6.

Disregarded the strict observance of canonical rule. The rule was that a bishop, whose election was duly carried out by the people and confirmed by the king, should be consecrated by the metropolitan of the province to which his new see belonged, and that the ceremony should take place in that province. The rule, however, was often broken; it was so in the case of Gregory himself.

The gift of blessed bread (*de manu eius eulogias accipere*). *Eulogiae* (εὐλογίαι, blessings) were small portions of the bread which had been offered by the faithful, but not actually required for communion and therefore not consecrated. This bread received a benediction, and was distributed to the congregation after Mass. Bishops sometimes had *eulogiae* in their houses, and seem to have given them to guests at their table, as did Nicetius, bishop of Lyons, on an occasion when Gregory, his grand-nephew, was present (V. P. viii. 3); possibly bishops blessed bread which had not been offered in church. Bishops and priests carried *eulogiae* with them when away from home. Thus Gregory had '*eulogiae* of S. Martin' with him at Orleans on the occasion when Guntram visited him at his lodging; on this occasion he offered them to the king (VIII. 2). *Eulogiae* so carried were regarded as having the same kind of potency as relics, and as able to preserve from danger. A priest with *eulogiae* on his person asked shelter for the night in the hut of a peasant in Auvergne. The peasant had to get up early to cart wood, but refused to eat his breakfast unless the priest would bless it or give him *eulogiae*. The

priest gave them. While driving across a pontoon bridge the peasant heard devils talking; they were admitting that they were unable to drown him, as they desired to do, because he carried a sacred thing (G. C. 30).

These portions of bread may have been prepared in forms which would keep them unimpaired when taken or sent to a distance, for they appear to have been sent as presents! Perhaps from such a usage the term *eulogia* came to be applied in a general sense to any small gift offered as an expression of goodwill. Cf. Dom Leclerq in Cabrol's *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, s. v. *Eulogie*.

At Metz. This city was the capital of Austrasia, and contained the chief royal residence.

To this day. Avitus died in 594, a short time before Gregory's own death.

36. *Saffarac.* He was made bishop in 549 and deposed a few years later. Cf. *Dict. Christian Biography*, s. v.

Nicetius, whom he had himself chosen. Cf. V. P. viii. 3. Bishops frequently exerted this kind of influence on the election of their successors. Cf. Introduction, p. 297. Nicetius (S. Nizier) was the great-uncle of Gregory of Tours. Cf. V. P., ch. viii, and Introduction, p. 6. Nicetius was really bishop for twenty-one years only.

The church house. The residence of the bishop and clergy, adjoining the church. Cf. I. 44, and Introduction, pp. 343–5.

The abbot. At the beginning of the story, Gregory omitted to mention his quality.

37. *Friard.* A recluse in the diocese of Nantes. For the modern literature concerning him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge: Bio-bibliographie*, col. 1612.

Felix. Bishop of Nantes. Cf. V. 5.

25 (38). *Leuvigild . . . succeeded to the throne.* He at first shared the succession with his brother Leuva. Cf. Altamira in C. M. H. ii, p. 164.

He divided the kingdom equally. Apparently he gave each a half to administer. Hermangild he formally associated with himself in royal power in 578. The whole passage refers to the life-and-death struggle between the Crown and the aristocracy in Spain, which was only ended by a massacre of nobles upon a great scale. Cf. Altamira in C. M. H., as above, p. 166.

26 (39). *Javols* (*Urbs Gabalitana*). Cf. I. 34. This ancient seat of a bishopric, comprising the Gévaudan and properly *civitas Gabalum*, is now a village in the department of Lozère. The see was removed to Mende (*Mimate*, or *Miniatum Gabalorum*), at latest in the middle of the tenth century. Cf. Longnon, pp. 528, 532.

Nothing is known of Bishop Parthenius of Javols apart from this mention by Gregory.

The monastery of Cournon (*Monasterium Chrononense*). Cournon is in Puy-de-Dôme, arrondissement of Clermont, canton of Pont-du-Château (Longnon, pp. 498–9). Here, at the beginning of the sixth

century, Gallus, paternal uncle of Gregory, first entered the Church (V. P. vi. 1). The place is 12 kilometres south-east of Clermont.

27 (40). *His senators.* Justinian's policy aimed at making his power independent of the Senate. This filled the senators with resentment, and many of them were implicated in the famous Nika riot of 532, after which they were banished and their property was confiscated. The authorities are Malalas, Procopius, and Marcellinus (Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* (1923), ii, pp. 42–8).

He lost his wits (*ex sensu effectus*). The account which Gregory gives of Justin is probably coloured by the dislike which he felt for that emperor, as one suspected by him of heresy. Justin is known as weak, partly through ill health, but not morally contemptible. Gibbon's judgement of him is summed in the sentence: 'The opinion which imputes to the prince all the calamities of his times may be countenanced by the historian as a serious truth or a salutary prejudice. Yet a candid suspicion will arise that the sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent, and that he might have filled his station without reproach, if the faculties of his mind had not been impaired by disease' (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xiv).

Antioch in Egypt. This is a mistake for Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria. The capture of the city by Adarmaanes, general of Chosroes (Khusrau), probably took place in the spring of 573 (N. H. Baynes, C. M. H., ii, p. 272). Cf. X. 24 below.

The Persarmenians. These were the people of Greater Armenia, now subjected by Chosroes, the Sassanian king. Oppressed for their Christian religion and threatened with compulsory conversion to fire-worship, they sought support at the Byzantine Court, probably in 571 (p. 270).

The emperor's solicitude. This is a grandiloquent phrase in the oriental manner, though the form is matched in such expressions as 'the king's grace'. The application of the term Emperor to the Persian monarch is incorrect: his most exalted title was 'King of kings'.

28 (41). *Alboin.* The Lombard invasion is related by Paul the Deacon, *Hist.* ii. 7–10, 12, 14, 25–7. Cf. also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvi; T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*; and the short account by F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, pp. 81 ff. The story of Alboin's death is given in full by Paul (*Hist.* ii. 28). The name of the *famulus* on whom she had cast her eyes was Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer; this man, with Peredeus, another Lombard, suborned by Rosamund, killed Alboin with spears, the door having been left unbolted for their free entrance.

Another king to reign over them. Cleph, a duke or principal chief, elected in the assembly of the nation at Pavia in 573. He was himself murdered a year and a half later (574). Cf. Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* ii. 31.

29 (42). *Eunius, surnamed Mummolus.* The first name is sometimes given as Eonius.

The title of patrician. This title was granted by kings of Burgundy.

Cf. Ducange, s. v. It was given to the governors of Provence, other holders of the office being Aegila and Dynamius. A list of these governors is given by Ducange, s. v. *Patricius*.

To renew his service. For the count's office, see Introduction, pp. 200 ff.

Plan de Fazi. The locality of the battle-field of *Musticae Calmes* is not certain, but the plain of Plan de Fazi at the confluence of the Guil and the Durance is preferred by Longnon (p. 458) to Chamousse, a hamlet 10 kilometres north of Embrun, which other writers have regarded as the place.

Salonius and Sagittarius, one bishop of Embrun, the other of Gap, were notorious characters, who reappear in later pages of the History. Cf. V. 20, 20 (27); VII. 28, 34, 37, 38, 39. Sagittarius was present at the councils of Lyons (570) and Paris (573); he was finally deposed in 579. Cf. Duchesne, *Fastes épisc. de l'anc. Gaule*, i, p. 287. See also Introduction, p. 87.

The Saxons, who had entered Italy with the Lombards. Fredegar (iii. 68) says that the body of Saxons here mentioned had been sent into Italy by Theudebert.

At the domain of Stablo (*apud Stablonem villam*). This was a country estate, spelled *Stublo* by Longnon (p. 453), who identifies it with Estoublon, in the arrondissement of Digne, Basses-Alpes.

Slaying many thousands. The text has *multa his similia interficit*, which must be a mistake for *multa ex his milia*.

Into two bodies (*duos, ut aiunt, cuneos*). The word *cuneus* is here used in a general sense as a body of men.

Stamped bars of bronze. The words are: *regulas aeris incisas pro auro*. Giesebrecht conjectures *tegulas* instead of *regulas*, and translates 'engraved bronze plates'. Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, v, p. 191) speaks of medals. It seems unlikely that the Saxons would have been provided with engraved plates, and coins or medals would have been in relief. *Incisas* may be taken simply as stamped with marks; we have almost certainly to deal with a currency in the form of metal bars. For the making of spurious money in Merovingian times, cf. II. 31 (42) and Introduction, p. 224. The whole story is curious, and, as Hodgkin remarks, it is not clear why the Saxons on their way back to Germany should have passed through Clermont. Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* ii. 5) bases his account on Gregory.

43. Governor (*rector*). This title was used in Provence only. Cf. above, ch. (17) 24. Jovinus, the superseded governor, was a friend of Fortunatus, but evidently a bad correspondent (Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 11, 12). Cf. also VI. 7.

The harbour of Marseilles. The word *cataplus* is here used for harbour. For the maritime trade of Marseilles, cf. V. 5.

Orcae. The *orca* had the shape of a butt or tun. The word translated 'liquor' is *liquamen*, which seems to have been applied to fermented liquors other than wine, e.g. cider, perry, and beer.

The most considerable. The text has *maior natu*, which might possibly

refer to the aristocracy, but is more probably used for persons of consideration in the city. It is not likely to mean simply old men, but, like the word *senior*, is used to signify degree in importance rather than in age.

Four thousand pieces of gold (*solidi*). Attention may be drawn to the large amount of this fine : the *solidus* was a gold piece weighing $\frac{1}{72}$ of a pound, so that the sum exacted was more than 55 lb. of gold.

30 (44). *Three Lombard dukes.* We do not know the Lombard title rendered as *dux*. After the death of King Cleph (above, ch. 28 (41)) there were thirty-five ' dukes ' (Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* ii. 1 ff., who borrows his facts from Gregory). Amo, Zaban, and Rodan were three of these. If these dukes had been able to combine, a strong Lombard nation might have come into being (cf. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (1905), pp. 158 ff.).

The domain called Macho. Perhaps the place now called Saint-Saturnin, Vaucluse (Longnon, pp. 446–7).

An animal . . . revealed a ford. This ' motive ' has already occurred in the story of Clovis (II. 27 (37)).

They abandoned all their plunder. The text is : *Tunc datis pariter cunctis in praeda*, which might be taken to mean that they added to their plunder everything upon which they could lay their hands. But the context seems to require the other sense.

Susa (*Sigusium urbs*). Cf. Longnon, p. 432.

The emperor's master of the soldiery resided there. The *magistri militum* were purely military officers, and at this time there might be more than one in the territory of a single duke (F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, p. 182). But the Lombards about this time (574) ceded Maurienne and Susa to Guntram, presumably as compensation for their raids into his territory in Gaul (Longnon, p. 332). Guntram established a bishopric of Maurienne and Susa (*ibid.*, p. 430). Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 68) says that the expedition of the three dukes was followed by another led by Taloard and Nuccio, who sacked the monastery of Agaune, but were defeated by Guntram's generals, Wiolic and Theudofred.

31 (45). *Fell by the agreement,* &c. (*Sigiberto regi per pactum in partem venerant*). The agreement was the formal division of King Lothar's dominions between his sons. See Introduction, p. 139.

Basilius and Sighar. We may note the co-operation of a Gallo-Roman and a Frank.

32 (46) *Occupied with his master in the study of letters . . . arithmetical studies.* We here find a Gallo-Roman aristocrat still preserving the Roman usage of keeping slaves to read to them (*lectores*) and to help in transcribing their literary work. Sidonius alludes to such slaves in Gallo-Roman families (*Ep.* iv. 12).

Lupus. Duke of Champagne (cf. VI. 4). Fortunatus dedicates a poem to Lupus (*Carm.* vii. 7), celebrating his victories over Saxons and Danes. This duke was a supporter of the Austrasian royal house

against the aristocracy, and was a loyal adherent of Brunhild. At the time when the aristocracy had the upper hand after Sigibert's death, he was forced to fly to King Guntram (VI. 4). After the agreement between Guntram and Childebert he was able to return in safety (IX. 11). Cf. also IX 14.

Was regarded as having attained official rank (*quasi honoratus habitus*). *Honoratus* was the current Roman designation for a man holding imperial official rank. There were still such officials in Provence when the Franks took possession of the country.

His mail shirt. Only persons of some standing wore body armour, and the possession of a mail shirt would be in some degree a guarantee of position. Cf. Introduction, pp. 208, 232.

To what dost thou not drive the hearts of mortals ? This passage from Virgil is a stock quotation of Gregory, found several times in his books. Cf. Introduction, p. 21.

The judge of the place. i.e. the count or his *vicarius*. Cf. Introduction, p. 202, and n. to ch. 12 (18) above.

Ordering him to give him the girl in marriage. It was an ancient right of Teutonic kings to give the daughters of their subjects in marriage to their Court officials (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 436). Cf. VI. 16.

Betook himself to Le Velay (*in Vellavo territorio*). Where he had landed property (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 532–3). Cf. VI. 18 (26), n. on p. 557.

Unwilling to obey so ill-bred a master. The text is : *Sed cum servi domus domini rudi domo apparerent.* The last two words may be a corruption of *non parerent*, in which case *domino* should be read.

Overcome with weariness and wine. Literally ' buried ' : *somno vinoque sepulti*, another Virgilian reminiscence.

33 (47). *Duke Gundovald.* This was the loyal Austrasian noble who, after the murder of Sigibert, brought off in safety to Austrasia the little King Childebert (V. 1).

48. The monastery of Latte. Formerly regarded as Ciran-la-Late, or la-Latte, in Touraine. Longnon opposes the identification, but without suggesting an alternative (*Géogr.*, pp. 619, 620).

O barbarians ! i. e. Franks. The monks were presumably Gallo-Romans.

34 (49). *The peoples from beyond the Rhine.* These were the pagan Germans, who nominally at least were under the suzerainty of the Ripuarian king. For the significance of this action, as a betrayal of Frankish solidarity and an outrage to Christendom, cf. Introduction, p. 114.

Alluyes (*Avallocium vicus*). Alluyes, 26 kilometres south of Chartres ; or perhaps Havelu, 38 kilometres north of the same city (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 325–6).

If their two armies joined battle, their dominion would go down in ruin. The text has : *consilio utroque exercitu* ; the true reading should probably be *conliso.* ' Their dominion ' means the supremacy of the Franks

in Gaul. Germanus of Paris, regarding Brunhild as a main cause of the civil war, wrote a letter to her, imploring her to seek peace ; this letter has been preserved (see M. G. H., *Epistolae Merov. et Karol. aevi*, i, p. 122). Radegund likewise strove to prevent intestine war. Cf. Introduction, p. 114.

35 (50). *The people of Châteaudun* (*Dunensibus*). This town, in Eure-et-Loir, was known as *Castellum Dunum* (IX. 20) or *Castrum Dunense* (VII. 29). It was the next place after Chartres in the diocese of that name, and Sigibert tried to establish a bishopric there (VII. 17) ; cf. Longnon, pp. 326–8.

Dukes Godegisel and Guntram. Godegisel was son-in-law of Duke Lupus, mentioned below (IX. 12). The Guntram here named is the notorious Guntram Boso whose name so often recurs in the History.

36 (51). *Their enemies.* i. e. the pagan Germans who were this time to receive the promised plunder. ' His own men ' means the Ripuarian Franks forming the more civilized part of his armies.

Childebert the elder. Childebert I, king of Paris, son of Clovis and uncle of Guntram, Sigibert, and Chilperic.

The royal villa named Vitry (*Victoriacus*). On the Scarpe, between Douai and Arras. It is mentioned by Fortunatus as one of the residences of Lothar I (*Vita S. Radegundis*, i. 3). Cf. Longnon, pp. 413–14.

Scramasaxes. The scramasax was the one-edged Frankish knife-dagger. See Introduction, p. 232.

No less frivolous in his conduct than serious in his avarice (*tam levis opere quam gravis cupiditate*). In this antithetical phrase we find an echo of a trick beloved by writers of the preceding century, dear also to Fortunatus and Cassiodorus.

When messengers reached him with the news of his brother's death. The sudden change from an apparently desperate position to one of safety is described by Fortunatus in his poem to Chilperic (*Carm.* ix. 1).

Marius of Aventicum, chronicling the events of 576, says that Sigibert was slain when : *eum* (i. e. Chilperic) *iam inclusum haberet, et de eius interfectione cogitaret* (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chron. Min.* ii. (1894)).

Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 71) says that the Austrasian Franks forced Sigibert to march against Chilperic after the three royal brothers had agreed upon peace at Virey-sous-Bar (Aube), because they saw that peace would deprive them of all hope of plunder.

The village of Lambres (*Lambri vicus*). This place lies about 7 kilometres from Vitry. It is a village in the arrondissement and canton of Douai (Longnon, as above, p. 413).

Which he had himself erected. He had completed it, his father Lothar I having begun the construction. Cf. Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 20.

In the fourteenth year of his reign. Lothar I died in 561, and Sigibert at the end of 575 ; it would seem therefore that the regnal year was the fifteenth.

Twenty-nine years. If Theudebert died in 548, the number should rather be twenty-seven.

BOOK V

Prologue. *Things of delight.* The text has *militiae*, but *deliciae* gives more intelligible sense, unless *militiae* could be referred to the services which minister to luxury.

That which Orosius writes of the Carthaginians. The passage here cited is not to be found at the end of the fourth book, where Orosius describes the destruction of Carthage, but in ch. 8 of the fifth.

1. *Duke Gundovald.* One of Sigibert's military commanders. Cf. IV. 47.

In secret, snatching him from imminent death. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 72) says that the boy Childebert was put in a bag (*pera*) and given through a window to a servitor, who rode with him to Metz, where he was acknowledged as his father's successor. The child was accepted as king on 8th December 575, though his formal proclamation, as Gregory proceeds to state, took place on Christmas Day. The swift adoption of Childebert II was probably a political move on the part of the powerful Austrasian aristocracy. See Introduction, p. 116.

Her daughters. The elder was Ingund, who afterwards married Hermangild, son of the Visigothic king Leuvigild (cf. ch. 28 (38) below ; VI. 29 (43) ; VIII. 21, 28). She converted Hermangild to Catholicism, and after his defeat and death took refuge with the Byzantine force still holding part of the country. She was on her way to Constantinople when she died in Africa, which probably means Carthage, capital of the Byzantine province, where travellers to and from the imperial city seem often to have stopped while on their way by sea. The younger daughter, Chlodosind, was betrothed to Recared, Hermangild's younger brother, though not without the opposition of King Guntram, who never ceased to regard the Visigoths as responsible for the death of Ingund and Hermangild (IX. 16, 21, 25, 28).

2. *Which is built of wooden planks.* Wooden churches are frequently mentioned by Gregory. They are usually chapels or oratories, and of small size. Cf. Introduction, p. 320.

He would not try to part them. This appears to be the sense, though the Latin is not easily so construed, the words being : *dicens : In quid voluntas Dei fuerit, ipse hos separare conaretur.* We must suppose a negative omitted, for *ipse conaretur* can hardly refer to God. Were it so referred, Chilperic would in effect be made to say : ' let God try to separate them if He can, it is not for me to do it.'

3. *To warn them . . . destruction on both sides.* The words are : *mittens nuntios, ne sibi iniuriam facerent, et excidium de utroque evenerit exercitu.* If Gregory were a correct writer, *sibi* would refer to the opponents of Chilperic, and the sense would be : warning them not to do themselves wilful mischief, since a battle would mean destruction for them no less than for him. But Gregory's use of the reflexive pronoun is loose, and he probably intended *sibi* to refer to the king.

But not as a close prisoner. The words are *libere custodiri*. Cf. the next chapter.

Domain lands (*villas a fisco*). Country domains, with their dwelling-houses, belonging to the Crown. For grants of estates from the royal domain, cf. Introduction, p. 164.

Fixed the candle tight . . . until it burned out. The sentence runs: *nudare eius tibias faciebat atque tamdiu* [*in his cereum comprimi*] *donec lumine privaretur*. It has generally been assumed that a burning torch was pressed against the legs until it was put out; but *cereum* can only mean a candle, which would be extinguished at once by pressure. The context also shows that a slow torture is described.

Siggo the referendary. He is mentioned as cured of deafness by relics of S. Martin in V. S. M. iii. 17. The title was Byzantine and borrowed by the Franks. The referendaries were legal secretaries of the sovereign. The formula for the referendary under Theodoric the Ostrogoth ran as follows: *Per eum nobis causarum ordines exponuntur, per eum interpellantium vota cognoscimus et ipsis responsa reddimus* (Cassiodorus, *Var.* v. 17). Referendaries were admitted to intimacy with the king (*vobiscum familiariter miscemus affatus*). In Frankish times they kept the royal signet-ring with which diplomas were signed. For other holders of this office cf. ch. *45* below; VI. 20 (28); VIII. 39; IX. 23, 33, 38; X. 19; Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 22; ix. 12. Cf. also Introduction, p. 200.

His property in Soissons. Given him by Chilperic as a reward for entering his service, as in the case of Godin.

4. *Guntram, then accused of the death of Theudebert.* This was Guntram Boso, accused of having caused the death of Theudebert, Chilperic's eldest son. Cf. below, ch. 14.

Whose power . . . had made crippled limbs straight. Literally, 'paralytic limbs'.

The church house . . . put together by means of nails. For the church house, as residence of bishop or priest, see I. *44*; IV. *36*; and Introduction, p. 343. In the present case the plank house beyond the Loire can hardly have been Gregory's residence; it probably belonged to a church standing across the river.

On its way to the holy basilica. The cathedral (*ecclesia*) was within the walls, the church (*basilica*) and monastery of S. Martin some distance away without them. Cf. II. 28 (38).

Preceded by his banners (*precedentibus signis*). Either Guntram's military banners, or those belonging to the procession.

The cathedral. The procession naturally returned to the place from which it set out, and Guntram with it.

To oppress and mulct the citizens of Poitiers. Probably by announcing new taxes.

5. *Felix, bishop of Nantes.* Cf. IV. 4. The reputation of Felix stood high at Nantes, a city which he served well. Fortunatus was his friend, and esteemed him for his learning; a letter and several poems are

addressed to the bishop (*Carm.* iii. 4–10; v. 8). In G. C., ch. 77, Gregory relates a story in evidence of the chastity of Felix. His adverse attitude elsewhere is evidently due to personal antagonism, not unnatural in view of the accusations made by Felix against his brother Peter.

A domain belonging to the Church (*villam ecclesiae*). i.e. part of the lands belonging to the see of Tours. For such Church estates see Introduction, p. 313.

The ships would never have brought thee oil . . . but only paper. To the port of Marseilles came the papyrus of Egypt. For the commerce of the Mediterranean at this time, cf. A. Marignan, *Études sur la civ. française*, i, p. 144.

The blessed Tetricus . . . dismissed the deacon Lampadius, who had served him in a position of trust. Tetricus, bishop of Langres, succeeded his father Gregory in the see in 536. Through Armentaria, a granddaughter of the latter, he was connected with Gregory of Tours. He died in 572. For Gregory's brother Peter, whose death is recorded in this chapter, cf. Introduction, p. 5, and V. S. J., ch. 24.

He was granted to them by the king. For such exceptional procedure at episcopal elections, see Introduction, pp. 294–5. Monderic, or Munderic, should by his name be either a Frank or Burgundian. He was appointed bishop coadjutor with promise of succession.

The town of Tonnerre (*Ternodorense castrum*). A *castrum* was a township inferior in size and status to a city; the name may originally have been given because many of them were fortified places. For Tonnerre and its surrounding territory, or *pagus*, cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 215.

In great hardship. The text has *cum grandi exitu.*

Nicetius (*Nizier*). Bishop of Lyons and great-uncle of Gregory of Tours. Cf. Introduction, p. 6.

In the township of Alais (*Arisitensis vicus*). This was a bishopric of short duration. If we accept the identification of *vicus Arisitensis* with Alais (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 538 ff.), the see was probably absorbed into the diocese of Nîmes after the annexation of Septimania by Pepin the Short (*ibid.*, p. 543).

Siagrius. Bishop of Autun. This was the prelate for whom Brunhild asked the *pallium* from Gregory the Great. The pope obtained it for him, though not without hesitation, for he was not even a metropolitan. He bore the highest character; cf. the letter of Fortunatus to him (*Opera*, Pt. I, Bk. V, 4).

Dijon. Dijon is always described as a *castrum* (cf. above). It was not a city, or capital of a diocese (*civitas*), but ecclesiastically subordinate to Langres. For Dijon cf. III. 19; and see Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 210.

6. *The books which I have endeavoured to compose.* The reference is to Gregory's Life of S. Martin in four books, entitled *De virtutibus Sancti Martini Episcopi*. The roundabout expression 'endeavoured to compose', if not an empty phrase, may have been suggested by his consciousness of literary shortcomings. Cf. Introduction, p. 20.

Had recourse to earthly remedies. For Gregory's opinion with regard to medical science, and for the state of that science in his day, see Introduction, pp. 7, 415.

He consulted a Jew. The Jews probably formed an important element in the medical profession in Merovingian Gaul.

7. *The blessed Senoch.* Gregory wrote a short Life of Senoch (V. P., ch. xv), to which he here alludes; he also mentions him in G. C., ch. 25. Senoch practised extreme austerities, for which he was rebuked by Gregory, on the ground that they tended to spiritual arrogance. After this he was ordained priest, dying in 576, Gregory himself hastening to his death-bed.

Of the Theifali. A Gothic tribe settled in Poitou (cf. IV. 12 (18), and Introduction, p. 172–3. Tiffauges on the Sèvre is said to derive its name from them.

5 (8). *The church in which he was buried.* It has been mentioned above (p. 512) that this church, first dedicated to S. Vincent, was afterwards known by the name of Germanus, and the building now on the site is still called Saint-Germain-des-Près. It had yet another name, being also called the Church of the Holy Cross (III. 29; and Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 14).

The book of his Life, composed by the priest Fortunatus. Still extant: see M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* iv, pt. ii, p. 11. Gregory never alludes to Fortunatus as bishop, because the latter was only consecrated to the see of Poitiers after his death (cf. Introduction, p. 83 n. i).

9. *The monastery of Méallet* (*Melitense monasterium*). Méallet in Cantal, arrondissement and canton of Mauriac, appears to be the most probable site (Longnon, p. 504).

6 (11). *Avitus,* bishop of Clermont (d. about 594), had shared in the upbringing of Gregory. Cf. Introduction, p. 6. This story of the conversion *en masse* of Jews at Clermont so pleased Gregory that he asked the ever-ready Fortunatus to write a poem on the subject. The poem is to be read in his works (*Carm.* v. 5), with an epistolary prologue.

By the authority of prophets and kings (*propheticae et regali auctoritate*). An alternative reading is *legali*: 'by authority of the Law and the prophets'.

The bishop offered prayer, &c. On Good Friday prayer was offered in churches for the conversion of the Jews.

Himself robed in white (*cum albatis reliquis in albis et ipse procedit*). Cf. II. 29 and note.

From the cathedral church to the basilica (*de ecclesia ad basilicam*). Cf. ch. 4 above. The position resembled that at Tours, a considerable distance separating the two churches. Cf. n. on p. 535. We do not know the titular saint of the basilica.

Nocturns on the holy eve of Pentecost. In the cathedral. Cf. X. 31.

Returned to Marseilles. The port at which they had landed in Gaul. These Jews did not, however, escape baptism even there, as we learn from a letter of Gregory the Great (*Ep.* i. 45).

12. Brachio. The word, as Gregory tells us in V. P. xii, signifies a young bear (German, *Bärchen*). Ménat is in Puy-de-Dôme. Brachio had founded monasteries both in Auvergne and Touraine (V. P., as above). For Duke Sigivald cf. III. 13, 16, 23. He was a relative of King Theuderic of Austrasia. He sent Brachio out to hunt wild boar. The boy in the course of the hunt came to the hut of the hermit Aemilianus, who converted him, and had him taught to read and learn the Psalms (V. P., as above).

7 (13). *Mummolus, patrician of King Guntram.* The aggressive proceedings of Chilperic had roused Guntram to active opposition, and he entrusted his successful general Mummolus (cf. IV. 41–6) with the defence of his interests. For the title of patrician, as borne by the governor of Provence, see IV. 29 (42).

Desiderius, Chilperic's duke. Cf. ch. 29 (39). This untrustworthy servant of an untrustworthy master joined and deserted the pretender Gundovald, was pardoned by Guntram, and finally killed fighting the Visigoths at Carcassonne (VIII. 45).

8 (14). *Aninsula.* The text has *Anni insula.* The monastery, founded about 533, was named from the stream on the banks of which it was built (the *Aninsula* or *Anisola* = Anille, an affluent of the Braye). From the ninth century it was known by the name of its founder (S. Karilefus) as Saint-Calais, still borne by the small town of the department of the Sarthe which grew up round the abbey (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 296).

Bread of oblation. Literally *eulogiae*, on which see above, p. 527, note to IV. 35.

Ragnemod, bishop of Paris (consecrated 577, d. 591), is here mentioned for the first time by Gregory, whose opinions he did not always share. Cf. 12 (18) below; VII. 4; and G. C., ch. 87. Cf. also V. S. M. ii. 12.

When we refused. Because the marriage of Merovech with his aunt Brunhild was forbidden by the canons, as being within the prohibited degrees.

Nicetius, husband of my niece. This niece, named Eustenia, was daughter of Justinus. Cf. Introduction, p. 6.

He brought all the possessions that he had with him (*res quas secum habuit exhibuit*). *Exhibere* has constantly the meaning ' to bring '.

Leudast, then count of Tours. This man, an example of the worst kind of Merovingian count, was a thorn in Gregory's side. See chs. 47–9 below. For his death see VI. 23 (32).

Marileif, the royal physician (*archiater*). Marileif of Poitiers was one of the physicians of King Chilperic (VII. 25). In X. 15 one Reoval is mentioned as *archiater*. For the position of doctors in Merovingian times, see Introduction, p. 418.

Got away into the cathedral. Here again the word *ecclesia* is used for the bishop's church or cathedral, as opposed to *basilica*, used for the church of S. Martin. Cf. above, ch. 4, and II. 28 (38).

A certain woman having a gift of prophecy (*habentem spiritum phytonis*).

The last word is derived from the Greek *πύθων*, to which is related *Pythia*, the name of the priestess uttering the responses of the Delphic Apollo. The form *phytonissa* is elsewhere used by Gregory.

An old man, full of days. This prophecy was soon falsified by events. Boso died a violent death (IX. 10).

May not be believed. After these words other texts insert John viii. 14, but not from the Vulgate.

When . . . these words were fulfilled. The fulfilment was not complete. Most of Chilperic's sons died before him; but his youngest son, Lothar II, survived him.

As far as Jocundiacus. Longnon, though unable to point to a place of this name, considers that *Iocundiacus domus* can only have been corrupted into Jonzac, Jonzay, or Jonzé; he rejects the usual identification with Jouay, or Joué, a village half a mile south of Tours (*Géogr. de la Gaule*, &c., p. 274).

Because Guntram was accused . . . of the death of Theudebert. Though his consort Fredegund secretly rejoiced at the death of her eldest stepson, Chilperic, his father, had different feelings, and was eager to avenge his son's death.

With a letter for the tomb of the holy Martin. The facts which follow vividly illustrate the superstition of the day.

Guntram readily swore on the altar-cloth, &c. (*ambienter iurans, pallam altaris fidei iussorem dedit*). Literally: 'gave the altar-cloth as his security'. It was the custom to touch or lay hold of the altar-cloth or any other venerated object when taking an oath to prove innocence. *Ambienter* probably has some such meaning as 'without hesitating', and need hardly signify that Guntram walked round the altar, taking the solemn oath as he went. Cf. Forcellini, *Lex*, s. v.

But Merovech . . . placed three books upon the saint's tomb. We have here an example of *Sortes Biblicae*, a divination by the Scriptures, after the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianae*. Other cases have already been mentioned (II. 37; IV. 16, 49). It was probably rare for the manuscripts of many books to be bound up together. Not only would a whole Bible have been of enormous bulk, but the manuscripts, partly Itala and partly Vulgate, were derived from different sources, while few churches, it may be supposed, possessed them all.

Opened (*revolvit libram*). The word *revolvit* belonged to the time when rolls were used, though in the sixth century *codices* or manuscripts in book form were almost universal.

By reason of their deceit. The text, which differs widely from the version of the Vulgate, begins as follows: *Verum propter dolositatem posuisti eis mala; deiecisti eos, dum allevarentur . . .*

The church of the holy Germanus. Near Auxerre. This church was dedicated to the earlier S. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who visited Britain in 418 and died at Ravenna in 448.

The Austrasians (*Austrasii*). This term is here first employed for the Eastern Franks, formerly known as Ripuarians.

9 (15). *Lothar*, &c. This chapter suddenly takes up the story broken off in IV. 28 (41). Lothar had in fact nothing to do with it, having died in 561.

In the place which he left void. This can only mean: 'in the place left vacant by those Saxons who had gone with Alboin into Italy.' Cf. IV. 29 (42).

And so the war ceased. Giesebrecht notes a passage in Widukind of Corvey, writen in 967 (Book I, ch. 14), in which this author says that in his time these immigrant Suevi (Swabians) had other laws than those of the Saxons. The region of Quedlinburg on the Bode was at a still later time known as *Schwabengau*.

11 (17). *Magnachar.* The text has Magnarius; but the usual form of the name is Magnachar rather than Magnar. The two men were Guntram's brothers-in-law. The king had married Marcatrude, their sister, but had put her away in favour of her handmaid Austrechild, because she was accused of poisoning Gundobad, his son by Veneranda. Cf. IV. 18 (25), and ch. *20* below. Fredegar gives the names of Magnachar's sons as Guntio and Wiolich. For Guntram's matrimonial changes see IV. 25.

On the fourteenth day of the kalends of May. The tables of Victorius of Aquitaine for giving the date of Easter were adopted for Gaul at the Council of Orleans in 541; these tables were drawn up at the request of Pope Hilary (cf. Gregory's Prologue to Book I). But many in Gaul still adhered to the older Roman tables, though contemporary Rome had adopted the tables of Dionysius.

Those springs in Spain. An account of these springs is given by Gregory in G. M., ch. 23. The place was Osset, or Osser, on the north side of the Baetis, opposite Seville; it was earlier known as Iulia Constantia. Here was probably what had been an ancient holy well, to which Christians added a cruciform marble basin, finally erecting a church over it. In Passion Week the basin was emptied and the doors of the church sealed. On Easter Day, when the doors were opened, the basin was found full. The coming of the water was a proof that the day was the true Easter. Cf. VI. 43 below; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 37; and Corblet in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, xxi, p. 179. The filling of the Spanish springs at the date accepted in Gaul and rejected by the Church in Spain was naturally regarded by Gregory as a triumph, a miraculous confirmation of the Gallican argument.

In G. C., ch. 68, Gregory mentions the springs of Osset in connexion with others at Embrun in Gaul, which in like manner rose '*divinitus*'.

Chinon (*Cainon, Toronicum vicum*). In VI. *13* Chinon is called *Cainonense castrum*, which would imply that it was a town of the second order, rather than a village. It is described in the same way in G. C., ch. 22. Cf. above, ch. *5*.

The Stone Bridge (*ad pontem quem Petrium vocant*). This bridge was at Pompierre in the canton and arrondissement of Neufchâteau, Vosges; the point was only some fifteen kilometres from the diocese of Langres in Guntram's dominions, and carried over the Mouzon the Roman road

from Childebert's capital of Metz to Chalon-sur-Saône, a principal residence of Guntram (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 372).

Appoint a field of battle (*campum praepararet ad bellum*). This phrase resembles others used by Gregory, and suggests encounters resembling tourneys rather than battles resulting from tactics and strategy. Probably it is not to be taken literally.

Had circuses built at Soissons and Paris. In the earlier sixth century the spectacles and contests of the amphitheatre were still to be seen in Italy, and they are several times mentioned in the official letters of Theodoric, composed by Cassiodorus and known as the *Variae*. At Constantinople they were of course a chief preoccupation of Byzantine life. Procopius (*De Bello Gothica*, i. 13) says that in 541, after Witigis ceded Provence to the Franks, 'the chiefs of the Germans' struck coins 'and presided in the circus at Arles'; the Ostrogoths must therefore have maintained them until this time. Probably in the north of Gaul the amphitheatre had not been kept up in the same way. Its re-establishment at this moment by Chilperic was itself a spectacular gesture of contempt for the rival princes who had just threatened him with war.

12 (18). *Entrusted to him by Queen Brunhild.* At the time when she was banished to Rouen, and was married to Merovech (ch. 2 above) by the bishop. Praetextatus, who had baptized Merovech, had espoused the interests of that prince's bride. Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 78) says that the bishop and Brunhild were conspiring against Chilperic. This is the point upon which the trial of Praetextatus turned.

The episcopal council. For such councils, summoned by the kings, see Introduction, p. 304. This Council of Paris was especially remarkable for the fact that the king appeared in person, almost playing the part of chief 'counsel for the prosecution'.

The canons. These were canons of Gallican councils, not those of oecumenical councils. Cf. Introduction, p. 305.

A great murmur from the crowd of Franks without. The king's voice, raised to a high pitch, was audible to the crowd (*multitudo Francorum*, cf. ch. 48 below) through the windows. Throughout the Merovingian period the Franks of Neustria, who were Salians and remembered Clovis, were more steadfast in loyalty to their royal house than the Austrasians or Burgundians, to whom the Salian tradition now meant but little. They were loyal even to a king like Chilperic, and to his widow Fredegund after his death.

What else could I do but make you presents . . . in return? From the valuable nature of certain presents (e.g. fine horses) we infer that the false witnesses belonged to the Frankish aristocracy. It is clear that the king was backed by the aristocratic party, a thing rarely seen in Austrasia.

To his lodging (*ad metatum suum*). Childebert I, Chilperic's uncle, and Charibert his brother had occupied, when in Paris, the palace at the Roman Thermae (cf. Introduction, p. 406). Perhaps it was in this old

palace that Chilperic had taken up his residence; the garden scene which follows makes this probable, though the word *metatus* suggests a temporary lodging.

In the sacristy (*in secretario*). The *secretarium* was often used for purposes not connected with the services of the church. For instance, the bishop would hold his court of law in the *secretarium* of his principal church. The difference between the *secretarium* and the *salutatorium* of a church is not always quite clear, both being used for many of the same things (Ducange). Paulinus speaks of *secretaria* in the plural: *binas conchas quae maiori, in qua altare erat, adiungebantur.* In one were kept the vestments and plate, in the other holy books were read (*Ep.* 12). According to Sulpicius Severus, S. Martin, like other bishops on occasion, lodged in the *secretarium* (*Vita Beati Mart.* 3). Persons taking sanctuary were accommodated in the *salutatorium*, as Eberulf (VII. 22).

Condemned to the vilest death. For the story of S. Martin and Maximus, see Sulpicius Severus, *Vita*, 20.

A dish (*iuscellum*). Literally, a dish of broth.

It belonged to my son Merovech. He means that the prince, his son by baptism, as husband of Brunhild, enjoyed rights with regard to her property, and that he would willingly have allowed his spiritual father to take what he chose.

Presumed apostolic canons. The apostolic canons properly so called were not used by the Church in Gaul, which enforced only those published by the Gallican synods. Chilperic made use of a genuine canon, No. 21 of the *Collectio Dionysiana* (Maassen, *Quellen des canonischen Rechts*, i, p. 439), but it had no real validity in Gaul. It is not correctly given by Gregory; it is concerned with theft, not with murder.

The hundred and eighth Psalm (Psalm 109 in the English Bible). Verse 8 of this Psalm contains the words: 'and his bishopric let another take', words applied by Peter to Judas Iscariot (Acts i. 20: *Et episcopatum eius accipiat alter*).

An island . . . over against the city of Coutances. Probably Jersey. The history of Praetextatus is continued in VII. 16 and VIII. 31.

It is not certain that Praetextatus was wholly innocent, though his chief fault may have been imprudence. Fredegar (iii. 78) declared him guilty without any reserve. Cf. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, pp. 355 and 433.

The rest which followed it vanished. The description suggests Northern Lights or *Aurora Borealis* (cf. VI. 8 (14) 24 (33)).

The people of Thérouanne. The text has *a Rabennensibus*, but *Tarabennensibus* must be the true reading. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 420.

Engaged in the spokes of a wheel (*intextum rotae in sublime sustulerunt*). The words describe one of the various tortures by means of wheels. For these, see J. Döpler, *Theatrum poenarum et suppliciorum*, ii (Leipzig, 1697), pp. 314 ff.

Count of the palace. The duties of this officer were judicial. He was the judge of the king's court, where he was subordinate only to the

king, should the latter be present. He could be sent as supreme judge into the provinces.

Bishop Egidius. This bishop of Reims was once in high favour with Sigibert and with the young Childebert II, his successor. He had consecrated Gregory, and is praised by Fortunatus in a laudatory poem (*Carm.* iii. 20) which celebrates his learning, eloquence, and good works. His subsequent career of intrigue with Neustria led to his degradation (X. 19).

13 (19). *The people . . . chose Tiberius.* The choice was really made by the Empress Sophia. Tiberius was created Caesar in the presence of the patriarch John on the 7th December 574, the mad Emperor Justin being also present, and, in a lucid interval, confessing his own failure as a monarch. Tiberius was by birth a Thracian, who had seen military service ; he was a man of practical wisdom and organizing ability. He decided to strengthen popular influence in the State, remitting a whole year's taxation ; the reputation for liberality celebrated by Gregory may have arisen from such actions, more especially as his great expenditure, for which his successor suffered, gave rise to a tradition in Constantinople that he had discovered a treasure. He was crowned emperor in 578 and died in 582. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlv ; and N. H. Baynes, in C. M. H. ii, pp. 272 ff.

Narses, the famous duke of Italy (*dux Italiae*). The celebrated commander through whose ability Justinian completed and established the conquest of Italy. The English reader may consult Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chs. xli–xlv ; Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire* ; and C. M. H. ii, chs. i (by Diehl) and vii (by Hartmann). For *dux Italiae*, cf. III. 32 ; IV. 9.

In a certain city. According to Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* ii. 11), this was in Italy. Gregory says : *Italiam cum multis thesauris egressus, ad supra memoratam urbem advenit*, and this agrees with his opinion. Other texts have *Italia*, and it seems more likely that the home of Narses was elsewhere. The story of the old man and his revelation of the secret seems to be confined to Gregory.

20. *Bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux* (*Tricastinorum episcopo*). For the *civitas Tricastinorum* see Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 439.

Their patriarch. Ruinart points out that this honorary title was also conferred on Priscus, successor of Nicetius.

To go before the pope of Rome (*papam urbis Romae*). For the relations of the popes to the Gallican Church in the sixth century, see Introduction, pp. 269, 354. This is not the only case of such an appeal mentioned by Gregory (cf. II. 1) ; it is noteworthy that it is made with the king's consent, and that the pope seeks enforcement of his decision from the king.

All male children, &c. Cf. VI. 24. Theuderic, eldest son of Clovis, was the son of a concubine. Lothar II, who finally succeeded to the dominion of all Gaul, was born to Chilperic by Fredegund, once a servant of his first queen, Audovera. Such facts confirm Gregory's argument against that of Sagittarius.

And lay down to feast anew (*discumbebant*). There are indications in Gregory that the Roman custom of reclining at meals may not have

completely died out among Gallo-Romans (cf. note to III. 30). But the word may be conventionally used, and apply to sitting at table.

14 (21). *Water from the tomb of the holy Martin.* This was the water used to wash the tomb, which was supposed to possess miraculous and healing qualities. Cf. V. S. M. ii. 51.

18 (25). *Who was known as Industrius.* Perhaps this was a nickname: 'the zealous.' Dracolen was Chilperic's commander at Poitiers.

At the hands of the people. The word used is *exercitus*, but, as Giesebrecht suggests, this means not the army in being, but the body of free Franks present at the trial.

19 (26). *The Saxons of the Bessin* (*Saxones Baiocassini*). i.e. of the country about Bayeux, between that place and Nantes. This was a very early settlement of Saxons. Cf. X. 9 and Introduction, p. 172. See also Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 174 and 238, and A. Jacobs, *Géographie de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 128.

Ordered the ban to be enforced . . . for not marching with the army. In this paragraph Gregory is referring to the dependents of the Church in his own diocese of Tours, who were traditionally exempt as dwellers under the protection of S. Martin. (Cf. VII. 29, 42.)

The nominal rule of the Frankish kingdoms was manhood service for freemen, and the penalty amounted to sixty pieces of gold.

20 (27). *While others were appointed bishops of their cities.* Aridius received the see of Gap, Emeritus that of Embrun. The word translated as 'appointed' is in the text *obiurgati*, which must be a scribe's error.

21 (28). *Many left their cities.* Probably these were Gallo-Romans, on whom at this time the chief burden of taxation fell. Cf. VII. 15.

One amphora . . . for every half-acre (*aripennis*) *of land.* The *aripennis* formed a superficies, the sides of which were either 125 or 120 ft., and the contents 15,625 or 14,400 sq. ft.; it is therefore only approximately a half-acre. In the first century A.D. Columella considered that the *iugerum*, or Roman acre, should produce at least sixty *amphorae* of wine; but in the time of the Abbot Irmino of Saint-Germain-des-Près (about A.D. 800) less was expected, and in Merovingian times we should certainly look for less. If, instead of the thirty *amphorae* of Columella, we guess twenty as a possible figure for the *aripennis* in Chilperic's time, the king would be exacting 5 per cent., but all such calculations must be regarded as purely tentative: Loebell (*Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, p. 200 n.) estimated 10 per cent. For the *aripennis*, see B. Guérard, *Le polyptyque de l'abbé Irminon* (1844), i (Prolegomena), pp. 165 ff. For Merovingian land measures see P. Guilhiermoz, *L'équivalente des anciennes mesures*, and *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, lxxx (1919), p. 46.

Men from about his person (*de latere suo personas*). A few lines farther down they are described as *regales missi*, and were probably ex-officials or persons trained and qualified for office, kept at Court in readiness for special service. Cf. IV. 8 (13). Cf. Marculf, *Formulae Merov. et Karolini aevi*, in M. G. H., *Legum*, sect. v (Hanover, 1886), p. 69: *Formula* 39 in Bk. I, for an *illustris ex nostro latere* sent on an important mission to the provinces.

22 (29). *Cornus* (*Cornutius vicus*). This village, now improperly spelled Corps-Nuds, is in the canton of Janzé, arrondissement of Rennes. It is described as *Cornutius* in documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 308).

23 (30). *The eighteenth year of his reign.* A mistake. Justin reigned only thirteen years (565–78).

According to the custom of the city. That is, of Constantinople. The East Roman emperors received the homage of their subjects in the Hippodrome on succeeding to the throne (cf. VI *30*).

The pope of the city (*urbis papa*). Gregory means the Patriarch of Constantinople.

With the consuls. i. e. persons of honorary consular rank, the consulship having been abolished by Justinian in 542. Cf. Bury, *Later Roman Empire* (1923), ii, p. 346.

Were brought to the emperor. This chapter about Tiberius was copied by Gregory from Paul the Deacon (Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Friuli) (*De gestis Langobardorum*, iii, chs. 11, 12). The events following the death of Justin and the accession of the Caesar, Tiberius, are related by Gibbon in his forty-fifth chapter from the Byzantine historians. The facts related by Paul and Gregory are in general confirmed.

24 (31). *They promised to amend their ways.* Fortunatus (*Carm.* iii. 5) praises Felix for this diplomatic success. For Felix, cf. IV. 4, *37* ; V. 5, *49* ; VI. 9 (16).

32. Swore that his daughter was without guilt. For such oaths, taken at the tombs of saints, cf. Introduction, p. 306.

They then made composition. i. e. paid a money fine in accordance with the Teutonic principle, by which every offence from murder to petty larceny might be compounded for according to a fixed scale. Cf. Introduction, p. 208.

25 (33). *The Limagne.* A region always famous for its fertility ; it is a plain watered by the Allier, bounded on the west by the mountains of Auvergne, on the east by those of Forez. Cf. III. 9, where King Childebert I expresses his disappointment that the fog prevents him from seeing the rich and gracious valley of which he had heard so much. Many decades earlier Sidonius (*Ep.* iv. 21) had said that strangers, on seeing it, forgot their own country. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 500.

Blood flowed forth at the breaking of the bread. This may refer to some such miracle as that of Bolsena in later times ; but it may equally well refer to the use of bread at table.

26 (34). *Internal pustules* (*corales pustulas*). The word *corales* has been connected with *cor*, used in a general sense as ' the inward parts '. Taranne, in his note to this passage, recalls the fact that in Old French the heart and all the intestinal region were collectively described as *corailles* (Translation of Gregory (1837), *ad loc.*). Another suggestion is that *corales* is derived from *coralium*, coral, and that the red colour of the pustules is described. Ducange has a further suggestion that *coralis* (from χῶρος) = *regionarius*.

The water of baptism. Cf. Fortunatus, as above :

Te veneranda tamen mox abluit unda lavacri,
Hinc licet abreptum lux tenet alma throno,
Vivis honore ergo, et cum Iudex venerit orbis,
Surrecturus eris fulgidus ore nitens.

Which had been brought from her own cities. The Merovingian queens received cities as *Morgengabe*, the gift of bridegroom to bride the morning after the wedding day. The king cast a straw upon his queen, reciting as he did it the names of the cities given to her. When Galswinth married Chilperic he bestowed on her five cities in this way, and doubtless the privy purse of Fredegund was provided for after the same fashion. Cf. IX. 20. For the *Morgengabe* see C. Galy, *La famille à l'époque mérov.*, p. 120, and cf. IX. 20.

Gave up the ghost. The deaths of Chlodobert the elder, and Dagobert, the younger boy, are mourned by Fortunatus, in consolatory poems addressed to Chilperic and Fredegund (*Carm.* ix. 2 and 3). The two following short poems (4 and 5) are epitaphs for the two dead princes.

27 (35). *In the spirit of Herod.* Herod of Ascalon demanded that immediately the breath left his body, the foremost men among the Jews should be put to death (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 21).

Ordered the two doctors who had served her well to be slain with the sword. Marius of Aventicum in his *Chronicle*, year 531, gives their names as Donatus and Nicolaus (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chron. Minora*, ii (Berlin, 1894)) ; they were probably Gallo-Romans or Greeks. On the risks run by the physicians of Merovingian Courts, see Introduction, p. 419.

37. *Martin, bishop of Galicia.* This Martin, bishop of Braga, then in Suevic territory, was successful in converting the Suevi settled in Spain from Arianism to the orthodox faith. Fortunatus, like Gregory, bears witness to his learning in a letter and poem (*Carm.* v. 1). He died in 580.

Relics of the blessed Martin. i. e. Martin of Tours. Chararic, king of the Suevi, on the occasion of his son's illness, had sent to Tours for relics of the renowned miracle-worker. In Book I of his *Vita S. Martini*, Gregory says that the great saint's namesake landed in Galicia at the time when the ship containing the relics came into port.

The verses over the southern door in the church of the holy Martin. i. e. at Tours. The verses may be those given by Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, i (1856), No. 172 on p. 233.

28 (38). *King Leuvigild.* This powerful king first ruled over Visigothic Spain in 568, his brother, Liuva or Leuva, governing the Visigothic territory in Gaul. On the death of his brother in 573 he became sole king. He conquered the Suevi, and destroyed their kingdom. We learn from Isidore of Seville that he instituted a reform of Visigothic law. His religious convictions do not appear to have been very strong, for he sometimes tolerated, at others persecuted the Catholics. In 580, at the

council of Arian bishops at Toledo, he sought to establish a *modus vivendi* between Arians and Catholics. He died in 586 while hostilities with Guntram were in progress. Cf. Altamira in C. M. H. ii, ch. vi.

By her grandmother Goiswinth. Cf. IV. 25 (38) ; IX. 1. This queen, whose name is also written Godeswinth, was mother of Brunhild, who perhaps derived from her both her political ability and her tendency to hardness. According to John of Biclar (*Chron.*, year 579), it was she who incited Hermangild to rebel : *Hermenegildus, factione Gosuinthae reginae tirannidem assumens in Hispali civitate rebellione facta recluditur* (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chron. Minora*, ii (Berlin, 1894)).

Plunged in the piscina. This probably means the large *lavacrum* in which the person baptized stood in the water. It is, however, possible to translate ' pond ', with the meaning that Goiswinth intended to inflict humiliation on her stepdaughter. Gibbon (ch. 37) says : ' thrown into a bason or fish-pond.'

Upon his baptism was renamed John. Literally : ' when he received the chrism ' (*dum chrismaretur*). Cf. II. 22 (31) n., and IX. 15 n.

Hermangild was probably converted through the influence of Ingund, and by the teaching of Leander, bishop of Seville. Neither of the two Spanish authorities, Isidore of Seville or John of Biclar, record the conversion, which, however, is mentioned by Gregory the Great (*Dialogues*, iii. 31) and Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* iii. 21). After the prince's conversion Leander withdrew to Constantinople, where he endeavoured to further Hermangild's cause. His presence there coincided with that of Gregory the Great, then the pope's *apocrisiarius* at the Byzantine Court.

Whose army was attacking Spain. Cf. IV. 8. Hostilities between the East Roman Empire and the Visigoths had lasted for years, and the Byzantine troops were still established in Spain. The Byzantine territory between Gibraltar and the Sucro (Yucar) was finally conquered by the Visigothic king Sisebut in 612. The East Roman Empire held the region from the Straits to the Algarves down to 629, when it was finally taken by King Svinthila (C. M. H., as above, pp. 173, 175).

Sent him into banishment. The story of Leuvigild and his sons is carried in this chapter down to 584. For further events, cf. VI. 18, 33, 40, 43.

29 (39). *The forest of Cuise* (*Cocia*, or *Cotia*, *Silva*) is to be identified with Compiègne, known as late as the sixteenth century as Cuise-lez-Compiègne (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 154).

Dukes Desiderius and Bobo. Desiderius, a commander of Chilperic's armies, is often mentioned in the History. Bobo was son of Mummolen (VI. 32 (45).

Noisy. Noisy-le-Grand, on the left bank of the Marne, less than a mile south-west of Chelles (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 360).

King Chilperic, deceived by this account (*Quibus rex . . . inlusus*). We should have expected the qualification : ' feigning to be deceived.'

Chuppa, count of the stables (*comes stabuli*). The Count of the Stables, or Marshal, was an important officer at a Frankish Court. His duties were not confined to the care of the royal stables ; he might also be sent on important State missions, or given military commands.

30 (41). *Mir, king of Galicia.* Mir, or Miron, king of the Suevi, who took the part of Hermangild, and died in 583. Cf. VI. 29 (43).

The Cher. The text has *estorens*, which should be *Cales torrens.*

Seven acres. The word used is *iuga* ; probably Gregory means *iugera.* The Roman *iugerum* = about five-eighths of an English acre.

42. Maurilio. This bishop, generally called Maurilius, who was canonized, died on 16 March 583.

His own choice fell on Ursicinus. For the attempts made by dying bishops to influence the choice of their successors, see Introduction, p. 297.

32 (44). *So did the law itself proclaim Him.* The arguments of Chilperic recall those of the Sabellian heresy (cf. II. 34).

Hilary and Eusebius. i. e. Hilary of Poitiers (cf. I. 38), and Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, d. 371 and canonized as a saint. For the literature regarding Eusebius, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge : Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 1419. Miracles wrought by the power of Hilary and Eusebius are described by Gregory in G. M., chs. 2 and 3.

This heretical excursion of Chilperic's is one of the episodes in his career which exhibit him as an inquiring nature anxious to sift things for itself. He did not see the necessity for distinguishing three Persons in God, and desired that in prayer the name of the Trinity should be omitted and only that of God should be used.

Sedulius. A Christian poet of the fifth century, often taken as a model by late Latin authors. Chilperic's attempt at imitation is again mentioned by Gregory in VI. 33 (46). None of the verses written by Chilperic have been preserved ; those addressed to S. Germanus, once conjecturally ascribed to him, and recorded by Aimoin (*Hist. Franc.* iii. 16), are believed since Mabillon (notes to the Benedictine *Life of S. Germanus*) to be by another hand. Brouwer and others have attributed them to Fortunatus, that ostensible admirer of the king's poetic powers, who thus expresses himself on the subject :

> *Admirande mihi nimium Rex, cuius opime*
> *Praelia robur agit, carmina lima polit* (*Carm.* ix. 1).

He also added certain letters to our alphabet. This means to the Latin alphabet, for Chilperic, as a would-be man of culture, despised the Teutonic dialects. The attempt of Chilperic to increase the alphabet is mentioned by Aimoin, *Hist. Franc.* iii. 41. On the added letters and the forms under which they have been transcribed, see Ruinart's note to this chapter (in his numeration 45), and Pfister in C. M. H. ii, p. 121. Chilperic's new letters were soon abandoned, as were those introduced by Claudius into the Latin alphabet at a much earlier time (Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 13, 14).

45. Flavius . . . referendary. Cf. Introduction, p. 200, and note to ch. 3 above.

46. He had placed his son in the household of Gogo, then governor of the king. In Merovingian times sons of families seeking advancement were sent to Court to live much in the same way as the pages of the later Middle Ages. According to the importance of their parents, they would be attached to the person either of the king himself, or of some high official. They were formally handed over or ' commended ' to their new masters, becoming recognized members of their households. In the present case the king, Childebert II, was a minor, and had been placed by the aristocratic party in Austrasia under one of their number, Gogo, whose task it was to assert their influence at Court against that of the queen-mother, Brunhild. This queen was detested by the party, both as a ' foreigner ' (a Visigoth) and as a masterful woman, known to favour the curbing of aristocratic influence and the enhancement of the royal power (cf. Introduction, pp. 70, 192). The governor (*nutritor, nutricius*) of the royal minor was therefore one of the most influential persons in the kingdom, and well able to advance the interests of his page's father. Cf. VIII. 22.

Gogo was chosen by Sigibert to escort his bride, Brunhild, from Spain to Metz (Fortunatus, *Carm.* vi. 2), and befriended Fortunatus, who addressed a laudatory poem to him (*Carm.* vii. 1). He seems to have been a wise and kindly man of high character. His death is mentioned in VI. 1, below.

47. Offered . . . a free choice. The appointment of a count lay strictly with the king, who, however, sometimes held it politic to give the office to an acceptable person.

Aimeth to hand it over to the son of Sigibert. Tours really belonged *de iure* to Childebert II, son and heir of Sigibert, to whom it had fallen after the division of territory following Charibert's death (Introduction, p. 144). There can be little doubt that Gregory desired the restoration of his city and diocese to the rightful owner, and that he had heartily disliked the usurpation by Chilperic after Sigibert's death. But from this to overt action against the *de facto* king was a long step, and one which Gregory cannot be shown to have contemplated. Chilperic's reception of Leudast reveals that capricious king in one of his better moods, in which he was apt to show common sense and a knowledge of human nature, though in this case accompanied by undignified violence.

48. Called Gracina. Another form is *Cracina.* This island has by some been identified with the Île de Ré ; but etymology lends no colour to the suggestion, and the unknown island of Cracina was probably south of La Vendée. No modern name recalls the Latin one (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 565–6).

Summoned to service (*ad servitium arcessitus*). The lower staff of the royal villas or ' palaces ' was recruited from the families of serfs on royal estates. Cf. especially VI. 32 (45).

Transferred from the pestle to the baker's basket. The pestle and mortar

were conspicuous features in the ancient kitchen, and remained so long after medieval times, as we are reminded by the numerous surviving examples and by representations of them in pictures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The pestle was, therefore, as natural a symbol or emblem of the kitchen as the basket of the bakehouse.

In his gorget and shirt of mail (*cum toracibus et loricis*). If the phrase is not pleonastic there must be some distinction between the two words, hence the conjecture 'gorget'. But we know nothing of a gorget among the Merovingians, and a single piece of body-armour may be intended. For the great costliness of defensive armour among the Merovingian Franks, cf. Introduction, p. 208. For the *domus ecclesiae* or 'church house', here the bishop's residence, cf. I. *44*; IV. *36*; and Introduction, p. 343.

Lay or clerical. This passage shows that clergy might be present at the count's court, as well as laymen.

Soldiers (*milites*). The word perhaps means no more than retainers bearing arms.

49. Simon Magus: i. e. the father of all simony (Acts viii. 18).

Duke Berulf and Count Eunomius. For the relative positions of a duke and a count see Introduction, p. 200. Berulf, who is frequently mentioned, is stated in VI. 22 (31) to have governed the territories of Tours, Poitiers, Angers, and Nantes. His loss of the dukedom is recorded in VIII. 26. A short poetical letter of Fortunatus to Berulf while the latter was still only count refers to an invitation to dinner, from which the poet anticipates satisfaction (*Carm.* vii. 15). For Eunomius, cf. ch. *47*.

The church of the holy Médard. At Soissons, not far from Berny, where the prison would naturally be.

The bishops assembled at Berny. This council is celebrated by Fortunatus in a poem addressed to Chilperic, and containing a panegyric of Fredegund (*Carm.* ix. 1). He says nothing of the affair mentioned by Gregory.

Outside the building, there now rose a great uproar among the people. When we remember that the house was on the royal domain, this passage says something for the publicity of a Frankish inquiry. The crowd round the building could hear what passed and was permitted to express its opinion. It was doubtless composed of free Franks, not of the servants on the domain. Cf. ch. 12 (18) above.

The princess Rigunth. The word used is *regina*, the title being commonly given to king's daughters, as *rex* to king's sons. Rigunth's misfortunes on her way to Spain to marry a Visigothic prince are related in VI. 32 (45), and in Book VII. A less amiable side to her character is suggested in IX. 34.

Racked with the rope and pulley (*extensus ad trochleas*). In this torture the prisoner was upright, while his arms were drawn above his head, bound to a rope running over a pulley fixed to the roof; heavy weights were fastened to his ankles. The torturer, drawing the other end of the rope over the pulley, suspended him above the ground. This torture was applied to S. Pontius (cf. Étienne Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vol. ii, pp. 137,

326). It continued to be practised through the later Middle Ages. A miniature illustrating its infliction may be seen in H. Yates Thompson, *Illustrations from a Hundred Manuscripts*, v, Pl. 40. For its application in the seventeenth century, see Kerckelycke, *Historie van de Gheheele Werelt* (Antwerp, 1699), iii, p. 391.

After his brothers had been slain. Gregory has already related (above, ch. 26 (34)) the death of Fredegund's sons, and the murder of Chlodovech himself; the Council of Berny ought to have preceded these events in the book, as they did in historical order.

Withdrew to a house of his own (*recessit ad propria*). Perhaps better, 'reverted to his true nature'.

From the rabble (*ab Arvernis populis*). Gregory was a native of Auvergne.

With the bishops of my province. The province of Tours, of which Gregory was metropolitan, included, among others, the dioceses of Le Mans, Rennes, Angers, and Nantes.

Bishop Felix. Of Nantes, who was no friend to Gregory; cf. above, ch. 5. He was therefore one of Gregory's suffragans. If at the council of provincial bishops summoned by Gregory, he may even then have arranged to thwart his intentions with regard to Riculf.

The judge of the place. The count was the principal judge; but each of his *vicarii*, in his respective town, was 'judge of the place', and possibly even in the city the count may have left some of the judicial work to a *vicarius*; cf. IV. 12 (18). It is not stated definitely that Leudast went to the city of Bourges: the words are *in Biturigo pergens*, which might signify any place in the territory forming part of the *civitas*.

33 (50). *The superstructure* (*supertegulum*). The nature of this is not clear. Aimoin (*Hist. Franc.* iii. 24) says that 'the Archbishop Gregory' himself one night saw the angel of the Lord flying over the church, and heard him say: 'Woe! woe! The Lord hath smitten Chilperic and all his sons, nor shall there be one of them now alive that shall possess his kingdom after him.'

BOOK VI.

1. *Within the walls of Avignon.* This city belonged to Austrasia; Mummolus, a deserter from Guntram's kingdom, was therefore out of his late master's reach.

Present discords. The differences which had led to the breach between Guntram and Childebert.

2. *The envoys . . . dispatched three years before, returned.* This passage illustrates the slowness of diplomatic intercourse between the Merovingian kings and the East Roman emperors.

The domain of Nogent (*Novigentum villa*). Nogent-sur-Marne, rather than Saint-Cloud (Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 359).

Showed us a great salver . . . made of gold and gems. For the skill of Teutonic goldsmiths, cf. Introduction, p. 433. Chilperic's zeal for the advancement of Frankish arts and crafts shows us perhaps the best side of his volatile character.

Pieces of gold, each of a pound's weight. These were large medals produced for presentation or for special purposes, and not in any way connected with the currency. In the Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus (*Historia Augusta*, ed. H. Peter (Teubner, 1884), i, p. 277, ch. xxxix, § 9) we read of great gold pieces weighing a pound each, and equivalent to one hundred *aurei*. The best-known instance is one made for Justinian, an example of which survived to modern times, but is now lost; it weighed only half a pound, but there is record of larger sizes apart from the medal seen by Gregory. This medal, now only known from reproductions, is mentioned by W. W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (British Museum Catalogue, 1908; it is described on p. 25 and illustrated in the frontispiece). For gold medals sent by the emperors to barbaric kings, see E. Babelon, *Revue numismatique* (1906), pp. 185–9.

4. *Lupus, duke of Champagne.* Lupus was the loyal adherent of the Austrasian royal house (cf. Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 7–9), the star of which was for the moment in eclipse. Fortunatus describes him as his true friend, a man dowered with almost all the virtues, equally remarkable for charm of manner and for gallantry in war. The poem vii. 8, expressing joy at the safety of Lupus, seems to refer to the events recorded in the present chapter. Ursio and Berthefred were leaders of the aristocratic party, the aim of which was to prevent any increase of royal power at their expense. Their hatred was chiefly directed against the queen-mother Brunhild and her supporters, of whom Lupus was the chief. They had succeeded in getting control over the young king, and thus dealt a formidable blow at Brunhild's policy. Cf. Introduction, p. 116.

Armed herself with a man's courage. The words used are *praecingens se viriliter*, and might perhaps be taken literally. But the assumption of a warrior's arms by a queen is unlikely in Merovingian times; the words are therefore translated in a figurative sense.

Within the walls of Laon (*infra urbis Lugdunae clavatae muros*). *Lugdunum Clavatum*, formerly a *castrum* depending upon Reims, had been a *civitas*, with a bishopric from the time of S. Remi (Longnon, as above, p. 42).

5. *A Jew named Priscus.* The Jews, with the Syrians, were the principal merchants in Merovingian France, carrying on trade between Marseilles and the Eastern Mediterranean; cf. Introduction, p. 175. As the lending of money for interest was forbidden to Christians, most banking business was in their hands; and as they were settled in all countries, they had already begun to practise cosmopolitan finance. Priscus seems to have ministered to Chilperic's artistic tastes, which were chiefly concentrated on jewellery and plate.

The long dispute which fills the chapter shows us a second time Chilperic's pretensions as a theologian (cf. V. 32 (44)); it also shows us Gregory's satisfaction with his own polemical skill (cf. V. 31 (43)).

6. *Near the town of Nice.* A peninsula not far from Nice towards

Villefranche is said still to preserve the name of S. Hospitius. The story of Hospitius and the Lombards reappears in the *Hist. Langobardorum* of Paul the Deacon, iii. 1 and 2 (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Langobard.* (1878)). Paul copies from Gregory. In G. C., ch 95, Gregory tells a wonderful tale of a man who had with him dust from the tomb of Hospitius. He embarked on a ship owned by Jews. They wished to go to Marseilles, he to Lérins. They had insisted on setting the course for the former place, when the ship was suddenly deprived of all motion, remaining stock-still until it had been arranged that the passenger should be landed at Lérins.

The roots of the Egyptian herbs . . . brought to him by merchants. This passage has often been noted as a curious foot-note to commercial history. The export to Gaul of the roots eaten by the anchorites of the Egyptian desert illustrates the prestige of the Egyptian monastic life, copied by so many anchorites in Gaul. Cf. Introduction, p. 374 n.

A window of his tower. Anchorites sometimes lived in ancient ruins, like Senoch (V. 7), who also wore chains on his body (V. P., ch. xv). Windows already existed in some ruins; they were also cut in the sides of rock-hewn cells.

Two dukes, &c. These events may have occurred during the Lombard invasion of 574 mentioned in IV. 30 (44), but three dukes are there mentioned. Paul the Deacon says: *aliquanti ex ducibus.*

Any of the clergy who were among his friends (*qui de cleris amici essent*). An alternative reading is *de naucleris*, in which case the recommendation would be addressed, not to clergy at Rome, but to shipmasters, presumably sailing between Marseilles and Italy.

I am called So-and-so. Gregory is here purposely suppressing a name which he probably knew. Cf. the end of the chapter.

The prior of the monastery. The word used is *praepositus*, meaning the next in rank to the abbot. Possibly it might be more accurate to describe the holder of this position at this early time as 'provost'. Cf. Introduction, p. 350.

Written by many writers. Paul the Deacon only borrows from Gregory. If there were other sources they do not appear to have survived.

7. *Letters, following the manner of Sidonius.* These have perished.

Albinus the ex-prefect . . . Dynamius, actual governor of Provence. Though Albinus is called *ex-praefecto* and Dynamius *rector*, the office held by both was the same, the latter having succeeded the former. Cf. IV. *43*, and ch. *11* below. Provence belonged to Childebert, though half of the city of Marseilles was under Guntram.

Fortunatus (*Carm.* vi. 11, 12) praises Dynamius as a man of culture, something of a poet, and a writer of lives of saints. Dynamius is mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great as a man of piety and founder of a monastery. Fortunatus also addressed a poem to Jovinus (*Carm.* vii. 11).

The senatorial. Here, as in other passages already noted, Gregory uses the word *senator* merely to indicate that he belonged to one of

the old Gallo-Roman families which in imperial times had held senatorial rank. Cf. ch. 9 and 39, below; IV. 8 (13) n.; and Introd., p. 4.

8. By whom God showed many miracles. In G. C., ch. 98, Gregory tells us the story of this recluse, but with some variations. The present version appears to be the more correct (cf. *Vita S. Eparchii*, ch. 9)

9. Sophisticated senatorials or philosophizing counts (*senatores sophisticos ac iudices philosophicos*). The sense of the passage is that Domnolus, a simple and probably unlettered man, felt unable to occupy a bishopric where cultured Gallo-Romans, either residents of old senatorial family (cf. ch. 39, below) or officials like the count, formed a cultured and perhaps precious society in which he would have been out of his element. In Avignon and in other cities of Provence, Roman culture survived to a much greater extent than in the north of the country.

Badegisil, mayor of the palace (*domus regiae maiorem*). Badegisil was afterwards made bishop of Le Mans (VIII. 39). This is the first mention by Gregory of this office, destined to become so influential in later Merovingian times (cf. Introduction, p. 199). At this time it had not the importance which it later possessed, and the holder of it was even inferior to the *Domestic* (cf. IV. 3, note). Queens, princes, and princesses had their own 'mayors of the household', Waddo holding the office for Rigunth (ch. 32 (45), below). The great rise in importance of the *Maior domus* only began after Gregory's time, under Clovis II, son of Dagobert. Another *maior* mentioned by Gregory is Florentianus, mayor of Childebert (IX. 30). Ducange, s. v., gives names of others mentioned by Fredegar and Fortunatus—Landeric serving Chilperic and Lothar II, Chrodin and Gogo holding the office in Austrasia.

10. Broke into the church of the holy Martin. This passage contains interesting details as to church windows, churchyard tombs, and church furniture. Cf. Introduction, pp. 324 ff.

11. The church houses. The accusative plural, *domus ecclesiae*, may be an error, and the 'church house' (cf. Introduction, p. 343), in which a bishop or priest lived next to his church, may be intended. Or the residence of a bishop, who still retained his wife (*ibid.*, p. 389), or had a large staff of clerics, may sometimes have included more than one house. A diocese also owned country residences. Cf. n. to V. 5, p. 536.

To cross his kingdom. Childebert could not reach Marseilles without crossing Burgundian territory.

Who was of a senatorial family. (Cf. chs. 7 and 9 above.) We apparently see here a case of a Gallo-Roman who had taken a Frankish name, probably from interested motives; we meet with other cases in Merovingian history. Gundulf was brother of Nicetius, bishop of Lyons and uncle of Armentaria, Gregory's mother (cf. V. 5).

The doorkeepers (*ostiarii*). These men formed one of the lower grades of the clerics. Cf. Introduction, p. 273.

His equipment was restored to him. This seems to be the sense of *suis induitur indumentis*. Gundulf's men had probably disarmed him in the church.

With ringing of bells (*cum signis*). As standards (*vexilla*) are mentioned immediately after, *signa* may here have its common sixth-century meaning of bells.

7 (12). *The holy martyr Caprasius.* This is S. Caprais, martyred with Ste Foy, at Agen, 20 October 303. Dulcidius, bishop of Agen, built a church in his honour a hundred years after his death. Cf. *Acta SS., Bolland,* October, viii, pp. 815–23, and the other references given by U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources hist. du Moyen Âge : Bio-bibliogr.,* col. 777.

Yzeures and Barrou. These places in the ancient diocese of Tours less than two miles apart and an equally short distance from the boundary of the diocese of Bourges. Our text has *pagus Siodunensis,* where *Iciodorensis* would be more correct, *Iciodorum* being probably the name of the former (Longnon, pp. 273–4).

Duke Bladast marched into the country of the Gascons. i. e. into the hill country on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees ; the Gascons had not yet taken possession of the lower country towards the Garonne (cf. IX. 7). Bladast afterwards joined the pretender Gundovald, but was pardoned by Guntram through the intercession of Gregory. For the Gascons and their relation to the Franks, see Introduction, p. 173.

13. The town of Chinon (*Cainonense castrum*). In V. 11 (17) and X. 31 Gregory calls it a *vicus.*

8 (14). *Making a great beacon-light.* Gregory here describes something resembling Northern Lights. Cf. ch. 24 (33) of this book, and V. 12 (18).

15. Succumbing to this malady. It does not appear from the description that Felix died of plague. Giesebrecht (*ad loc.*) conjectures that the last sentence of the previous chapter is an addition, made erroneously by Gregory.

The agreement (*consensum*) *which he had drafted* This is a case o irregular action on the part of a dying bishop. Cf. Introduction, p. 297.

That I should go to Nantes. Gregory was metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province in which Nantes was. Cf. p. 551 and Introduction, p. 262.

9 (16). *Bazas.* The seat of a bishopric in the ecclesiastical province of Bordeaux (VI. 21, 31 ; G. M., ch. 12). Cf. Longnon, as above, p. 597.

10 (17). *Chilperic . . . ordered the baptism of a number of Jews.* This event took place at Paris. Compulsory baptism of Jews on a large scale is recorded on several occasions in Merovingian Gaul. Avitus, bishop of Clermont, forcibly converted five hundred (V. 6 (11), and Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 5). Pope Gregory the Great condemned the use of such methods.

Which was in a street hard by. The text is : *qui ad plateam propinquam erat,* and in order to get the above sense *qui* must be changed to *quae.* If *erant* s read or *erat,* we might refer the verb to thc servants of Phatyr, waiting for him in the street.

11 (18). *Ansovald.* This duke, according to Fredegar, was the most loyal

of Chilperic's followers, supporting him to the last in his wars with Sigibert. Both he and Domigisel are frequently mentioned later in the History. Ansovald was one of those who accompanied Fredegund on her visit to the dying Praetextatus.

To inspect the dowry. i.e. of Rigunth, Chilperic's daughter, betrothed to Recared, son of Leuvigild the Visigothic king. As Tacitus noted with regard to the earlier Germans (*Germ.*, ch. 18), it was customary for the bridegroom to present a dowry to the bride. When Chilperic himself married the Visigothic princess, Galswinth, he presented her with five cities. The unfortunate adventures of the Princess Rigunth are recounted below (cf. ch. 32 (45) ; VII, 9, 15).

12 (19). *At the bridge over the Orge.* Here, south of Paris, was the frontier between the kingdoms of Chilperic and Guntram.

And sought full reconciliation with his brother. At this time Guntram may have given up to Chilperic the towns belonging to the Burgundian kingdom which the latter had usurped. Cf. chs. 12 and 22.

13 (20). *Chrodin.* He had the rank of duke. He is also eulogized by Fortunatus (*Carm.* ix. 16), who says that he is equally esteemed in Italy and in the Frankish dominions :

Itala terra tibi pariter Germania plaudunt,
Laus tua cunctorum semper in ore sonat.

Chrodin is the *tutor* and *nutritor* of all ; he is a *generale bonum*, universally celebrated for piety, generosity, and justice. According to Fredegar (*Chron.* iii. 58) the Frankish aristocracy first chose Chrodin as *nutritor* to the young Childebert after Sigibert's death, but he refused the office, urging that Gogo should be appointed.

15 (23). *The cause of great woe.* The word used is *dolus* ; but as the infant died within two years (cf. ch. *34*), *dolor* is probably intended.

16 (24). *Gundovald . . . returned from Constantinople.* For the pretender Gundovald, an important character among Gregory's *dramatis personae*, cf. Introduction, p. 125.

He wore his hair long. Cf. II. 9, and Introduction, p. 383.

This is no son of mine. An illegitimate son of a king enjoyed full royal rights if his father publicly acknowledged him. This is what Lothar refused to do ; the mere paternity he may have admitted. Cf. V. *20*.

Then Sigibert summoned him. It is not clear why Sigibert claimed the right to do this, or why Charibert surrendered Gundovald.

Which is now called Colonia. The full Roman title was *Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis*. The Emperor Claudius, when he married Julia Agrippina, a native of the place, extended the title and enlarged the city This passage in Gregory shows how the name of Cologne derives from the first word of the title, the other two having been dropped.

Narses, who at that time held the chief command in Italy. The famous general of Justinian. Cf. IV. 9 ; V. 13 (19).

Invited . . . by a certain personage. The immediate agent was

Guntram Boso, as Gregory knew well enough; he is perhaps referring to some more important person, perhaps among the Austrasian aristocracy.

Charging him with having introduced a foreigner, &c. Yet Guntram had himself been the introducer (cf. ch. 26 below, and VII. 36). It is to be noted that Theodore was handed over, not to any Austrasian official, but to a count of King Guntram. Many events in the History show that the character of Boso was consistent with any kind of villainy or impudence.

His lords and superiors (*domini* and *seniores*). The bishop means the leaders of the aristocratic party in Austrasia. For their powerful position, cf. V. 1; VI. 4; and Introduction, pp. 195 ff. The plot was against the royal power, so that *domini* cannot refer to the kings.

The count who guarded him. The word *comes* is used. At first sight it would seem unlikely that a man holding the official post of count should be told off to keep the bishop under his own eye. But so important a prisoner as Theodore may have been treated in an exceptional manner.

Bishop Epiphanius. He may have been bishop of Fréjus, and have succeeded Exspectatus (Ruinart, *ad loc.*).

An immense weight of silver and other treasure. The Emperor Maurice appears to have supplied Gundovald with a large sum of money, and may have been implicated for political reasons in the movement to find the pretender a Frankish throne.

17 (25). *The church of the holy Laurence*. Cf. ch. 9 above. The church was in existence in the time of Childebert I (Longnon, as above, p. 355).

18 (26). *Velay*. The men of Velay (*Vellavi*) were from the mountains of Velay in Haute-Loire. Their *urbs* was Revessio, the modern Saint-Paulier (Longnon, p. 532). For *Anicium* (Le Puy) in the Velay, see X. 25, and note on p. 600.

That the duke acted thus without his authority. It must be remembered that both Guntram Boso and Mummolus were now King Childebert's men. Childebert II was naturally enraged when he heard that one of them was attacking the other with his royal brother's army.

19 (27). *The pact between his brothers and himself*. This pact was entered into at the division following the death of Charibert. Cf. VII. 6.

By Ragnemod, bishop of Paris. Cf. V. 7 (14), 12 (18), *32*. Ragnemod succeeded Germanus (S. Germain).

20 (28). *The referendary Mark*. Cf. V. 3, *45*; VIII. 39; IX. 23, 33, 38; X. 19.

He shaved his head (*caput totondit, atque poenitentiam accipiens spiritum exhalavit*. Is it possible that we have here some approach to the usage, so common in the later Middle Ages, of assuming monastic garb (*ad succurrendum*) when on the point of death, in order to have better hope of pardon? (Cf. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, i (1923), p. 90). It is true that in these later times it was the monastic garb rather than any kind of tonsure upon which

stress was laid. Nor is it certain that Mark's shaving of the head was a tonsure, though it seems probable.

21 (29). *For the glory of the blessed Cross.* This was the fragment of the True Cross sent to Radegund by the Emperor Justin II and his consort Sophia, the arrival of which at Poitiers was celebrated by Fortunatus in several hymns; of which the most familiar begin with the lines *Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis*, and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt.* The presence of this famous relic naturally made the monastery a place of pilgrimage. Cf. pp. 590, 595.

30. The empress Sophia. See preceding note, and cf. V. 13 (19), 23 (30). Tiberius had relegated her to a position of obscurity for complicity in a plot, and there is no evidence for his consultation with her when on his deathbed. Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlv, and N. H. Baynes in C. M. H. ii, p. 277. Gregory's phrase 'a certain Maurice' shows how little he was acquainted with Byzantine history. The substance of this chapter is taken from Gregory by Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* ii. 15.

When the public mourning was over (*celebrato iustitio*). The *Iustitium*, or cessation of all business, with closing of the courts of justice, was, of course, an ancient Roman custom.

22 (31). *Took from him a part of Marseilles.* The possession of Marseilles became a cause of friction between Guntram and Childebert.

With the whole strength of the province entrusted to them. This *provincia* was, according to ch. 12, the southern part of Aquitaine.

Melun (*Miglidunense castrum*). This place (Seine-et-Marne) belonged to Guntram.

Châteaumeillant (*Mediolanense castrum*). In the department of Cher (cf. Longnon, p. 468).

King Guntram came up with an army against his brother. It was the exception for Guntram to take the field in person; his was not a warlike nature. Cf. Introduction, p. 53.

Put the count of Rouen to the sword. The phrase is *gladio trucidavit*, but it is perhaps unlikely that Chilperic cut down the count with his own hand; he is more likely to have sentenced him to summary execution.

The lower ranks raised loud murmurs (*Magnum murmur . . . minor populus elevavit*). *Minor populus* here means the ordinary free Franks called up to serve in the campaign. Their intervention against the foreign policy for the time pursued by the aristocratic party of their country is an interesting and significant event, showing that the Franks possessed political sagacity and common sense. They recognized the fact that the alliance with Chilperic, forced upon the young king Childebert II by Egidius and the notables, was not in the interest of Austrasia, which was better served by friendly relations with Guntram. The intrigues of Bishop Egidius and the Austrasian aristocratic party are discussed by Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale*, ii, ch. xvi.

23 (32). *Or receive consecrated bread from thy hand.* The word used

is *eulogias*. Here it might almost mean ' receive the Eucharist '. Cf. note on IV. 35.

Besought the army (*depraecatusque est populum*). For this meaning of *populus* during a campaign, cf. the note to the preceding chapter.

On a Sunday in the holy church (*ecclesia sancta*). This was the cathedral church of Paris (cf. P. Batiffol, *Études de liturgie et d'arch. chrét.*, ch. vii, p. 235 : this chapter is devoted to an account of the cathedral in the sixth century). It was to this church that Fredegund fled after Chilperic's death (VII. 4).

This and this will I buy. We may compare the somewhat similar episode in Sidonius, where Arvandus the ex-prefect behaves in much the same way as Leudast (*Ep.* i. 8).

Lingering torture. It needed a Fredegund and a Chilperic to order slow torture in the case of an already dying man.

With a second they struck him upon the throat. The words *ab alio* in the text may be a misreading for *gladio*, in which case Leudast's head would have been cut off. The whole passage reads ; *posito ad cervicem eius vecte immenso, ab alio ei gulam verberant.*

24 (33). *The province of Carpitania.* Part of the present New Castile. The principal city was Toledo, the Visigothic capital. The envoys, having been to Toledo, had necessarily passed through the province.

Narbonne. This city, being in Septimania (see Introduction, p. 145), belonged to the Visigoths.

Seemed the breaking of the dawn. Northern Lights seem to be again described. Cf. above, V. 12 (18) and ch. 8 (14).

34. The envoy. Gregory has just mentioned ' envoys '. He may mean a special envoy and his suite.

But she declined. The adventurous conduct of Basina as a leader of the ' rebel nuns ' at Poitiers (IX. 39, 43 ; X. 15) makes it doubtful whether she would have refused, had Radegund not been still alive to exert an influence over her.

25 (35). *The prefect Mummolus* (*praefectus*). This is not the more distinguished bearer of this name, Guntram's former general, and subsequent supporter of the pretender Gundovald. He was evidently a Court official, and we may suppose him to have been *praefectus palatii*. We have seen that the word *praefectus* is used by Gregory, apparently as an alternative for *rector*, to signify the governor of Provence. But Chilperic had no possessions in Provence, and the context suggests that a more domestic office is here described. ' Mummolus the prefect ' is mentioned again in VII. 15.

An executioner. The text has *lectorem*, but none of the meanings applicable to that word seem suitable to the passage : a Reader (cf. Introduction, p. 273) is as unlikely to have been present as a literary slave. *Lictorem* has therefore been conjectured.

36. Occupied by his clergy. Bishops were forbidden to sleep in a room apart ; cf. Introduction, p. 389. We must imagine, in every *domus ecclesiae* attached to a cathedral church, a dormitory room, with beds

for one or more priests in addition to that of the bishop. The episode here described shows how necessary this arrangement was for the protection of the bishop from unscrupulous charges.

37. Summoned by Queen Brunhild. Though the queen-mother had suffered many rebuffs from the Austrasian aristocratic party since her return from captivity at Rouen, it is plain that she was still able to assert her dignity.

The domain of Ponthion (ad Pontigonem villam). The royal *villa* or domain of Pontico (*Ponthion* in the department of the Marne) had been used by Sigibert as a place of detention for Chilperic's son Theudebert about 564 (IV. 16 (23)). Cf. Longnon, as above, p. 405.

38. That Ursicinus should keep possession, &c. The tenor of the passage seems to require this, but the text is ambiguous : *scilicet ut parrochias quas numquam Rutina ecclesia tenuisse recolebatur, reciperet.*

39. And ye . . . likened to Simon Magus. This speech, if really spoken, was honourable to Guntram, at a time when the Merovingian kings encouraged a shameless simony for their own profit. The character of Guntram is seen at its best in his relations with the Church, though he was unable to maintain himself this extreme height of probity. Cf. Introduction, p. 53.

Sulpicius. Although this bishop also bore the name Severus, and is praised as a man of letters, receiving the dedication of the Legend of the Seven Sleepers (once attributed to Gregory), he is of course not to be confused with the earlier writer Sulpicius Severus mentioned in I. 7 ; II. 1 ; and X. 31.

Coming of a senatorial family, among the first in Gaul . . . learned in rhetoric (de primis senatoribus Galliarum . . . in litteris bene eruditus rhetorices). For the term *senator* in the sense of one belonging to an old Gallo-Roman family of rank, cf. chs. 7 and 9 above, and Intr., p. 4. Cf. also IV. 8 (13) n. *Rhetoric* here means something akin to *literae humaniores,* the higher culture in all its branches ; as taught in the schools it was not confined to oratory.

26 (40). *Left the princess with the Greeks.* i. e. with the representatives of the Byzantine power in Spain. She died at Carthage on her way to Constantinople. A few chapters farther on, Gregory says that Leuvigild was unable to recover Ingund from the Byzantine Greeks (*eripere non potuit*).

He did not give the kiss of peace. In early times before the Consecration, when the priest gave the blessing of peace, the members of the congregation kissed each other. Cf. Introduction, p. 338. In later times a panel bearing a sacred subject was passed round to be kissed, whence its name of *pax.*

27 (41). *At this time a son was born to him, whom he ordered to be brought up on the royal domain of Vitry (villa Victoriacensis).* This domain was on the Scarpe, in the Pas-de-Calais, about 12 miles east-north-east of Arras ; nine years before it had been the scene of Sigibert's murder (IV. 36 (51)). Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.,* p. 13. The name of this

son was Lothar, afterwards Lothar II, destined to enjoy exalted fortunes, and reign over the greater part of France.

For fear that, if he were seen . . . lose his life. What Chilperic feared was the practice of witchcraft and sorcery, in which both he and Fredegund firmly believed.

28 (42). *King Childebert now marched into Italy.* Cf. Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* xii. 17, who takes his facts from this chapter; L. M. Hartmann in C. M. H. ii, p. 199. This expedition is also described, like the other Frankish invasions, by T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. v.

29 (43). *In a certain Spanish city* (*et in civitatem aliquam Hispaniae resediret*). This was Seville, taken by Leuvigild in this year (584). Hermangild fled to Cordova, then in Byzantine possession, where he was captured, the story running that the prefect Comitiolus betrayed the town for thirty thousand *solidi*. He was finally put to death at Tarragona (John of Biclar in M. G. H., *Chronica Minora*, ii, p. 217; and one MS. of Isidore of Seville, ibid., p. 287). The bare fact of his death is stated by Gregory (VIII. 28).

Mir, king of Galicia. Cf. V. 30 (41). *See* also John of Biclar, *Chron.*, year 583–4. The name of his son is given by John as Eboric, not Euric, as here, but Euaricus and Evaricus were other forms easily leading to that of Eboric.

Where the springs in the church are divinely filled. Cf. V. 11 (17).

The prince's consort . . . hands of the Greeks. Cf. pp. 518, 547, 577.

32 (45). *To be taken from various royal estates.* This passage illustrates the absolute power of the king over the people on his estates, a power shared by other landowners. Cf. Introduction, pp. 390 ff. The word *familia* is used: *familias multas de domibus fiscalibus auferre praecepit.* Many men were *fiscalini*, some of them probably skilled in various crafts (cf. Introduction, p. 162).

Many among those forced to go were of good birth (*maiores natu*). The words *maiores natu* generally refer to position rather than to age. It would therefore seem that Chilperic pressed freemen as well as serfs, and these may have included Franks as well as Gallo-Romans. For the making of wills in Merovingian times, cf. C. Galy, *La famille mérov.*, p. 329.

One of these envoys . . . was suspected. This sentence, which interrupts the context, may have been inserted by Gregory after the composition of the book.

O evil hour! (*Mala hora*). This is the French 'Malheur!'

Golden bridles, together with two large basins. The basins, if not of gold, would certainly have been of silver. For the astonishing wealth of the Merovingians in gold and ornaments and plate, cf. Introduction, p. 433.

Went as conductor of the bride. Gregory uses the word *paranymphus*. In the Roman wedding the *paranymphus*, or bridesman, conducted the bridegroom; the *paranympha*, or bridesmaid, the bride.

Waddo, mayor of the household (*maior domus*). Every adult member of a Merovingian royal family provided with an establishment had

a *maior domo*. Cf. above, ch. 9. Waddo is often mentioned later in the History, especially in Book VII.

Chamberlains (*camerarii*). Cf. IV. 7.

33 (46). *Some man unknown*. The murderer was never arrested. Gregory (VII. 7) throws the blame on Fredegund, and is followed by other early authorities, except Fredegar, who accuses Falco, an emissary of Brunhild (*Chron.* iii. 93). There seems to be no real evidence against Fredegund. Cf. Introduction, p. 122.

Few priests were raised to bishoprics. Chilperic ' presented ' laymen, who only became clerics when instant promotion to episcopal rank was assured.

Taking Sedulius as his model. Sedulius was a Christian poet of the fifth century, whose principal work was entitled *Carmen Paschale*. He is mentioned by Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*, l. 16. For Chilperic's efforts as a writer on theology, cf. V. 32 (44).

Camped in his tent. Probably the king's house at Chelles was unable to accommodate all those persons of rank seeking audience of the king. Such persons, if likely to be kept waiting (as in Chilperic's reign bishops often were), would pitch their travelling tents, and live in them near the royal residence.

In the cathedral church. It has been noted, in the case of Tours, that the principal church, or cathedral, is generally described by Gregory as *ecclesia*, to distinguish it from the other churches, which he calls basilicas (cf. n. to III. 10 on p. 509). If the distinction applies in the present case, Fredegund was not present at Chilperic's interment.

BOOK VII

1. *Although I am fain to continue this History*. For the first six books of the History, as already noted in the Introduction, p. 41, the text of Omont and Collon, used in the translation, follows the MS. of Corbie (Paris, MS. lat. 17655). For the remaining books it follows MS. 9403 in the Royal Library at Brussels.

Under the Rule instituted by the Fathers. For the Rules obeyed in Gaul in the sixth century see Introduction, p. 367.

To offer them bread of oblation. The words used are : *ut . . . eulogias ministraret*. For *eulogiae* see note on IV. 35, and cf. VI. 23 (32).

He went on as follows. The vision of Salvius is of a type familiar to students of monastic life in the Middle Ages.

Led many away into captivity from the city. Albi was taken from the young Childebert by Guntram, and not restored until 587. Mummolus was in Guntram's service until 581 (cf. VI. 1).

3. *Childeric the Saxon*. Cf. VIII. 18 ; X. 22. It seems doubtful whether he can be identified with the Childeric who died after robbing Church property, as related in G. C., ch. 70, and is described as having been *primus apud Sigibertum regem*.

4. *In the cathedral* (*ad ecclesiam confugit*). Cf. note to VI. 23 (32).

Officials of the treasury (*thesaurarii*). These would be subordinates of the *cubicularius*; see note to ch. 21 below.

6. *A hostile party.* Chilperic and his followers who were guilty of breaking the peace.

These kings. Chilperic and Childebert II, for the moment in alliance through the intrigues with the former of the Austrasian aristocratic party.

Judges and avengers. This introduction of the names of saints into a document, that their miraculous power (*virtus*) might strike the breaker of the agreement, is fully in keeping with the ideas of the age. This is the earliest mention of S. Polyeuctes, an early Christian martyr, who sought to force the pagans to condemn him by interfering with their services. For his *Acta* see Aubé, *Polyeucte dans l'histoire* (1882). SS. Hilary and Martin were both saints whose fame was especially connected with Gaul.

7. *And hailed him under the name of Lothar* (*Chlotharium vocitaverunt*). As the child had not yet been baptized, the words seem to imply a national wish that he should bear the name of his grandfather, Lothar I. They may also imply a certain dictation to the queen-mother, the notables being in a general sense guardians of a king during his minority, as in Austrasia: cf. ch. 19 below, and V. 1; VI. 4.

8. *After the deacon had imposed silence on the people.* This was perhaps after the formula for dismissal of the catechumens had been pronounced by the deacon. See Introduction, p. 337.

As late ye slew my brothers. Gregory's words are: *nec me, ut fratres meos nuper fecistis, interimatis.* Guntram probably meant: do not let me be slain as you suffered my brothers to be murdered. These words rather imply that in his opinion the assassin who killed Chilperic was not an emissary of Brunhild. As at the time of this speech he was treating Fredegund with marked favour, he had not yet thought of accusing her. He may have suspected that Chilperic's murder was an act of political revenge carried out by the order of persons to whom his government had become intolerable. As he speaks of the earlier murder of Sigibert in the same language, he may have regarded that too as primarily a political act; it must be remembered that Sigibert, through his minister Parthenius, was proposing to adopt a Gallo-Roman system of taxation highly unpopular with the free Franks. The speech of Guntram, in fact, affords some support to those who exonerate both queens of the murder of Chilperic. The warning later given to him (ch. 14 below) by the Austrasian envoys seems also in accord with this view.

The nephews whom I have made my adopted sons. The young Childebert II of Austrasia and the infant Lothar II, son of Chilperic. The adoption of the two young kings gave Guntram practical control of the whole of Gaul.

9. *Close to the Gothic territory.* That is, to the frontier of Septimania. Cf. Introduction, p. 145.

10. *With whom he had entered into alliance two years before.* As it was now 584, this must have been in 582, the year in which the pretender Gundovald was received by Mummolus on his arrival from Constantinople.

Brives-la-Gaillarde. In the department of Corrèze (Longnon, as above, p. 525). The Latin is *Briva Curretia.*

Made a progress through the surrounding cities. This progress on the part of a new king was a traditional custom; it was undertaken by Gundovald to impress the people and strengthen his position. Cf. IV. 9 (14), 10 (16).

The church of the blessed Mary at Toulouse. Now La Daurade, celebrated for its (lost) mosaics, and for decorative sculpture in stone, partly preserved (cf. P. Clemen, *Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden* (1916), p. 183; C. Enlart, *Manuel d'arch. française*, i (1919), p. 143).

By the advancing enemy. The words are *ab imminenti hoste.* The translation adopted does some violence to the meaning of *imminere.* The alternative is to take *hostis* as the enemy of mankind, ever watching to do a mischief.

12. *The men of Bourges were called out* (*commoti*). The word *commovere* is constantly used in the sense of 'levy'. Bourges belonged to Guntram, who now ordered the men liable for service to take the field against Tours, which city wished to place itself under Childebert. This was a legitimate wish, for the city and territory had belonged to Sigibert, Childebert's father, and its usurpation by Chilperic gave Guntram no right to assert his individual authority there. But as Guntram claimed as adoptive father of Childebert, whose guardian he was, they thought it best to give him temporary allegiance.

Mareuil (*Maroialum*). On the Cher in Loir-et-Cher, arrondissement of Blois, where the church is dedicated to S. Martin.

The very herbs. These were laid on the tombs of miracle-working saints that they might thence derive miraculous healing power. They are mentioned in various passages in Gregory's works.

13. *As his father Lothar had done before him.* The case was not exactly parallel, for Lothar's brothers predeceased him, leaving no male issue, whereas Guntram's brothers had left heirs. But Guntram, as adoptive father and guardian, was in fact almost as supreme as his father until the two young princes reached man's estate.

Treasurer of Childebert (*cubicularius*). Cf. note to ch. 21 below.

Have these districts. The text is: *ut pacis bonus rex Guntramnus accipiat,* and the words *pacis bonus* must clearly be emended. We have read *ut pagos bonus rex,* &c. Others suggest *ut pacem bonum rex Guntramnus accipiat,* which seems less probable.

14. *Egidius, Guntram Boso.* Both most unwelcome personalities to Guntram. Their choice by Childebert seems a provocative act, and the conduct of the envoys in King Guntram's presence bears out the supposition.

Fredegund, the sorceress. Fredegund is accused by Gregory of giving her emissaries potions to fortify their courage. Cf. IV. 36 (51). Doubtless she had the repute of power in witchcraft.

A Ballomer. This Teutonic word is said to mean a 'false prince', or pretender, and may well have been applied to the unfortunate Gundovald even in his early days, until it became his nickname.

The axe . . . which clave the heads of thy brothers ; soon shall it sink in thine and cleave thy brain. Guntram's brothers were stabbed, and not killed with the axe. But since death by an axe-blow on the skull was a Frankish form of execution, the envoys used it as appropriate to their general meaning. They were not themselves threatening the king, but warning him that a persistence in his present policy might well lead to his own violent death. We may perhaps draw from their warning the inference that Sigibert and Chilperic were not really killed by emissaries, but by their own discontented subjects. The whole scene between Guntram and the Austrasian envoys is of high interest as showing the almost insolent freedom with which Frankish notables dared to address a king.

15. *The ex-domestic.* Cf. note to IV. 3.

The princess Rigunth. The word actually used is *regina*, the title of 'king' and 'queen' being given by courtesy to the members of the royal family. Cf. n. on p. 550.

Stripped of his garments (*nudatum vestimentis*). Probably this means stripped of his cloak or mantle, which, like his baldric, may have been of a costly kind.

17. *After that king's decease.* It was really done by the Council of Paris in 573, two years before Sigibert's death. Bishop Egidius was rebuked for having consecrated Promotus to act as bishop in the Austrasian part of the diocese of Chartres, his residence being Châteaudun (Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, iii, p. 83).

19. *Rueil* (*Rotoialensis villa*). This was in Seine-et-Oise, in the arrondissement of Versailles (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 360). Cf. X. 28.

Promising her that they would bring him up with the very greatest care. The notables of Neustria are here seen taking the responsibility for bringing up the minor, Lothar II, as those of Austrasia had taken it when Childebert II was left fatherless after the death of Sigibert. But whereas in the latter case the notables were hostile to the queen-mother (Brunhild), in the present case they expressed their devotion to Fredegund, who, despite her crimes, always commanded the loyalty of Neustria. Cf. Introduction, p. 78.

20. *By having his hands and feet cut off.* The different character of the two queens is strikingly shown by their treatment of this cleric. Brunhild, whose life he threatened, suffers him to return to his mistress ; Fredegund mutilates him for not succeeding in the murder. The cleric himself seems to have been strangely ill-informed of Fredegund's nature, or he would never have been foolish enough to go back.

21. *Eberulf the treasurer.* Perhaps 'chamberlain' would better describe

Eberulf's functions, though among some Teutonic peoples the *cubiculum* was the same as the *aerarium* or *thesaurus* of the king, and the *cubicularius* was the keeper of its contents. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Var.* v. 44 (Theodoric to Trasimund, king of the Vandals: *redeant ad cubiculum vestrum munera*).

Here was the ringleader in the crime. It has been stated above (note to VI. 33 (46) that both Fredegund herself and Brunhild were themselves accused, the former by popular tradition handed down in the *Gesta Francorum*, the latter by Fredegar, who says that she sent an emissary named Falco to do the deed. Fredegund's accusation against Eberulf appears to have been nothing but a spiteful slander, though the man's character was as bad as her own. In ch. 8 above, Guntram, who seemed at first to have considered his brother's murder as a political crime, now wrought himself into a fury against Eberulf, ' whose seed he will destroy to the ninth generation '.

22. *The lands granted him by the king.* These were lands granted for life (*commendata*), and reverting to the Crown at the grantee's death unless the king thought fit to extend the grant to the heir. But they were not formally held by a feudal tenure with obligation to military service.

To keep him from the covering placed on the holy bishop's tomb (*quod ego eum vellem a sancti antestitis fimbriis separare*). The fringes or borders (*fimbriae*) of the rich coverings laid on the tombs of the miracle-working saints were the especial aim of sick persons, who cut small pieces from them, and were held to be restored to health by drinking water in which these pieces had been steeped. Gregory's works on the confessors and martyrs are full of instances illustrating this practice (cf. IX. 21 and Introduction, p. 321). Eberulf probably wished rather to be assured of access to the tomb in case he were suddenly attacked; he would then have held the fringe of the covering in his hand. Gregory's vision in the following paragraphs shows how men protected themselves by holding these *fimbriae*.

The bailiffs (*actores*) *of the church estates.* These were agents or stewards who administered Church property (*qui bona, possessiones et facultates Ecclesiarum administrabant veluti earum oeconomi vel villici*, Ducange).

23. *Injuriosus.* This was one of the names adopted by the early Christians to express their humility, but afterwards retained. It may be assumed that this Injuriosus was a Gallo-Roman whose name had been handed down in his family.

On the security of receipts from the public taxes. The count and his chief subordinates were responsible to the king for the revenue from taxes, the sums derived from which were annually handed over to the king by the count in person. Cf. Introduction, p. 203. Eunomius had borrowed the money to make up the sum due from him, promising to repay it from revenue not yet collected.

To clear himself by oath (*ut se insontem redderet sacramento*). This was the common escape from a deadlock in the Frankish courts.

That the tribune Medard was involved in the affair. The *tribunus* was a subordinate of the count and his *vicarii* (Introduction, p. 203, and n. to X. 21 on p. 598). His functions were connected with the collection of revenue and the charge of prisoners, his authority extending over a *vicus*. Baudonivia, in her Life of S. Radegund, relates how on the day of the saint's death Domolen, a *tribunus fisci*, dreamed that Radegund arrived in his *vicus*, and demanded that for her sake all prisoners should be released (i, ch. 38, in M. G. H., *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, vol. ii).

In Byzantine Italy the term *tribunus* seems to have been equivalent to *comes* (F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, p. 183). Cf. below, X. 20.

24. *Broke a gold chalice . . . had it made into coins.* This passage illustrates the valuable nature of the church plate in Merovingian cathedrals (cf. Introduction, pp. 333, 430). For a similar sacrifice of chalices, cf. Mabillon, *Liturgie gallicane*, i, ch. 7.

25. *Marileif, who had been the chief physician.* He is here called *primus medicorum in domo Chilperic regis*: royal physicians as a class received the Greek name of *archiater* (cf. V. 8 (14); X. 15). See also Introduction, p. 417.

The authority of the Church. Guntram's men restored Marileif to the social grade from which he had risen, perhaps that of serf.

26. *An oath in the name of King Childebert.* This action on the part of Gundovald shows from what quarter the encouragement of his enterprise came.

27. *Magnulf.* It seems unlikely that this Magnulf can be identified with the brother of Duke Lupus whom Fortunatus praises in a metrical letter (*Carm.* vii. 10) as a good legist and governor.

Sigulf, who had in like manner pretended to the throne. We know nothing definite as to this enterprise. Sigulf is mentioned in IV. 33 (47) as a supporter of King Sigibert, who in 572 hunted Chilperic's son Chlodovech out of Toulouse ' like a stag '. If he embarked on the career of a pretender to the Austrasian throne it may have been after Sigibert's death in 575.

Duke Desiderius. This was Chilperic's duke who, on his master's death, laid hands on Princess Rigunth's treasure and joined Mummolus, Gundovald's chief supporter. Cf. V. 7 (13), 29 (39); VI. 7 (12), 22 (31); VII. 9.

In the church house. As previously noted on pp. 488 and 554, the residence of the priest or bishop, adjoining the church.

28. *Bladast.* Chilperic's duke in Aquitaine (cf. VI. 7 (12), 22 (31)). But Gregory has not previously mentioned him as joining Gundovald.

29. *Above all I warn thee to do no outrage to the hallowed church.* It has been remarked in the Introduction how typical this injunction was of Guntram's character: the destruction of his enemy mattered little so long as the blood was shed outside the precincts. The ruthless Fredegund made no such stipulations.

Began to take notice of omens, and to find them unfavourable. He probably observed what birds, &c., he met, and in what position. Cf.

Loebell, *Gregor von Tours*, p. 271 ; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 1081 ff. (Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*).

At the holy church. i. e. in the church house.

Strolled together about the forecourt of the church house (*per atrium domus basilicae deambulare coeperunt*). The sequel suggests that the murder was done in the *atrium* of the church. Possibly the ' church house ' abutted on the *atrium*.

At thy lodging (*ad metatum tuum*). Eberulf had first established himself in the vestry. He would appear to have later removed his quarters to some dependency of the church within the precincts.

Thy mightiness (*strenuitas tua*). This kind of appellation was common in the sixth century. It came down from late Roman times, and examples are frequent in the official correspondence of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth king of Italy.

Those of Latium and those of Gaza (*Laticina videlicet atque Gazitina*). Italian and Syrian wines are apparently contrasted. In G. C., ch. 64, we read of *vinum Gazetum*, a strong wine of Gaza used for the Sacrament. Gaza wine was popular in Gaul and in the West. Cf. Sidonius, *Carm.* xvii. 15 ; Cassiodorus, *Var.* xii. 12 ; Isidore, *Origines*, xxii ; Corippus, *De laude Iustini*, iii. 87 (Arndt, *ad loc.*).

Under the beds. The abbot's ' cell ' was clearly a room of some dimensions, having more than one window, and more than one bed. Perhaps, like bishops, abbots did not sleep alone, and there were beds for one or more monks in their quarters.

Some of the almsmen attached to the church, with other of the poor (*Nonnulli etiam matriculariorum et reliquorum pauperum*). Churches often had a roll or list (*matricula*) of poor who were regularly housed and fed. *Matricula* thus came to mean the whole body of persons benefited, who were known as *matricularii*. The other almsmen were, perhaps, people waiting to get their names on the list, and therefore living more precariously upon alms. Cf. Introduction, p. 276.

Whom the holy bishop suffered to endure such things. The words in the text are : *quem talia beatus antistes perferre permisit.* The reference is to Eberulf.

30. *Hidden under the wax of sunk wooden tablets.* The message was written on the hollowed or sunk surface ; this was then covered by wax, on which the person using such tablets wrote with a stylus. Its presence would therefore be undetected by any one whose suspicions were not aroused. The custom of writing on wax tablets lasted through the Middle Ages long after parchment and paper were in general use. For memoranda they were very convenient, since the writing was easily smoothed away, leaving the wax ready for a new entry.

31. *Bishop Bertram.* We have already met with this rather equivocal character in the History (V. 12 (18), *49*) ; he was a connexion of King Guntram, but had not hesitated to seek the favour of Chilperic, and was now inclined to intrigue with Gundovald. Cf. also VIII. 2, 7, 20 ; IX. 33.

Sergius. This saint, usually mentioned in conjunction with S Bacchus, was especially venerated in Syria, where he suffered martyrdom in the third century. Hence a Syrian would be likely to possess his relics. For references to him see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge : Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4211.

Caused him to be tonsured against his will, because he coveted his possessions. Perhaps only for the Church, which would have obtained them after his death.

The diploma (*praeceptio*). This was regularly granted by the king. Cf. Introduction, p. 288.

Though he was metropolitan. The passage shows that at this time Dax was in the province of Bordeaux (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 590).

32. *Bearing consecrated rods according to the custom of the Franks* (*virgis consecratis iuxta ritum Francorum*). These may have been wooden staves with flat surfaces, on which were inscribed their credentials ; cf. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ii, p. 234. Fortunatus (*Carm.* vii. 18) says that the barbarians wrote their runes on flat beechen *virgulae* :

Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis,
Quodque papyrus agit virgula plana valet.

He is rebuking his friend Flavus for not writing to him, and suggests that his excuse may be lack of paper. If so, let him try any substitute he can think of, among others the flat *virgulae* of beech used by the Franks.

The whole treasure had been seized by Gundovald. It had been placed under seals by Desiderius, Chilperic's disloyal duke (VII. 19).

33. *Placed his spear in the hand of King Childebert.* The spear, not the sceptre, was the sign of royal power among the Franks. The gold ring of Childeric found at Tournay shows that king with his spear (Babelon, *Le tombeau du roi Childeric* (Paris, 1922), Fig. 3, p. 35, and *Hist. de la gravure sur gemmes en France* (1902), Fig. 1, p. 4). On the coins the case is the same.

No male of my line. The actual words are *nihil . . . de stirpe mea remansit* ; but the reference is necessarily to male children. Guntram leaves out of account his other nephew, the infant Lothar II, though after a preliminary period of doubt he had accepted him as really the son of his brother Chilperic. He never, however, placed Lothar on the same footing as Childebert ; nor did he propose to leave him anything but a small part of his kingdom. Childebert was now (A. D. 585) in his fifteenth year, possibly the age at which a Frankish prince attained his majority.

All his people (*omnem exercitum*). This really means, through such representatives of the Frankish people in Guntram's kingdom as could be present. Theoretically he addressed his remarks to all his male followers, who in early Merovingian days attended in arms at the *mallum* or *mallus*, the popular assembly, *exercitus* and *populus*

being practically the same thing. The banquet was probably given in a hall or chamber where only a chosen few could attend.

Writing to Gundovald or receiving letters from him in return. Guntram suspected Brunhild of backing the pretender's cause; he even insinuated that she wished to marry him (cf. IX. 28). His own forged letter to Gundovald, written in her name (see ch. 34), is an interesting commentary on his suspicion. The meeting of Childebert with his uncle was one of the marks of the young king's emancipation from his mother's complete control. It is probable that Guntram's suspicion of Brunhild was unfounded; the introduction of the pretender into Gaul was the work of the aristocratic party in Austrasia, which was always bitterly hostile to the queen-mother.

34. *Convenae.* The place bearing this name, the *Lugdunum Convenarum* of earlier times, had belonged to the Visigoths before it passed successively into the hands of Charibert, Chilperic, and Guntram. After the destruction of the place by Guntram's troops, recorded by Gregory, the site remained deserted until the latter part of the eleventh century, when Bertrand, appointed bishop, restored the church and attracted inhabitants to the place. Dying in 1152, he was canonized, and towards the end of the century his name had already replaced that of Convenae, the city being henceforth known as Saint-Bertrand. The combination of the new and old names yielded Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges, now chef-lieu of the arrondissement of Saint-Gaudens, Haute-Garonne (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 591–2). Fredegar (iii. 89) adds to the list of those with Gundovald, Syagrius, bishop of Autun, and Flavius, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône.

In V. P. viii. 11 a story is told of a man at the siege of Convenae who made a vow of two silver chalices if he returned safely. He did return, but gave only one chalice, whereupon S. Nicetius appeared to him in a vision, warning him to keep his word. In the same chapter of V. P., Syagrius, bishop of Autun, is said to have told King Guntram how in one night S. Nicetius appeared in seven distinct prisons in the king's territory, and released all the prisoners, Guntram's judges not daring to seize them again.

Duke Desiderius had abandoned his cause. This personage had probably concluded that the reconciliation of Guntram with Childebert, and the imminent concentration of their armies against the pretender, had destroyed all prospect of success. If it was he who had brought to Gundovald the camel-loads of treasure taken from Princess Rigunth, described in the next chapter, he was at any rate forced to suffer some material loss.

In the name of Queen Brunhild. Cf. ch. 33, last note.

35. *Camels.* This passage shows that in the sixth century camels were used for transport in the south of France.

They found it filled with all manner of treasure belonging to the inhabitants of the place. Churches, especially those dedicated to miracle-working saints, were liable to be used in this kind of way as repositories

or banks; cf. Introduction, p. 320. According to Fortunatus the church containing the remains of S. Vincent, on the left bank of the Garonne, had been roofed with tin by Leontius, bishop of Bordeaux about 560 (*Carm.* i. 8). In *Carm.* i. 9 he says that this Leontius consecrated to S. Vincent a pagan temple in a spot called *Vernemetis*, which in Celtic meant 'great temple'. This second site may have been the scene of S. Vincent's martyrdom (Longnon, pp. 550 and 551).

Began brawling. The text is: *Plurimi vero semutua sedicione propriis se iaculis sauciabant.* Some read *semoti a seditione*: 'leaving the hurly-burly.' But if *semutua* is divided into two words, the *se* governed by *sauciabant*, an intelligible meaning is obtained without either this emendation or *inter se mota seditione*, suggested by others. The vengeance of the martyr on those who violated his church is mentioned in G. M., ch. 104.

36. *And there was left only one young child.* Gundovald's statements did not accord with facts. He had arrived in Gaul in 582, when Chilperic was still living (cf. VI. 16 (24). He ascribes to the time of Guntram Boso's visit to Constantinople the state of affairs existing at the time of his speech (585).

In twelve sacred places received his oath. Probably the pair went from altar to altar in those churches of Constantinople dedicated to 'powerful' saints. The number of oaths taken illustrates the distrust with which Gundovald regarded his guest.

Radegund at Poitiers and Ingitrude at Tours. The reference of Gundovald to so respected a name as that of Radegund confirms in our minds the suspicion that he was the unhappy victim of circumstances, rather than an unscrupulous intriguer. He may have been known to these ladies of the monastic world as a religious man. Radegund had sent to Constantinople to beg a fragment of the True Cross, and her messengers, during their stay in the imperial city, may well have brought back news of so remarkable a Frankish resident as Gundovald.

37. *Leudegisel.* Guntram's commander. Fredegar (iv. 2), says that Leudegisel was Marshal, or Count of the Stables, and that Guntram sent with him the patrician Aegilan (*Leudegisil comestaboli et Aegilanem patricium*). For Aegilan cf. also VIII. 30.

38. *Ullo, count of Bourges, and by Boso.* The Boso here mentioned is rather the leader of the name mentioned in IX. 31, than the notorious Guntram Boso. Ullo or Ollo is miswritten a little lower down as Bolo, *ab Ullone* becoming *a Bolone*, an obvious copyist's error.

Made the sign of the Lord's Cross. The words are: *Haec cum dixisset, consignans se cruce dominica abire coepit cum hominibus supradictis.* This can only mean that he 'crossed himself'.

The sign of the Cross is mentioned elsewhere by Gregory, as by Gregory the Great, in whose *Dialogues* (iii. 3) we read of it as rendering poison harmless, and performing other miracles (i. 10; ii. 3; iii. 5, 6); also as made before meals or before going to sleep (i. 4; iii. 7).

Ullo pushed him down. Fredegar (iii. 89 and iv. 2) says that Boso himself cast Gundovald down: *Exinde de rupe a Bosone duce praecipi-*

tatus interiit, and *Gundovaldus a Bosone duce . . . de cacumine rupis impingitur, ibique diruptus moritur.* The whole story of Gundovald is discussed by Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule méridionale*, ii, ch. xvi.

39. *Thus he fell and died.* Fredegar (iv. 4) gives the name of the place as Senuvia, which Jacobs, p. 227, identifies with Chenove.

To entice Gundovald. Her object doubtless was to embarrass Guntram, against whom she now entertained resentment.

40. *The wife of Mummolus.* Fredegar (*Chron.* iv. 4) says that her name was Sidonia.

Talents of silver, and . . . gold. Ducange and other authorities hold that *talents* here, as elsewhere, has the sense of one pound only, not of a hundred or fifty pounds.

42. *Belonging to the blessed Martin.* That is, church property.

44. *Ageric, bishop of Verdun.* This bishop had held the see for half a century. Fortunatus addressed two poems to him (*Carm.* iii. 29, 30). For his death see IX. 23.

47. *A cruel feud now arose between citizens of Tours.* This terrible chapter is one of the most shocking in Gregory's writings ; no passage of equal length in literature can better show the Dark Ages at their worst. We see a law that shelters lawlessness, a society sunk in savagery, a Church too powerless to do more than patch the present evil and break existing law to prevent worse things. The persons concerned are all, or nearly all, free Franks, members of the conquering race, safe from the death penalty, except at the hands of the king and his great men, and allowed by the law to buy immunity with money. As such they could not be imprisoned by the court, and if they pleaded poverty could apparently escape without any greater unpleasantness than that of being liable to pay the money at their convenience. A clear account of this feud at Tours is given by C. Galy, *La famille à l'époque mérov.*, pp. 215–230. Cf. for other feuds, III. 35 ; V. 5 ; VIII. 18 ; X. 27.

Manthelan (*Mantalomagus vicus*). The place is in the department of Indre-et-Loire, arrondissement of Loches (Longnon, p. 278).

Before a tribunal of citizens. Savigny (*Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, i, p. 268 (1st ed.)) sees in this chapter a proof that Roman municipal institutions survived under the Franks. Loebell (*Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, p. 52) argues with greater probability that as the parties to the feud were Franks, the court was that of the count, and that the ' citizens ' were chiefly other Franks acting as assessors of the count, the case being tried under Frankish law. In X. 27 a feud between Frankish families was so obstinate and bloodthirsty that even Fredegund was unable to compose it, and applied to the stubborn principals the unanswerable argument of the axe.

Acting in conjunction with the judge. i. e. the count. It must be remembered that Gregory, as bishop of Tours, had his own recognized judicial functions and his own court. Very often in matters of justice the count and the bishop were at loggerheads ; their active collaboration on the present occasion marks the extreme gravity of the case.

The Church shall redeem the debt from her own moneys. Here we see the Church apparently disregarding the law to tide over the crisis, and at all costs check the horrible vendetta. The guilty were to have their fines paid for them if only they would cease from further assassination ; the burden of their sole and most inadequate punishment was to be lightened. We see at the close of the chapter that in the end a part of the compositions was actually paid out of Church funds.

From his master's baldric (*extracto baltei gladio*). The text suggests that the serf drew a sword from his own baldric. But it seems improbable that a serf should have been allowed to work armed in this fashion.

BOOK VIII

At the head of the book stand the words : ' In the name of Christ here beginneth book the ninth ' (*In Christo nom*[*ine*] *incipit Liber VIIII*). The faulty Latin is not unusual, but it is curious that the number should be incorrect.

1. *The tongue of the Syrians.* The word Syrian was used to denote any orientals other than Jews ; it included, for instance, Armenians. Cf. Introduction, p. 175. Orleans, being centrally situated, was naturally a convenient place for foreign trade, carried on especially by the ' Syrians '.

2. *The church of the holy abbot Avitus.* This Avitus was abbot of Piciacus (La Perche) and of Miciacus (Micy-Loiret, now Saint-Mesmin-de-Micy). Cf. III. 6, and G. C., ch. 97. Avitus died in 527. See U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. du Moyen Âge*, col. 396. In G. C., ch. 97, we are told that a man who insisted on working in his vineyard on this saint's day was punished by having his head twisted round.

Thou wert my kinsman. Bertram was a relative of Guntram. Cf. VII. 31.

3. *Who had sung the responsorium.* In the Gallican Mass this was sung before the deacon proceeded to the ambo for the reading of the Gospel (cf. Introduction, p. 337). In its more general meaning it was a psalm in which a solo singer was answered by the choir, thus differing from the Antiphon, in which the verses were alternately sung by the two sides of the choir (cf. Isidore, *De Eccl. officiis*, ch. 8, and Origenes, vi, ch. 19).

Sing in his turn before the king. Guntram had admired the singing of Gregory's deacon, and as all the bishops then at Orleans were also accompanied by their deacons he perhaps thought that a competition might be of interest, or even (for he was of a jovial disposition) of amusement.

Another piece of a hundred and seventy pounds weight. This would be a huge piece of plate ; and it was only one of fifteen, themselves forming but a part of Guntram's half-share in the treasure of Mummolus. Such a passage once more illustrates the remarkable wealth of the Merovingian kings and notables in plate.

5. *He had my brother Chilperic slain.* Guntram accuses the bishop of Marseilles of causing Chilperic to be murdered in the interest of the pretender Gundovald and his Austrasian supporters. The charge seems to be without foundation, like so many others freely made at the time. Gregory's retort, 'Who slew Chilperic but his own wickedness?' might almost suggest a suspicion on his part that the crime was committed in revenge for one of Chilperic's many acts of cruelty and oppression; but any murderer would have been regarded as the instrument of the divine vengeance, so that Gregory cannot be claimed with certainty as one attributing the king's death to a direct act of political revenge.

Lighted lamps and tapers were borne before him. Gregory's vision seems to imply the defeat of Chilperic and his enforced entry into the church, the common fate of such Merovingian princes whose defeat did not end in death. The plain chair covered with black and the lights carried about it have a funereal suggestion, for the chairs on which bishops were enthroned in Gaul were richly decorated.

7. *He was beginning the Prophetia.* At the beginning of the Gallican Mass three canticles were sung: the *Trisagion*, the *Kyrie Eleison*, and the *Benedictus* or *Prophetia*, the last named receiving its second name from its prophetic character, its first name from the word with which it began. It consisted of the passage Luke i. 68–79, commencing *Benedictus Dominus Israel, quia visitavit, et fecit redemptionem plebis suae.* The present passage would seem to show either that the bishop chanted all three canticles, or that the *Benedictus* was sung first. In view of Guntram's impetuous character we might assume the second alternative; the first place seems usually to have been given to the *Trisagion* (cf. Introduction, p. 336).

Adulteries. Bertram had been previously accused of adultery with Queen Fredegund. Cf. V. *49*.

9. *Governors* (*nutritores*). Cf. note to V. *46*.

That one of our leudes. The words are: *ex leudibus nostris.* For the *leudes*, personally bound by oath to the king, cf. Introduction, p. 386.

All took solemn oath with her. Such supporters in the taking of an oath varied with the importance of the person who had to take it. Cf. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 859 ff. A queen naturally produced a large number, and of high position. Cf. ch. 40 below.

10. *The weir . . . for catching fish.* The word used is *lapsus*; cf. V. P. xvii. 4, G. C., ch. 5, and Sulp. Severus, *Dialogues*, iii. 10. Ducange defines it as *aquae divortium.*

By his long hair. Cf. II. 8 (9).

The body of Merovech. This prince had met his death in the territory of Reims (V. 12 (18)).

11. *A certain door-keeper* (*ostiarius*). The *ostiarii* belonged to the clerical body, but to the lower grade of it, not in Holy Orders. Their duties included making the material arrangements for services and looking after the church.

Ansovald. An important man in Neustria who, after the death of Chilperic, helped to guard the young Lothar, and supported Fredegund; cf. VII. 7. In ch. 31 we find him accompanying the queen in her visit to the dying bishop Praetextatus.

12. *In the quality of duke.* The Merovingian dukes, whose functions were not as a rule so permanent as those of the counts, were often available for special missions like that here described. Cf. Introduction, p. 200.

The church of the holy Maximinus. S. Maximin, bishop of Trêves, died in 349. For works relating to him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, as above, col. 3170.

13. *As the king remained silent, I made answer.* From the next chapter it appears that Gregory was visiting Childebert at Coblenz.

15. *The town of Yvois* (*Eposium castrum*). This place, mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary and in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, is on the river Chiers, not far from its confluence with the Meuse. It was known as Yvois until 1662, when Louis XIV changed its name to Carignan (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 369). For *castrum*, see Introduction, p. 160.

Vulfolaic (*Vulfilaicus*). Better known to us as S. Walfroy. Cf. *Analecta Bolland.* xviii (1899), pp. 262–7, and, for other references, U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above, cols. 4734–5.

An image of Diana (*Dianae simulacrum*). Perhaps a Celtic goddess, corresponding to Diana and therefore receiving a Roman name when imperial influences reached the Rhine. A cult of 'Diana' seems to have been widespread in this region. Cf. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i, p. 64; Grimm, *Mythologie*, i, pp. 99, 263.

Simeon of Antioch, the Stylite. This most famous of stylites, who lived in the first half of the fifth century, stood on his column at a place near Antioch, now known as Ḳal'at Sim'ān, for thirty years. The column rose in the centre of an octagonal space, open to the air, upon which abutted four basilicas; the exact spot where the column stood can be seen (cf. Prof. Bury's illustrated edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, iv, p. 104). In imitation of Simeon, numerous stylites stood on columns in the Christian East. In the West the custom was less common. The bishops who rebuked S. Walfroy were not so far wrong when they told him that the climate of inland Gaul was not suited to this particular form of asceticism: *on les admire, on ne les imite pas* (Delehaye, as below). For Stylites as a definite class of ascetics, see H. Delehaye, *Les saints Stylites* (Soc. des Bollandistes, Brussels, 1924); and for the literature on S. Simeon, U. Chevalier, as above: *Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4279.

With crowbars. The word in the text is *scutis*. This might signify some form of chisels or iron wedges. But Bonnet's emendation to *scutalis* allows us to introduce the more serviceable crowbar.

18. *King Childebert . . . sent an army into Italy.* From VI. 28 (42) we know that the money was advanced by the Emperor Maurice some years before 584, the time indicated in that passage, where the king's first and

most dishonourable expedition is mentioned. The quarrel between the leaders here noted is described by Paul the Deacon as due to ill feeling between the Franks and Alamanni in the army (*Hist. Langobard,* iii. 22). For Duke Wintrio, cf. IX. 3; his death in 597 is mentioned by Fredegar (*Chron.* iv. 18).

Offering immense presents to obtain it. Thus the kings sanctioned in civil appointments the vicious practice known as simony in relation to those made in the Church. Nicetius is again mentioned as duke (ch. 30 below) and as *rector* or governor of Provence (ch. 43).

Domigisel taking a leading part. This man is mentioned in VI. 11 (18) and 32 (45) as one of Chilperic's dukes. The chief men of Neustria resented Guntram's pretension to govern territory of his late brother through his own nominees. They were determined that the rights of the young Lothar II should not be overridden.

Shut up in the bath chamber of his house (*inclusum in pensilem domus*). This interpretation of *pensilis* in this passage is accepted by M. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours,* p. 249; he takes the word as meaning an arched or vaulted chamber. Ducange interprets it as the chamber where the maids were employed in spinning and weaving (s. v. *Gynaeceum*); in that case the derivation would be from *pensum,* the weighed portion of wool which the spinner had to spin.

19. *Save those on whose account they cannot be reproached.* In the sixth century men who were married before entering the Church were allowed to continue living with their wives on the understanding that they treated them as sisters. Cf. Introduction, p. 389.

20. *Or present consecrated bread* (*eulogias dare*). Better, 'blessed bread.' Cf. note to IV. 35.

That woman could not be called man. The bishop asked whether the word *homo* could properly be applied to a woman, and the Council replied that Holy Writ sanctioned such application. The word in classical Latin is common to either sex, and remained so in medieval times; the obvious answer was thus given to the question. The Council never approved any such idea as that women had no souls. Cf. G. Kurth, *Études franques,* 1919, Étude V: *Le Concile de Mâcon et l'âme des femmes.*

To drive a number of bishops into banishment. These were bishops who had joined the pretender Gundovald.

21. *His domain of Beslingen* (*Belsonancum*). This place, which Longnon (p. 388) identifies with *Belsonancum,* is in the district of Diekirch in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

But scant sympathy did she receive. On account of the general hostility of the aristocratic party towards her. Cf. Introduction, p. 70.

22. *Though the king had promised never to appoint a layman bishop.* The king was Guntram (Longnon, as above, pp. 589–90). It is here implied that he took a bribe. But only the previous year (584) he had protested in impressive words that it was not his practice to sell bishoprics (VI. 39). The Waldo here mentioned may be the deacon referred to by Fortunatus in *Carm.* ix. 13.

Wadelen, governor of King Childebert, died at this time. This was an event of some importance, as the next sentence, stating the assumption of power by the queen-mother, sufficiently shows. Wandelen in 581 succeeded Gogo, the Austrasian magnate (VI. 1) appointed by the aristocratic party as *nutritor* of the five-year-old Childebert II after the death of his father Sigibert in 575. He continued to serve the interests of the party, which in his person had a powerful representative at Court. After his death, the ambitious Brunhild, by refusing to accept a successor, took a decisive step towards the establishment of her own position and the realization of her policy, the enhancement of royal power against the notables. Cf. Introduction, p. 70. The office of governor or tutor (*nutritor, nutritius, bajulus*) had assumed political significance.

Duke Bodigisil. This duke, who had been governor at Marseilles, and held high office in Germany, is extolled by Fortunatus (*Carm.* vii. 5) for his justice, compassion, and generosity, no less than for his eloquence and knowledge of law.

28. *Ingund.* (Cf. ch. 18, 21, and VI. 26 (40), 29 (43)). According to Paul the Deacon, this sister of Childebert and daughter of Brunhild was taken by Byzantine soldiers while trying to get back to Gaul after Hermanfrid's death (*Hist. Langob.* ii. 21); Paul adds that after her death her young son was sent to Constantinople, to which city the princess herself was being conducted as an important prisoner, or rather possible hostage. Gregory, however, says that Hermangild left his wife with 'the Greeks' (V. 28 (38); VI. as above), though he tells us nothing of the child's fate. The boy, whose name was Athanagild, reached his destination, as we learn from letters addressed by Childebert and carried by his ambassadors (X. 2). Some were addressed to political persons, asking their influence in favour of a peace; but others have relation to the young Athanagild, whose restoration to Austrasia was ardently desired. One was written to the little son of Maurice, Theodosius, asking his protection for Athanagild; another is from Brunhild to the Empress Anastasia, making the same request (M. G. H., *Epistolae Merov. et Karolini aevi*, tom. i (1892), ed. W. Gundlach, Nos. 43, 44, on pp. 149, 150). Abstracts of the letters are given by Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, v, pp. 277–8; that of Brunhild to the little boy himself shows tender feeling. Guntram seems always to have held that Leuvigild should have prevented the retention by the Greeks of Ingund, the murder of whose husband Hermangild he regarded as an affront to Frankish dignity. Hence his refusal to make peace with the Visigoths. Brunhild and Childebert were more reasonable.

Was there buried. The territory in north-west Africa conquered by Justinian from the Vandals, and still in Byzantine hands, was touched at by vessels making the passage between the Spanish territory held by the East Roman Empire and Constantinople. The Princess Ingund would naturally be taken ashore, if her health did not permit her to go farther, and Carthage, as the most important maritime city, would be the place

where she would stay until able to continue her voyage. It was here that she died.

Even the envoys sent by Childebert to Constantinople, carrying the letters with regard to Athanagild and the conclusion of a peace, had to touch at Carthage (cf. X. 2).

Hermangild. Cf. V. 30 (41); VI. 28 (43). John of Biclar (*Chron.*, year 585) says that Hermangild was slain at Tarragona by one Sisbert (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chron. Minora*, ii (Berlin, 1894)). In his *Dialogues*, iii. 31, Gregory the Great gives a fictitious account of the martyrdom of this prince. Perhaps he derived his supposed facts from his friend Leander, bishop of Seville, while they were both at Constantinople. Leander (cf. V. 28 (38)) dared not return to Spain until the death of Leuvigild; he may have been ill-informed as to the real course of events. Paul the Deacon, writing in the eighth century, assumes the martyrdom of Hermangild as a matter of course. The story of Hermangild is well told by Hodgkin, as above, v, p. 253.

Buy it at any price you will. The text has: *quod praemiis multis coemite.* A more forcible reading would be *quem praemiis*, the reference then being to Guntram: Buy *him*, &c.

29. *From both sides.* Sigibert was stabbed in the same way from two sides (IV. 36 (51)).

30. *The horrible Goth.* Consciously or unconsciously, Guntram was repeating the exhortation of his grandfather Clovis (II. 27 (37)). The Visigoths were 'horrible' because they were still associated in Guntram's mind with the detested Arian heresy. For the resulting expedition, cf. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, v. 150.

That we bring this shame on our heads no longer. The speeches of Guntram and his dukes are of great interest as illustrating the disintegration of the Frankish military system and the total loss of discipline. Cf. Introduction, p. 227.

Cabaret. This appears to be the right identification of the *castrum* known as *Caput Arietis*. The place, which was constantly fortified in much later times, crowns a *puy*, or isolated hill, in the region of Carcassonne. Recared would attack it as one of the first strong places on the borders of Septimania. (Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 615.) The expedition of Recared is chronicled by John of Biclar, the Visigothic annalist above cited, under the year 585 in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chronica Minora*, ii. (Cf. also Vaissete, *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, i, p. 679.)

The fortress of Beaucaire (*Ugernum castrum*). This was on the Rhône, near the present town of Beaucaire. Ugernum was known to Strabo, and is mentioned in the Tabula Peutingeriana. John of Biclar calls it *Hodjernum*. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 436 ff.

Calumniosus, surnamed Egilan. A name of the same type as *Injuriosus*. Cf. note to I. 47. For Aegilan, cf. VII. 37, note s. v. *Leudegisel*.

31. *Bring up to manhood.* Literally, to the time of his majority

(*ad legitimam aetatem*), which may have been the age of fifteen, when kings came of age.

Romachar, bishop of Coutances, died in the following year, 586. For this saint, see the Bollandist *Bibl. hag. lat.* (1901), 1058.

In concert with the child's governors (*cum his qui parvulum nutriebant*). For the *nutritores*, cf. above, note to V. *46*. The haughty answer of the governors shows that the Neustrian notables, though devoted to their royal house, had the same spirit as those of Austrasia.

33. *Possessed by the demon of noon.* It is commonly supposed that the effect of sunstroke is meant, to which men applied the words in Psalm xc. 6 (Vulgate), 'the pestilence that walketh in the noonday'. We may note Grimm, *Mythologie*, ii, p. 114. Cf. also V. S. M. iii. 9 and iv. 36. It may be observed that the *daemonium meridianum* of the medieval monks was the spirit of *Acedia*, or the Tempter disguised as an angel of light. Cf. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, i, pp. 97, 312.

The church of the holy Vincent. Cf. III. 29 note.

Cured a leper's skin by a kiss. For lepers, cf. Introduction, p. 422.

Who many a time commanded fires to cease. The putting out of fires, like the liberation of prisoners, was one of the chief works of miracle done by saints, and S. Martin was naturally celebrated for both. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *De beati Martini vita*, ch. 11, and *Dialogi*, i, ch. 17.

On one side of the bridge. This was the bridge spanning the south arm of the Seine, and connecting the bank with the island. On this side were the then church of S. Vincent and the oratory of S. Martin.

A brazen serpent and a brazen rat (*serpentem cleremque aereum*). If *clerem* stands for *glirem*, the word is better translated 'dormouse'.

37. *The boy was named Theudebert.* He was later declared by his grandmother Brunhild to be illegitimate at the time when she was encouraging his younger brother against him. She and her favourite, the Gallo-Roman Protadius, are said to have incited Theuderic against Theudebert, alleging that the latter was a gardener's son (*ortolani cuiusdam filius* : Fredegar, iv. 27).

The hopes of Guntram were never realized. Theudebert was defeated and taken prisoner by his younger brother Theuderic (Thierry). He was shortly afterwards put to death at the age of twenty-seven in 612, his two children having been murdered by command of Theuderic.

39. *His wife.* A bishop or priest was allowed to retain his wife on certain conditions. Cf. note to ch. 19 above. Badegisil had been Mayor of the Household (VI. 9) ; some regard him as the first Mayor of the Palace. He is also mentioned in V. S. M. iv. 35.

The acquisition of my husband. Perhaps made after marriage, in which case the wife might claim a share. Cf. C. Galy, *La famille à l'époque mérov.*, p. 126.

Referendary. Cf. V. 3, *45* ; VI. 20 (28) ; IX. 23, 33, 38 ; X. 19.

40. *Keepers of the royal horses* (*Iumentorum fiscalium custodes*). Literally,

horses belonging to the domain. But this means simply the royal domain, the horses being kept on the various estates for the king's use.

Both to the cathedral church and to the church of the holy Martin (*qualiter ecclesiae vel basilicae sancti Martini*). The distinction between *ecclesia*, the principal church of the *civitas*, and the ' basilica ' of Martin is here again emphasized.

Sea-urchins in vessels (*ethymnum in vasis*). It is uncertain what *ethymnus* or *ethynus* really means. One conjecture is that it = *echinus*, in which case we can choose between : (1) sea-urchins ; (2) hedgehogs ; (3) edible chestnuts, the spikes on the shell of which give them a resemblance to a sea-urchin. The hedgehog is still eaten. Sea-urchins are edible, and formed an article of diet in these times (G. Spiess, *Papyri Tandanae*, Fasc. iv, No. 67, l. 5).

Chose out twelve men, . . . to swear falsely to his innocence. This is a case of compurgation, in which a man accused of an offence might clear himself by bringing a number of persons to swear that he was innocent. The number seems to have increased or diminished with the social importance of the accused. Queen Fredegund, when accused of having deceived her late lord, Chilperic I, produced no less than three bishops and three hundred laymen to assert her innocence (cf. ch. 9 above). In the case of daring and unscrupulous persons, the test was really of no value.

The church of the holy Martin in the village of Candes. It was at this place, on the Vienne, in the arrondissement and canton of Chinon (Indre-et-Loire), that Martin died, and here was the *cellula* of Martin. The spot was shown where he was wont to lie on the ground amid ashes, with a stone for his pillow. It was surrounded by a *cancellum* with a silk curtain hanging from it, a *patena* belonging to him, &c. It was a great place of pilgrimage, and numbers of poor people were fed there daily. It was the scene of many reputed miracles. Cf. I. 35 (48) above ; V. S. M. i. 14 ; ii. 19–23 ; iv. 10, 22. Radegund, after leaving Lothar I, gave great gifts to the cell at Candes (Baudonivia, *Vita S. Radegundis*, i, ch. 14 : M. G. H., *Scriptores rer. Merov.* ii (1888), pp. 364 ff.). The saint himself had apparently founded a church at Candes (cf. A. Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 270).

42. *Which belonged to Lothar, son of Chilperic.* They belonged to the infant king ; but Guntram, as his adoptive father, claimed the right of administering them. Cf. above, ch. 18.

In an upper chamber (*in tristico*). The correct form is *tristegum*, not *tristicum*. Whatever its original sense, the word came to mean an upper room, strictly a third-story room. Jerome in Ezek. xli translates τρίστεγα as *caenacula tertia*. See Ducange, s. v. *Tristegum*. One of the passages quoted by him from Abdias shows that a certain *tristicum* was reached from outside.

With many men of great place (*cum multis honoratis viris*). Perhaps these men were left by Beppolen as companions or guardians of his son.

43. *Governor of the province of Marseilles.* The title of *rector*, as already noted, was given to the governor of Provence.

To an island of the sea. Perhaps one of the Channel Islands.

45. *Desiderius.* The death of this duke is mentioned by John of Biclar (*Chron.*, year 587).

Who shortly afterwards appointed him duke in the dead man's place. According to Fredegar, Guntram himself started upon this expedition, but was obliged to turn back on account of ill health.

46. *Some say that he repented him of his heresy.* In the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great there is a passage to the effect that Leuvigild commanded Leander, bishop of Seville, to convert his son Recared. But, as Altamira has argued (C. M. H. ii, p. 171), there is no evidence in contemporary documents to prove either this, or the further conjecture that Recared had secretly adopted Catholicism in his father's lifetime. As Altamira observed, the character of Leuvigild, as illustrated by his actions, does not accord with the idea of a death-bed conversion ; and the statement of the bishop of Tours may be based on nothing more than hearsay. The wish of many Catholics that such an event should have occurred may have been father to the thought, and this in its turn to a widespread rumour.

BOOK IX

1. *Goiswinth.* This princess had been queen of Athanagild, who died in 567. She afterwards married his brother Leuvigild, and has been earlier mentioned as ill-treating Ingund for refusing to become an Arian (V. 28 (38)). Her evident force of character and ability help us to understand the like qualities in her daughter Brunhild. She died in 589, as recorded by John of Biclar (*Chron.* in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi : *Chron. Min.* ii). He says that she plotted against the Catholics with Bishop Uldida, who was exiled by Recared.

Were welcomed with friendliness. It was natural that Brunhild, a Visigothic princess and daughter of Goiswinth, should place a less unfavourable construction than Guntram on Visigothic policy.

2. *The most blessed Radegund passed away . . . I myself was present at her burying.* For Radegund, once queen of Lothar I, cf. III. 4, 7 ; VI. 21 (29). Cf. also Introduction, p. 67. In G. C., ch. 104, Gregory has left a description of his visit to Poitiers after her death, of much human and historical interest. He was summoned because Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, was away, and could not perform the obsequies. This bishop is said to have been engaged on diocesan visitation ; but he never seems to have agreed with Radegund, and may have preferred not to be in Poitiers at the time of her death. Cf. S. Dill, *Roman Soc. in Gaul in the Merov. Age*, pp. 381–2.

3. *The feast of the holy Marcellus.* This was the martyr of that name,

slain near Chalon on the 4th of September about A. D. 178. For works relating to him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 3008.

4. *Veranus.* S. Veranus (Véran), formerly an anchorite at Vaucluse and bishop of Cavaillon, 585. For references, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources*, as above, col. 4643.

Given the name of Theuderic. This prince was the legitimate son of Childebert's queen, Faileuba. In after years, when he and his half-brother Theudebert divided the kingdom, Brunhild favoured him for this reason. Cf. VIII. 37.

6. *Hellish arts.* The word *nigromantia* (necromancy) is used; but the sense is probably quite general.

Public Rogations. Cf. note to II. 25 (34) and Introduction, p. 339.

Lodged at the church of the holy Julian the martyr. This probably means in the 'church house'.

Until . . . the light of the sun had risen high in the heavens (*donec dato terris die altius solis lampas ascenderet*). Gregory, as often, when reminiscences of Virgil cross his mind, here uses poetical terms.

Asking that he might be pardoned. Because the fugitive had been seized in a church.

7. *Lescar.* The Latin equivalent is *Benarna urbs.* The old town is not mentioned in documents of later date than the sixth century, and it is supposed to have been destroyed towards the end of the ninth century by the Normans or by the Saracens; modern opinion places it on the site now occupied by Lescar, chief place of a canton in the arrondissement of Pau, Basses-Pyrénées (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 595). We learn from the present passage that the place was temporarily under Childebert. But Chilperic had previously occupied it, and at the Pact of Andelot it is provisionally assigned to Guntram, as guardian of the young Lothar II.

The Gascons. Cf. Introduction, p. 173.

9. *Rauching leagued himself with the chief men in the kingdom of Lothar, son of Chilperic.* We have here the outbreak of a plot of the Austrasian aristocratic party against the royal power, represented by the queen-mother, Brunhild. To strengthen their position, the conspirators entered into relations with the nobles of Neustria, the chief agent in the intrigue being Bishop Egidius.

With authority to travel in the king's name. The full Roman system of relays and stages on public roads cannot have been maintained in Merovingian times. But this passage, and a *formula* of Marculf, seem to show that persons on the king's business or travelling to Court were furnished by the king and his counts with letters (*tractoriae*) enabling them to requisition horses (*veredi* and *paraveredi*), the former belonging to the king or his counts, the latter to private persons, and provisions for their journey. Charles the Great made improved arrangements for such travelling. Cf. B. Guérard, *Le polyptyque d'Irminon*, i (*Prolegomena*), pp. 804 ff.

In a strong place in the Woëvre (*Castrum Vabrense*). The *Pagus Vabrensis* was a wide forest region, including the country now known as the Woëvre, on the right bank of the Meuse, south-east of Stenay. Various attempts have been made to establish the precise site of the *castrum*, but in the opinion of Longnon (*Géogr.*, pp. 372 ff.) none can be regarded as successful.

10. *Set out to meet his uncle.* The place of meeting was Andelot, in the arrondissement of Chaumont, Haute-Marne. This is the *Andelaus* mentioned by Gregory (V. 18) and by Fredegar. Cf. note to ch. 20 below, on p. 585, where the peculiar advantages of the place for such a conference are pointed out. Andelot is now a place of small significance.

11. *Dynamius and Duke Lupus, who now returned to him.* Lupus had been driven from Austrasia by the violence of the aristocratic party and had taken refuge with Guntram (cf. VI. 4); now that this party, after the failure of its plot, was for the moment crushed, he was able to return in safety. Dynamius, formerly Childebert's governor at Marseilles, had made advances to Guntram, and when Childebert obtained the whole of Marseilles, had doubtless found a protector in the king of Burgundy (cf. VI. 24 (33)). The benevolence of Dynamius is praised by Fortunatus, who also alludes to his love of letters.

Gave back Cahors to Queen Brunhild. This was one of the cities given by Chilperic to Galswinth as *morgengabe*, and afterwards claimed by her sister.

13. *If Fredegund, by the help of men of good repute, can clear him of the charge brought against him.* The king alludes to the custom of compurgation by oath. Cf. VIII. 9, 40. The text runs: *Si eum cum idoneis hominibus Fredegundis ab hac actione qua impetitur, immunem fecerit.* The word *idoneus* has the common Late Latin meaning of 'worthy' or 'of good character'.

Rueil. In Seine-et-Oise; distinct from the Rueil in Seine-Inférieure, to which Fredegund was sent by Guntram (Longnon, as above, p. 360).

15. *Received the sign of the blessed Cross, with unction of holy chrism* (*cum chrismatis unctione*). Brunhild and her sister Galswinth were thus received into the Catholic Church (cf. IV. 20 (27), 21 (28); of each it is said: *chrismata est.* John, abbot of Biclar, gives the time as ten months after Recared's accession (*Chron.*, year 587, in M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chron. Min.* ii (Berlin, 1894)). Fredegar describes the baptism of Recared as secret; he afterwards had Arian books burned at Toledo, and ordered a general baptism of the people (iv. 8). For the conversion of this king, cf. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, p. 162. His motives may have been partly religious, partly political. According to tradition, he was converted by Leander, bishop of Seville, the friend of Gregory the Great. This prelate had withdrawn to Constantinople to escape King Leuvigild, not returning to Spain until that monarch's death; he was acquainted with political conditions in the Byzantine Empire and had influence in the capital. After the first announcement of his

conversion, Recared had to suppress some opposition before, in 589, he could summon a great Council at Toledo to affirm the catholicity of his kingdom. His speech on that occasion was composed by Leander (Labbe, *Concilia*, v, p. 997), who wrote to Pope Gregory to inform him as to the proceedings of the Council. The pope's reply is preserved (*Ep.* i. 41).

Athaloc. Another source states that this bishop joined with two Narbonnese counts, Granista and Wildigern, in a rebellion against Recared. Other rebellions of Arians are mentioned, such as those of the bishops Uldila and Sunna of Merida. In one of these risings Queen Goiswinth is said to have been involved. John of Biclar, *Chron.*, years 567–90, makes mention of these movements against Recared and suggests their relation to Frankish attacks on Septimania (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi; *Chron. Min.* ii, pp. 207 ff.). Cf. also C. M. H. ii, p. 172.

16. *That he was privy to the death of thy sister.* Ingund, who died on her way to Constantinople (VIII. 18, 21, 28). This suspicion was deeply implanted in King Guntram's heart, and was one cause of the vain attacks on Septimania, which he repeated on the ground that the Visigoths had wronged his niece.

18. *Pledging themselves never again to attack the territory of those cities.* Such undertakings on the part of the Bretons, as subsequent history shows, had but a short validity. Some of the Breton leaders, like Waroch in the present case, broke their own pledges; but it must be remembered that often the country was held by mutually independent chiefs, whose word was not considered binding upon their neighbours. Thus a chief not present when an agreement was signed might not hold himself bound by it.

Anianus, the confessor. Anianus (S. Aignan or S. Agnan), bishop of Orleans, arrested Attila's advance in 451, and died in 453. For works relating to him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 68.

19. *Bouges.* This place in the arrondissement of Châteauroux, Indre, is accepted by Longnon (*Géogr.*, p. 476) as the most probable modern equivalent of *Vosagensis pagus*, the latter word having here, as often elsewhere, the sense of village.

The village of Mauriopes. The place of this name was probably destroyed in Frankish times. It appears to have been situated in the diocese of Troyes (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 340).

For his honour. This seems the probable meaning. He had to show that it fell to him by Frankish custom to avenge the murder of his own kinsmen at the hands of Sichar, and the affront offered to him by the latter, related in this chapter. The words are: *iudicatum est ei, ut convinceret super se eum interfecisse.*

20. *He withholdeth . . . my part in the city of Senlis.* The Pact of Andelot has two contradictory clauses with regard to Senlis. In the first it is provided that Childebert shall have two-thirds of the city, and

Guntram one-third : this is the clause which Guntram evidently has in his mind. The second gives the whole to Childebert (*ut Silvanectis domnus Childebertus in integritate teneat*), but Guntram is to have, in exchange for his lost third, the Austrasian third in the territory of Ressons, which had been triply divided in the same way as Senlis after the death of Charibert.

Andelot (*Andelaus*). As already noted above, p. 583, this is generally believed to be Andelot in Haute-Marne. As Longnon remarks (*Géogr.*, p. 371), the situation of this Andelot in the diocese of Toul, which was in Childebert's kingdom, yet on the borders of the diocese of Langres, which belonged to Guntram, made it eminently suitable for a conference, for in the Middle Ages kings preferred to meet on their frontier lines between their respective dominions. The text of the Pact of Andelot is published in M. G. H., *Leges*, vol. i (1883), pp. 12–14.

The treaty which he made with King Sigibert of blessed memory. In 567, after Charibert's death. The treaty has not been preserved.

As long as she shall remain in the Frankish dominions. It will be remembered that Recared the Visigoth had asked the hand of Chlodosind (ch. 16 above).

Lescar, and Cieutat (*Benarno et Begorra*). For Benarno or Benarna (*Lescar*), see note to ch. 7 above. The old identification of Bigorra with Tarbes is rejected by Longnon, who decides in favour of Cieutat (*Géogr.*, p. 599).

Morgengabe (*morganegiba*). This was the gift made by the bridegroom to the bride on the morning after the marriage, and in the case of kings consisted of cities with their revenues. It was a voluntary and indeterminate gift, varying with the political importance of the bride and the intensity of the king's affection. It is mentioned in the Laws of the Burgundians, Alamanni, and Lombards. Cf. Ducange, s. v., and see V. 26 (34) n.

Ressons. The *Ressontense*, or territory of Ressontois, is either Ressons-sur-le-Matz (Oise, arrondissement of Compiègne) or Ressons-le-long (Aisne, arrondissement of Soissons). The claim of the former seems preferable (cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, pp. 416–17).

Their own trusty adherents (*fideles*). The word *fidelis* is here probably used in a wide sense.

During an interregnum (*per interregna*). An interregnum in Merovingian times was apt to be very short. Perhaps the minority of an infant king may be included under the term, though this is doubtful.

A free passage through the kingdom of either. The strange jumble of territory into which France was divided by the partition of the Merovingian kingdoms after the death of Charibert in 567 made the country in normal times a paradise for deserters, and at the same time a purgatory for legitimate travellers. At any moment disputes between the kings might close numerous frontiers, and isolate large tracts of country ; further, certain regions formed *enclaves*, and could be wholly cut off at short notice. Already Guntram had closed his frontiers to Childebert's

subjects (VI. *11*; cf. also ch. 32 below). The provisions in the Pact of Andelot show that Guntram and Childebert were determined, as far as their kingdoms were concerned, to remedy these evils.

Which his sire claimed in his lifetime. Sigibert is not known to have claimed conquests in Lombardy; the envoy may allude to claims giving rise to the expedition of Chramnichis, mentioned by Paul the Deacon, which advanced into the dukedom of Trent, but was soon defeated. Cf. C. M. H. ii, p. 199. For Childebert's own expeditions to Italy, cf. VI. 28 (42); VIII. 18; X. 3, and references in the notes to those chapters.

21. *A village called Octavus.* Probably Saint-Symphorien-d'Ozon, Isère, at the eighth milestone on the Roman road from Vienne to Lyon (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 199 ff.).

Some particles of the fringe upon his royal mantle (*abruptisque clam regalis indumenti fimbriis*). Gregory's other works contain many references to miracles wrought by the prescription of water in which bits of *fimbriae* or borders of altar-cloths and shrine-coverings were steeped. Cf. Introduction, pp. 5–7, 322, and previous examples in the History itself, e.g. VII. 22.

22. *The holy Victor.* Victor, a native of Marseilles, served in the Roman army, but was arrested during the persecution of Diocletian and beheaded on the 21st July 303; the famous abbey of S. Victor at Marseilles was built in his honour. For references to him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4659. The basilica of S. Victor is now represented by Notre-Dame du Mont (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 449).

23. *Abbot of Autun.* He was abbot of Lérins, and of S. Symphorien at Autun. He held the see of Arles for twenty-two years, dying in 610. For works relating to him, see U. Chevalier, as above, col. 4695.

24. *To whose place Pronimius was appointed.* An episode in the life of Pronimius (or Phronimius) is recorded in V. P. viii. 9.

25. *When they asked his sister in marriage.* Chlodosind had in fact been promised by Childebert to Authari (or 'Aptachar', as Gregory calls him in X. 3), king of the Lombards, but the Frankish king broke his promise when Recared became a Catholic. Authari afterwards married Theudelind, daughter of Garibald, duke of Bavaria (Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* iii. 30), but died at Pavia in 590.

Such was the slaughter . . . days. The next invasion was also disastrous (X. 3).

26. *The cathedral of Tours and the church of the holy Martin.* Again we have the distinction between *ecclesia*, used for the great church, and *basilica* used for other churches.

By deeds of enfranchisement she freed many serfs (*multus per catholicas liberus derelinques = multos per chartulas liberos derelinquens*). Manumission *per chartam* or *chartulam* seems to have been equivalent to that *per tabulas* (cf. Introduction, p. 393, and note to X. 9).

One daughter married to the son of a certain king in Kent (*quam in Chancia regis cuiusdum* [*filius*] *matrimonio copulavit*). This terse statement, in

which no name is given either of the royal husband or his bride (cf. IV. 19 (26)), illustrates the lack of intercourse between Gaul and England in the later days of Saxon heathenism. The prince in question was Ethelbert; the Frankish bride was Bertha or Adelberg. The fine character of Bertha's mother should be noted, no less than the most unsatisfactory character of her sister Berthefled (ch. 33 of the present book). Cf. Introduction, p. 557.

27. *The church of the holy Marcellus.* Cf. ch. 3 above; V. 28; and G. M., ch. 53. Marcellus was martyred near Chalon about A. D. 178.

28. *A shield.* This object, styled *clipeus*, was probably a decorative object, an ornate disk or salver, like the group of 'votive shields'.

29. *Momociacus.* Probably a town not far from Strasbourg (Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 620–2).

30. *King Childebert sent . . . Florentianus, his mayor of the household, and Romulf . . . to prepare new tax-lists.* The mayor of the household (cf. VI. 9 n.) had charge of the royal revenues and was, therefore, the natural person to send. The lists were for the poll-tax, the incidence of which was upon the Gallo-Romans. In V. S. M. iv. 6 and Fortunatus (*Carm.* x. 12, 14, 15) the presence of these two officials of Childebert at Tours is again mentioned.

31. *There fell in this place about five thousand men.* John of Biclar (*Chron.*, year 589) says that Recared's victorious general was Claudius, duke of Lusitania, who had barely three hundred men; he destroyed about sixty thousand Franks, a feat ascribed to the conversion of Recared to orthodox belief. John compares Claudius to Gideon (M. G. H., *Auct. antiquiss.* xi: *Chron. Min.* ii (1894)). Cf. Fredegar, iv. 10.

33. *A nunnery in the atrium of the holy Martin.* This nunnery, under the later name of S. Maria de Scriniolo, stood until the eleventh century, but was afterwards removed nearer to the city of Tours. Various houses seem to have adjoined the *atrium*, used as temporary retreats by various personages: Clotild, queen of Clovis, and Wiliachar, father-in-law of Prince Chramn (IV. 11 (17), 13 (20)).

The Nicene Council. Gregory really cites the fourteenth canon of the Council of Gangres. For the case of Berthegund, see C. Galy, *La famille à l'époque mérov.*, pp. 99 ff.

In a dispute about property. Bertram, bishop of Bordeaux, son of Ingitrude and brother of Berthegund, died without direct heirs while his father's estate was still undivided, his own share falling to his mother, Ingitrude. But his sister Berthegund and the children of his dead brother had a right to fixed shares in the paternal estate, which was now finally divided between Ingitrude, Berthegund, and Ingitrude's grandchildren. See Galy, as above, pp. 300 ff.

Referendary. For referendaries, cf. V. 3, *45*; VI. 20 (28); VIII. 39; IX. 23, 38; X. 19.

34. *Declaring that she was the real mistress.* Perhaps because Fredegund had begun life as a palace maid, whereas she herself was of royal blood, being a king's daughter.

35. *Beretrude . . . named her daughter as her heir.* Beretrude was the

wife of Duke Launebod, and together they had built the church of S. Saturninus at Toulouse (cf. Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 12).

36. *The town named Strasbourg* (*urbis quam Strateburgum vocant*). We may compare X. 19, where the ancient Argentoratum is described as : *Argentoratensis urbs, quae* (*quam*) *nunc Strateburgum vocant.* These are the oldest mentions of the later name of the town.

Some of the more powerful citizens of Soissons and Meaux. Meaux had been occupied by Childebert after his uncle Chilperic's death (cf. VII. 4), and it is possible that Soissons had been annexed to Austrasia at the same time, though we are not told so, and Meaux was specially secured to Childebert by the Pact of Andelot.

Counts, domestics, mayors, tutors. For the officers of Merovingian Courts, cf. Introduction, pp. 200 ff. If the word *nutricius* is here, as it sometimes is, an alternative for *nutritor*, it would mean ' governor ' or ' tutor ' ; the years of Theudebert were sufficiently tender to justify the appointment of such an officer.

37. *Sorcy* (*apud Sauriciacum villam*). Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 402 ff.

38. *Referendary.* Cf. V. 3, *45*; VI. 20 (28); VIII. 39; IX. 23, 33; X. 19.

Stretched upon the rack (*extensi inter stipites*). One of the forms of torture by stretching the limbs, the exact nature of which is not quite clear ; perhaps some kind of ' spread-eagling '. For stretching by rope and pulley, cf. above, V. *49*.

In the gynaeceum (*in genicio*). The word, as applied to part of a palace, usually meant a work-place for women, usually those occupied in spinning, weaving, or dyeing garments. Cf. Introduction, pp. 400, 405.

Property which they held of the domain (*res quas a fisco meruerant*). The domain really meant the king, who conferred lands at will. Such gifts of lands were for the recipient's life, and were distinguished from those received as absolute gifts or acquired through inheritance or purchase.

39. *Clotild . . . daughter of King Charibert.* She was half-sister of Bertha, queen of Ethelbert of Kent. As her mother, whether Merofled or Marcovefa, had been a handmaid of Queen Ingoberg (IV. 19 (26)), her remarks about ' the offspring of low serving-women ' appear to be out of place. The mother of her fellow rebel Basina, Audovera, first queen of Chilperic, was also not of high birth.

The *scandalum* at the monastery of the Holy Cross remains perhaps unparalleled by the most disorderly outbreaks in later times on the part of rebellious nuns. Cf. Introduction, pp. 360 ff. Fortunatus, still only a priest, was evidently at Poitiers when the rebellion began, for he wrote two letters to Gregory, imploring his assistance in restoring order, and appealing to him in the name of the dead foundress, their common friend (*Carm.* viii. 16, 17). The first, which is metrical, begins :

Repsit quale nefas intra pia septa synaxis.

The second, in prose, was carried by a fellow priest (*conservus meus presbyter*), who was to tell the whole story to Gregory by word of mouth. Both letters are very short.

From the same region whence . . . the holy Martin journeyed hither. Martin came from Pannonia (cf. I. 36). Radegund's own home was Thuringia (III. 4).

Following the institution of Caesarius, bishop of Arles. S. Caesarius (470 or 471–542) was a native of Chalon-sur-Saône, and became a monk of Lérins, where he suggested reforms in a community which had somewhat degenerated from its former high standards. In 503 he became metropolitan of Arles, thus holding the most distinguished position in the Gallican Church, and from this point of vantage issued Rules for monasteries and nunneries destined to introduce system into the somewhat vague governance of monastic houses in Gaul. Foremost among the conditions exacted by him were the Rule of absolute poverty, hitherto by no means universal, and the Rule of permanence of abode. It is the second of these which was most flagrantly transgressed by the recalcitrant nuns of Poitiers. The leaving of monasteries without other cause than caprice or petulance was a frequent scandal, especially among persons of high birth, who were restive under the slightest correction. Caesarius was particularly anxious to check this abuse, and the case of Poitiers shows how great was the need for his reform. Caesarius was the first to draw up a special Rule for nuns. There was much laxity among communities of women before his time ; there were occupations of a worldly nature, too many visits from friends in the outer world, vanities of dress, excessive hospitality, indiscipline, and other abuses. The Rule of Caesarius was strict, but enforced no unbearable rigours. It compelled equal service on the part of all ; established the authority of the abbess and prioress ; and insisted that the vows once taken, the nun must remain in her monastery until she died. He provided for the election of the abbess by the community, and restricted episcopal interference. The bishop was to have no voice either in the election of the abbess or in the government of the house ; his functions were chiefly confined to the benediction of the abbess on her election, and to occasional performance of services in the church or oratory. But he had one duty of great importance, which was to intervene in cases of gross breaches of discipline.

The Rule of Caesarius, based upon the usage of Lérins, the Rule of Cassian, and prescriptions of S. Augustine, was primarily drawn up for Arles. But it was soon adopted in the Rhône valley, and, as this chapter of Gregory shows, in central France. Its high reputation induced Radegund to choose it for her monastery at Poitiers, the fact being mentioned both by Fortunatus (*Carm.* viii. 6 : *De Virginitate*), and by the nun Baudonivia in her Life of the queen. It was in general use until displaced by that of S. Benedict. Caesaria, sister of Caesarius, as abbess at Arles, used the Rule drawn up by her brother. The Life of Caesarius is published in M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* iii (1896), pp. 433 ff. : *Vita Caesarii Episcopi . . . Libri Duo*, ed. by B. Krusch. For other works relating to Caesarius, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist. : Bio-bibliogr.*, cols. 841–3.

40. *And duly returned with the relics.* At Constantinople they received from the Emperor Justin and his consort Sophia a portion of the wood of the True Cross, set in a gold triptych enriched with enamel and inlaid stones. The arrival of this precious relic at Radegund's monastery is celebrated by Fortunatus in several hymns (*Carm.* ii. 1–7), the most famous of which is that beginning : *Vexilla Regis prodeunt.* Baudonivia the nun, who was in the monastery during Radegund's life, says that the saint asked King Sigibert's sanction for her petition to the Emperor Justin. She says that its direct arrival in Poitiers was prevented by the devil, who seduced the Bishop Maroveus and the people (*At ubi lignum ubi salus mundi pependerat Pictavus civitatem . . . advenit, et pontifex loci cum omni populo devote hoc vellet excipere ; inimicus humani generis per satellites suos egit ut pretium mundi repellerent, nec in civitatem accipere vellent* (*Vit. S. Rad.* ii. 16, in M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii)). The enamelled central portion of this triptych, with the relic, is still at Poitiers in the present convent of the Holy Cross. It is a small, almost square, gold panel (2·3 in. × 2·1 in.), covered with a scroll design in cloisonné enamel, a cruciform cavity in the middle containing the wood. (Cf. W. M. Conway, *The Antiquaries Journal,* 1923, pp. 1–12 and coloured plate.)

With the abbess whom she had appointed. This was Agnes, her protégée, under whom she henceforward lived contentedly until her death. Fortunatus, who frequently enjoyed their hospitality, has left several short poems addressed to the queen, among the most natural and human of his poetical efforts (*Carm.* viii. 9–14 ; xi. 2, 3). Other poetical letters are addressed to Agnes (xi. 5–9). *Carm.* xi. 4 is written as a joint letter by Fortunatus and Agnes to Radegund. Other poems (xi. 11–13) describe entertainment given to the writer in the monastery, and gifts sent by him to the queen and abbess. Cf. Introduction, p. 84.

The passing of the blessed Radegund. This was in 587. Cf. above, ch. 2.

41. *Their apostolic seats.* The adjective ' apostolic ' is applied elsewhere to ordinary episcopal sees. Cf. note to IV. 19 (26). This usage was common down to the ninth century.

42. *The most excellent lord King Lothar.* The character of Lothar I was far from excellent (Introduction, p. 48), but he appears to have treated Radegund with consideration after she left him, and contributed with generosity to the accomplishment of her designs.

The lady Agnes, my sister. The word ' sister ' is not literally used Agnes is called sister in the religious sense.

The world runneth to its end. Cf. Introduction, p. 28.

BOOK X

1. *Our deacon, returning from Rome with relics of the saints.* In G. M., ch. 82, we learn that the *capsa* of relics brought on this occasion from Portus to Marseilles was the means of averting a shipwreck.

Pope Pelagius. This was Pelagius II (578–90), successor of Benedict I.

The deacon Gregory. Gregory of Tours is the original authority for this account of events attending the election of his great namesake. Other early sources are the seventh-century writer of a notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*; an anonymous monk of Whitby anterior to Bede (Plummer, *Baedae opera*, ii, Appendix i); Bede himself (*Hist. eccl. gentis Angl.*, esp. ii, ch. 1); Paul Warnefrid (Paul the Deacon), the historian of the Lombards, who, however, compiles from Gregory of Tours and Bede; Isidore, archbishop of Seville (d. 636), and Ildefonsus, archbishop of Toledo (d. 667), and John the Deacon. Cf. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, 1905. To the general books on Gregory the Great cited by Dudden may be added H. H. Howorth's *Saint Gregory the Great* (1912).

One of the first among senatorial families. The *gens Anicia*. His father was named Gordian, his mother Silvia.

Six monasteries in Sicily. One was on a property which had belonged to his mother Silvia in the diocese of Palermo.

In the silken garb of high office, adorned with glittering gems (*Syrico contextus ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus*). Gregory held the exalted position of Prefect of the City in 573; it was upon laying down this office that he transformed his ancestral palace on the Caelian Hill into a monastery, naming it after S. Andrew (John the Deacon, *Vit. Greg.* i. 6; Greg. *Ep.* vii. 13), and for some time making it at any rate an alternative place of residence.

Appointed as seventh among the deacons who assisted the pope. There were only seven of these deacons, so that Gregory was the junior. They had charge of the seven regions into which Rome was divided, and were especially concerned with the relief of the poor. It was suggested by Baronius that they were the precursors of the present Cardinal Deacons. Each region, as we see from the account of the sevenfold procession, below, had its special church.

The emperor Maurice, whose son he had received from the sacred font. Gregory had been *apocrisiarius*, or *nuncio* at Constantinople from 579 to 585, in the reigns of Tiberius and Maurice (cf. VI. *30*; 28 (42); X. 2, 4).

Germanus, prefect of Rome. Some have taken Germanus as 'brother', and assumed that a brother of Gregory was *praefectus urbis* at the time, but this is a mere supposition. For the stopping of the messenger and the substitution of a new letter, cf. Dudden, as above, p. 216. The

authorities, other than Gregory, are Paul the Deacon, *Vita Greg.* i. 10 (or the early writer to whom Paul's name has been given), and John the Deacon, *Vita*, i. 39, 40.

His diploma of confirmation (*praeceptio*). As the *consensus* of the people has been mentioned just before, it appears that the election of the bishop of Rome followed similar lines to those of elections in Gaul, the emperor playing the part assigned in that country to the Frankish kings. Since the time of Justinian, the emperors had claimed the right of confirming elections to important sees, and notably to that of Rome. The elevation of an archdeacon or deacon to the episcopate was not an unusual occurrence.

The sevenfold Litanies. The seven processions organized by Gregory, following from the above-noted division of the city into seven regions, naturally resulted in a ' sevenfold litany ', which became characteristically Roman. Cf. also Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* iii. 24, and John the Deacon, i. 42 : the last-named gives a different order of procession, as Pope Gregory himself appears to do (*Ep.* xiii. 2), though the reference here is to a later repetition of the procession (Dudden, i, pp. 218–19).

Came . . . through the streets of the city. According to a later legend, when this procession of 25th April 590 came to the bridge over the Tiber, the archangel Michael appeared on the dome of the mausoleum of Hadrian with a flaming sword, which he proceeded to sheathe ; the plague was then stayed. Hence the name of the bridge and castle of S. Angelo (see F. H. Dudden, as above, i, p. 219).

Given as pope (*Papa urbis datus est*). In Italy the title of pope (*papa* = father) was appropriated to the Roman pontiff in the time of Theodoric, but it was not confined to him in all other countries until a later date.

From Ostia. Portus should be read. The deacon's return with the relics to Marseilles is mentioned in G. M., ch. 82. Portus, on the north bank of the Tiber opposite the earlier port of Ostia, and the seat of a bishopric, was in the time of Theodoric a place of great activity, much frequented by foreign merchants and sailors ; many pilgrims and persons visiting Rome on business passed through it, and there received their first impression of Roman life. It was governed by a count, the *formula* of whose appointment is given by Cassiodorus (*Var.* vii. 9 : *Formula Comitivae Portus Urbis Romanae*). He is told that he is fortunate in his work : *deliciosa magis quam laboriosa militia est in Portu Romano comitivae gerere dignitatem . . . Illic copiosus navium adventus ; illic veligerum mare peregrinos populos cum diversa provinciarum merce transmittit. His primum faucibus Romanae deliciae sentiuntur.* Under the count was a *vicarius*, whose *formula* is also given by Cassiodorus (vii. 23). He is especially instructed to show tact in the reception of foreigners, and to treat the home merchant with consideration ; he is also to prevent quarrels between members of different peoples.

2. *A mission to the emperor Maurice.* This mission was connected with the Lombard war (cf. IX. 25), and with the affair of Ingund, sister of Childebert (VIII. 28 n.).

Great Carthage. The ancient African city, distinguished from New Carthage (Cartagena) in Spain.

Bodegisil, son of Mummolen of Soissons. This may have been the Mummolen who gave Fortunatus so splendid a dinner (including a dessert of peaches) that he was quite upset by the feast (*Carm.* vii. 14), and to whom he writes two prose letters, one of condolence on the death of his son (*Carm.* x. 2, 3).

The man of chief rank in the city. The expression used is *senior urbis.* The Byzantine Prefect of Africa is probably meant.

3. *It was commanded by twenty dukes.* Paul the Deacon, borrowing from Gregory, makes the number twenty-two, apparently because he adds Wintrio and Olo to the six dukes with Audovald, whereas Gregory includes them in the total. This invasion is described in vol. v of Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders.*

The lowlands called Canini. These are represented by the lower valley of the Ticino before it enters Lago Maggiore. Bellinzona is situated near the river, more than ten miles north-east of the lake.

A lake called Ceresium from which issued a narrow but deep stream. The lake of Lugano is connected with Lago Maggiore by such a channel.

A signal upon which the Lombards had agreed. The words are *unde intelligi datur hoc signum sibi Langobardi praeparavisse.* It may be that the Lombards wished to decide the war by a judgement of God, through a single combat. But the words equally admit the theory that the man was a champion in a more general sense, representing his nation in a post of exceptional danger.

Five strong places. Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* iii. 31) says that this army reached Verona, and mentions a number of strong places; obtaining the information not in Gregory from the Lombard history of Secundus, bishop of Trent (d. 612), a work unfortunately lost.

Guntram received their message graciously. Paul the Deacon (*Hist. Lang.* iii. 34) adds at this point a fabulous story of good King Guntram, which he thinks should be known. The king fell asleep in an interval of hunting, and a small serpentine creature was seen to issue from his ear. It was watched until it entered a fissure in a hill, whence in due time it returned, once more entering Guntram's ear. The king, on waking, related his dream, that he had found a great treasure in the hill. The spot revealed by the small creature was pointed out, and excavation undertaken. Inestimable riches were soon found, of which Guntram caused to be made a massy gold canopy, placed over the tomb of S. Marcellus at Chalon. The tale is worth repeating, as illustrating the kind of legend growing up about a popular and generous personality, like that of Guntram. We may compare the legend about the generous Emperor Tiberius, who also finds a great treasure (V. 13 (19)). W. Gundlach, in a note to this passage of Paul, refers to Grimm's *Sagen*, i, Nos. 247–9 and 455.

Announcing . . . the succession of Paul. In Paul the Deacon there is no mention of any such name. On the death of Authari, Theudelinda,

his widow, chose Agilulf, duke of Turin, as king and consort. It has been suggested that Paul may be another name for Agilulf, given to him at the time of his baptism. For the history of the Lombards in Italy at this time, see L. Hartmann, in C. M. H. ii, ch. vii, p. 201.

5. *Made gifts to the domestic.* Corrupt methods were evidently practised in Merovingian courts of justice. If the king's court was thus amenable to improper influences, it is easy to imagine what may have been the practice in the count's courts.

The country house of Mareil (*villa Maroialensis*). According to Longnon (*Géogr.*, pp. 296 ff.), this was most probably Mareil-sur-Loir (Sarthe).

7. *All taxes due from churches*, &c. Probably the remission applied only to arrears, for taxes seem to have been payable later. They were presumably for the most part land-taxes. For taxation in Merovingian Gaul, cf. Introduction, p. 220.

9. *The Oust.* Gregory writes *Uldam fluvium; Uldum* would have been more correct (Longnon, as above, p. 159).

The Saxons of Bayeux (*Saxones Baiocassini*). These people represented an old Saxon settlement made during the sea-raids of the fifth century (cf. V. 19 (26) and Introduction, p. 172).

Freed . . . by taper and tablet. It had been the custom, from the time of Constantine, to celebrate one form of manumission at the altar. The slave, holding a taper in his hands, was led thrice round the altar by the priest. He was then given a certificate of free status (*ingenuitatis*), written either on tablets (*tabulae*) or on paper (*charta*) ; men thus enfranchised in a church were commonly known as *tabularii*. Cf. Ducange (s. v. *Manumissio*), citing Augustine, *Ep.* 50, and the third Council of Orleans (538), Canon 26.

The Mayenne (*Meduana*). Gregory calls this affluent of the Loire a *torrens* ; Lucan more justly describes it as a river (*Phars.* i. 438).

10. *To kill game in the royal domain.* This passage is of interest as illustrating the severity of ' game laws ' in the royal forests ; the mention of the *custos silvae* shows that regular keepers were employed.

The wild ox killed by Chundo is described by Gregory as *buvalus*, of which term *bubalus* and *bufalus* are variants. Both the bison and the aurochs may still have been found in the forests of North-eastern Gaul in the sixth century ; and as Gregory was probably ignorant of zoological species, the actual word which he uses may be irrelevant. But Pliny, N. H. viii. 38, uses the term *bison* (*Germania gignit bisontes*), and perhaps Gregory might have known enough to use it had a bison been intended. The buffalo seems to have been confined to the south of Europe, and therefore to be excluded. Perhaps the aurochs (*urus*) was the species which King Guntram so carefully preserved. In *Carm.* vii. 4, l. 20, Fortunatus refers to the hunting of the *validus bufalus* in the Ardennes and Vosges, and possibly the word *bufalus*, or *bubalus*, was loosely used for *urus*.

The king ordered trial by single combat. Ordeal by battle was recog-

nized in the early laws of the various Teutonic tribes (Ripuarian Franks, Bavarians, Lombards, &c.), and serfs were admitted to the test: the keeper's son in the present case was probably a serf. The employment of a substitute was legitimate, as it was in the Middle Ages, when priests and women were represented by champions. Trial by battle remained a common practice down to the thirteenth century (G. G. Coulton, *The English Village*, p. 191), but persisted much later by exception. For this ordeal in Frankish times, see B. Guérard, *Le polyptyque d'Irminon* (Paris, 1844), i, pp. 313, 335). Cf. also Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 928, and E. B. Tylor, article *Ordeal* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In VII. 14 Guntram Boso offers trial by battle.

14. *Audioveus.* The name, now Audain, suggests that this bishop may have been one of the increasing number of Franks who became candidates for bishoprics, Bertram (*Bertchramn*) of Bordeaux, King Guntram's cousin, being a conspicuous example. But, as already noted, Gallo-Romans sometimes took Frankish names to advance their fortunes.

15. *The scandal . . . in the monastery at Poitiers.* Cf. IX. 39 and note.

The shrine containing the holy Cross. This was a casket (*arca*) of precious metal, and possibly enriched with gems. As stated above in note to IX. 40, the relic itself is preserved in the present convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers. The original casket in which it was kept down to the French Revolution is only known to us through a not very careful drawing of the seventeenth century (Conway, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1923, Fig. 1, p. 5). This shows a rectangular *châsse* with pyramidal lid surmounted by a cross. All the surfaces are covered with cabochon stones and antique gems in plain raised settings, evidently of Frankish workmanship, though in appearance rather suggesting Carolingian than Merovingian date. It is just possible that the drawing represents the very *arca* of which we read in these pages of Gregory; if not, the *châsse* which it depicts may have followed the lines of an earlier one, destroyed, perhaps, in this very riot of the nuns led by the turbulent Clotild.

We have previously noted that the arrival at Poitiers of this relic, already mounted in its enamelled panel, inspired Fortunatus, who must then have been a new-comer in the city, to write the two famous hymns, *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* (*Carm.* ii. 2, 7).

The lady provost Justina. Niece of Gregory; cf. Introduction, p. 362. The word used is *praeposita* (provost, prioress).

In the sanctuary of the cathedral church (*super tribunal ecclesiae*). The sanctuary, or presbytery, was named *tribunal* from the part of the Roman basilica where the praetor sat. In the early Christian basilica the bishop's chair or throne was in a similar position in the middle of the apse. The name was then extended so as to include the whole sanctuary. In the present case the central seat would have been occupied by the presiding metropolitan, the bishop of Bordeaux.

After the custom of the imperial palace. i.e. the palaces of Constanti-

nople, where oriental customs were followed in this matter, and eunuchs rose to high position in the State, the most famous example being the great general Narses, who, in these very times, had reconquered Italy for the Empire, and is mentioned in the pages of the History (III. 32; V. 13 (19); VI. 16 (24); VII. 36).

The chief physician (*archiater*, from ἀρχίατρος). This is the literal meaning of the word (*archiater primarius inter medicos*), but apparently the title was given to all physicians attending the royal families (*medici principis, et qui in sacro palatio, militant*, Ducange, s.v.). The *archiater* Marileif is mentioned in V. 8 and VII. 25, in each case under circumstances which show that he was a man of substance. The nun Baudonivia in her Life of S. Radegund, ii, ch. 14 (in M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* ii), relates that Radegund sent to Jerusalem, to obtain relics from the patriarch, one Reovalis, described as *archiater Pictaviensis*, who, like the physician mentioned in the present passage, had studied medicine at Constantinople; Baudonivia describes him as having afterwards become a priest, but he may not be the same person as the physician appearing at this trial.

The *formula* for the 'count of the royal physicians' (*Formula Comitis Archiatrorum*) under Theodoric the Ostrogoth is given by Cassiodorus (*Var.* vi. 19). This document contains various details as to the royal doctors and shows that their superior or count had the entrée to the palace.

A letter of Theodoric (Cassiodorus, *Var.* iv. 41) is addressed to John the *archiater*. Fredegar, *Chron.* iv. 27, mentions the fact that when Protadius, the detested minister of Queen Brunhild and her son Theuderic, was attacked in camp by the army, Protadius was sitting in the king's tent playing 'tables' (see below) with the *archiater* Peter (*in tenturio regis cum Petro archiatro tabulam ludens sedebat*). For medicine and its practitioners in sixth-century Gaul, see Introduction, pp. 415 ff.

Which . . . I had seen performed . . . at Constantinople. This passage and the above-mentioned fact as to Reovalis show that Franks went to study surgery and medicine at Constantinople as the chief centre of medical science.

16. *Play the board-game.* The words are *ad tabulam luserit.* The game of 'tables', similar to backgammon, remained popular through the Middle Ages. A Roman variety, known as *duodecim scripta*, in which there were both dice and men, is suggested in the description given by Sidonius of the game played by the Visigothic king Theuderic (*Ep.* i. 2). The same writer describes a board and pieces as one of the attractions upon a river excursion (viii. 12. 5). It is evident that the use of such games continued in Gaul after the time of Roman occupation.

A silken altar-covering (*palla holoserica*). The rich figured silks used for such purposes, frequently mentioned by Gregory, were at this time chiefly of East Christian or even Persian origin. Cf. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 583 ff.; *East Christian Art*, pp. 350 ff. and the references there given. Silk (probably unpatterned) was used by the

Franks at an even earlier period for wearing apparel. Sidonius mentions a young prince named Sigismer as wearing a silk tunic (*Ep.* iv. 20).

When masques were played in the monastery. The words are *barbaturias intus eo quod celebraverit.* This passage suggests that life in the monastery of the Holy Cross was not always austere. *Barbaturiae* (or *barbatoriae*) were supposed to be so named because the performers were disguised with beards or masks (Ducange, s. v.). The term would probably cover any kind of mime or play-acting.

A Council held at Auxerre in 585 forbade the celebration of the New Year by masquerades in pagan fashion (cf. H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, ii, p. 86), showing that such usages were prevalent in Gaul about this time. Cf. Introduction, p. 248.

She had offered bread of oblation (*eulogias obtulisse*). For the presentation by bishops or abbots of *eulogiae* to guests or friends, cf. IV. *35*; VII. 1; VIII. 2, where Gregory presents *eulogiae* of S. Martin to King Guntram, visiting him in his lodging at Orleans.

She had received earnest money (*arras accepisse*). This giving by the future husband of presents to his future wife by way of earnest (*arrha, arrha sponsalitia*) was a regular usage in Roman betrothal, and was also called *propter nuptias donatio.* In Gregory's book on the miracles of S. Andrew, ch. 11, a father sends money on behalf of his two sons who were to marry their cousins, the daughters of his brother (*obligaverunt hanc convenientiam per arrabonem quod pater puerorum misit*). Cf. C. Galy, *La famille à l'époque mérovingienne*, pp. 73 ff.

A silk mantle (*mafortem*). *Mafortis* or *mafortium* seems to mean a kind of long linen tunic, though some have regarded it as a veil. Cf. Baudonivia's Life of S. Radegund, i, ch. 9. Radegund, when queen of Lothar I, divested herself of a new linen *mafortis* enriched with gold and gems, and laid it upon the altar as a sign of humility (Fortunatus, *Vita S. Rad.*, ch. 9).

The gold fillet. This passage affords yet another instance of the free use of jewellery among the Franks. Cf. Introduction, p. 434.

Gundegisel. It has been noted above that the bishop of Bordeaux was metropolitan, and that Poitiers was in his province.

18. *His house of Marlenheim* (*domus Mariligensis*, or *villa Marilegia*). This *villa*, already mentioned in IX. 38, was on the site of the village of Marlenheim, in the arrondissement of Strasbourg in Alsace (Longnon, *Géogr. de la Gaule au VI^e siècle*, p. 380).

19. *The king then declared him his enemy.* As on the occasion when Chilperic acted as prosecutor of Bishop Praetextatus, so here we find the king personally intervening in the trial of a bishop, though in the present case only at the beginning. Egidius was a bad example of those bishops who took an unscrupulous and often disloyal part in politics. Cf. Introduction, p. 285.

A grant of domain lands (*possessionum fiscalium*). As the domain was absolutely under the king's control, this simply means a grant from the royal lands. Cf. note to IX. 38 on p. 588.

Referendary at the time. For the referendary, cf. V. 3, *45*; VI. 20 (28); VIII. 39; IX. 23, 33, 38. This official would be responsible for applying the royal signet to documents relating to the transference of Crown lands.

A studied signature (*subscriptio meditata*). Skilfully reproduced. Another conjecture is, that it had elaborate flourishes as a precaution against forgery (Giesebrecht, *ad loc.*). We may note that a signature, and not, as commonly in later times, a seal, authenticated the document.

Shorthand copies of the letters (*haec notarum titulis per tomos chartarum comprehensa*). The man probably took copies of the bishop's letters for the latter's reference. 'Tachygraphy' was in common use in the sixth century; the Civil Service in Italy under Theodoric contained a class of *exceptores* (cf. T. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 110). Sidonius in the fifth century had shorthand secretaries for copying manuscripts (*Ep.* ix. 9). In V. S. M. iv. 10 Gregory relates that one of his own *notarii*, named Bodilo, was rebuked by him for taking down badly from dictation and not properly revising his work. He was found to be indisposed, but was cured by a draught from the blue glass vessel (*patena colore sapphirino*) supposed to have belonged to S. Martin, and worked with greater efficiency ever after.

The town of Châteaumeillant. The text here has *Mediolanense castrum*, which must refer to Châteaumeillant, Cher, not to Melun or *Castrum Miglidunense*. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 468.

20. *The king begged that both might be pardoned.* When we recall the abominable and criminal actions of Clotild, we cannot but read this with surprise, even though custom conceded almost unlimited privileges to royal blood in Merovingian times. The breaker of monastic vows and deliberate instigator of murder and sacrilege is rewarded with a country estate.

21. *A man holding the position of tribune.* Cf. above, VII. 23. The 'tribune' of Frankish times was subordinate to the count. A passage in Fortunatus (*Carm.* vii. 6) seems to show that a man who held this rank would naturally rise to that of count; other passages in the same author show that the tribune had charge of 'forts and prisons': *castrorum et carcerum* (*Vita S. Germani Episc.*, chs. 62, 68; *Vita S. Radegundis*, ch. 38). It would be natural to infer from this that a *tribunus* had the rank either of a hundred-man (*centenier*) or of a *vicarius*; in the time of Charles the Great and his successors the latter seems to have been the case (cf. Ducange, s. v. *Tribunus*). In G. C., ch. 40, Gregory mentions one Nunninus, of Clermont, a tribune, who with his sword hacked off a fragment from the tomb of S. Germanus at Autun, and was supernaturally punished by being held in absolute rigidity with his arm in the air. In VII. 23 we read of another *tribunus* named Médard, who had borrowed money from Jews, and was supposed to be implicated in their death.

In Italy the office of tribune in the time of Theodoric was regarded

as a stepping-stone for a young and energetic man (Cassiodorus, *Var.* v. 25). Later allusions suggest that it grew in importance, and it has been supposed that in the time of Gregory the Great it may have approximated in power to the office of count (F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, i, p. 183). Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 18) mentions ' a man of tribunitial power ' (*quidam tribuniciae potestatis*) in England at the time of the visit paid to the country by Germanus and Lupus.

When the count came . . . to pay moneys due from him to the treasury. This was done annually. Cf. Introduction, p. 203.

Offering . . . a great baldric enriched with gold and gems. This was a clear attempt to bribe the king, which would hardly have been made were it not a more or less accepted custom. On this occasion the king resisted the temptation.

The splendid character of these objects reminds us of the sword of Childeric found near Tournai, and now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (E. Babelon, as above, p. 569), and the votive crowns from Guarrazar at Madrid and in the Musée de Cluny at Paris. The expression ' stones of Spain ' may have been used at this time in allusion to the style of inlaying coloured stones (*orfèvrerie cloisonnée*) illustrated by these objects, because the Visigoths practised it with peculiar skill, and may have been more richly provided with the garnets which were chiefly used. Cf. Introduction, p. 436.

23. *Victorius, in his cycle.* Victorius (cf. note on pp. 481–2) drew up in the fifth century a table of dates for Easter which was generally followed in Gaul, having been introduced at the Council of Orleans in 541. Victorius in his *Chronicon Paschale* used a cycle of 532 years, and this was adopted by the Scythian monk Dionysius, who wrote in Rome during the pontificates of Symmachus and Hormisdas (498–523), dating events from the Nativity of our Lord. Cf. Gregory's Introduction to Book I. Such disputes as that here described came to an end on the general adoption of the Dionysian Table. For the literature relating to Victorius, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des Sources hist. : Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4668 ; the Paschal Chronicle is printed in M. G. H. (see p. 482 above). For Dionysius, cf. Chevalier, cols. 1176–7.

The springs in Spain which are miraculously filled. i. e. at Osset ; cf. V. 11 (17) n.

24. *The destruction of Antioch.* In 573. Cf. above, IV. 27 (40). The date was formerly given as 572. Simon must have been a captive in Persia for a series of years. We may note, however, that a great part of Antioch was destroyed by earthquake in 589, sixty thousand lives being lost (Evagrius, *Hist.* vi). There may have been an earthquake in 573 ; or Simon may have coloured his story of disaster and captivity by adding the horrors of a much more recent event.

The holy forty-eight martyrs. These martyrs suffered in a frozen lake in Armenia, as related by Gregory in G. M., ch. 95.

Together with thy Simeon. i. e. the famous ascetic Simeon 'the Stylite', who stood for years on a column at Kal'at Sim'ān. Cf. VIII. 15 n.

25. *The plague.* The plague in this year (591) broke out also in Italy, as recorded by Paul the Deacon. Cf. note to IV. 3 on p. 516, and references there given.

The province of Arles. Cf. IV. 5, 30 (44); VIII. 30; IX. 7. On the death of Lothar I, the old *provincia* was divided between the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy, the portion of the latter being called by Gregory the province of Arles, that of the former the province of Marseilles. But the actual *civitas* of Marseilles was also divided.

Entering the territory of Velay, he proceeded to the place called Anicium. This is Le Puy, the name of the old hill being still preserved in that of Mont Anis (Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 532).

26. *Ragnemod,* bishop of Paris (576–91), had been a friend of Fortunatus, who addressed poems to him (cf. *Carm.* v. 14) and called him 'Rucco'.

A certain merchant . . . a Syrian by race. This passage has become a kind of *locus classicus* to prove the influential position attained by wealthy oriental traders in Gaul. The bribe (*multa munera*) was presumably offered to Guntram on behalf of the boy king Lothar II. The success of the briber is remarkable after the king's earlier professions (cf. VI. 39).

27. *Until night covered the earth* (*ut nox mundum obrueret*). This is one of the half-poetical expressions in which Gregory takes pleasure, reminiscences of his slender classical studies in his youth. Cf. Introduction, p. 7.

28. *The domain of Rueil* (*Rotoialensis villa*). Cf. VII. 19, and Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 361. The event here recorded shows that in the sixth century the domain was connected with the village of Nanterre. Fredegar mentions this royal baptism, but places the scene elsewhere.

Thine own promise, freely given. The reference is to the Pact of Andelot (IX. 20). Childebert feared that Guntram might establish his young cousin not only in Paris, but in those Austrasian towns which Chilperic had so long usurped.

Let the boy . . . fulfil the meaning of this name. The root of the name Lothar, related to the modern German word *lauter*, means 'clear'. The rest of Guntram's wish, that Lothar II might reign over a kingdom equal to that of his grandfather and namesake, was actually accomplished, though he himself did little to further its fulfilment. This son of Chilperic finally obtained the dominion of all Gaul.

29. *Aredius.* This saint, now known as S. Yrieix, was an abbot in Limoges. Gregory has already spoken of him in the History (VIII. 15, 27), and has more to relate of him in his other works (V. S. M. ii. 39, and G. C., ch. 9). In V. P. xvii he says that Aredius was brought up and ordained by S. Nicetius of Trèves; but though he received many signs of the divine favour, he remained modest: *non cothurno iactantiae tumescebat.* Fortunatus also celebrates his virtues (*Carm.* v. 22). For the *Vita Aridii Abbatis Lemovicini,* see M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* iii, pp. 576 ff. (ed. B. Krusch), and for other works relating to him, U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4807. The judgement of Krusch, both as to the man and his *Life,* is highly critical.

One of the noble youths attached to the royal household. The words used are *aulici palatini*, which might mean no more than ' courtiers '. But the context, and the mention of similar cases in which boys of good family were sent to Court, seems to justify the translation given. Cf. V. 45 (46), and Loebell, *Gregor von Tours*, p. 248. Aredius is said to have become *cancellarius prior*, or senior subordinate of the royal referendary.

The bishop's cell. Presumably the chamber of the bishop in the *domus ecclesiae*, or ' church house ' adjoining his cathedral church. From other passages in the History we gather that the chamber often opened into an oratory.

Pelagia. She is mentioned elsewhere by Gregory as a holy woman (G. C., ch. 104). She died in 572. Her husband was named Jocundus.

The tilling of the vineyards. Aredius was evidently a man of great wealth. His will is extant, showing him to have been possessed of various estates, with which he endowed the Church.

Founded a monastery. Known as S. Yrieix, in the Limousin.

The Rule of Cassian. It will be remembered that Radegund adopted for her nunnery the Rule of Caesarius of Arles (see p. 589). At this period, before the Benedictine Rule had won its later ascendancy, there was no predominant Rule in Gaul. Cf. Introduction, p. 367. The Basilian Rule, almost universal in the religious houses of the Greek Church, never predominated in the West.

He fixed a stick which he carried in the ground. The modern water-finder generally twirls the stick above the ground. Though Aredius first sticks it in the earth, it seems possible that we have here an early instance of ' dowsing '.

30. *Rogations.* Cf. II. 25 (34); IV. 5, 8 (13); IX. 6, 21; Introduction, p. 339.

For dishonouring the Lord's Day. The miraculous punishment of Sabbath-breakers is frequently mentioned by Gregory. Cf. V. S. M. ii. 40; iii. 3, 7, 24, 29, 31, 45, 55–6; iv. 45; V. P. vii; G. C., ch. 5. Some of the earliest decrees of the Frankish kings (Clovis, Childebert I) specially enjoin the observance of the Sabbath, ordering that only the necessary minimum of cooking shall be done.

31. *The first bishop Gatianus.* For works relating to S. Gatien, cf. U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 1661. He is supposed to have died about 301. In G. C., ch. 4, Gregory describes Gatian as appointed *a Romanis episcopis*, and mentions a miracle at his tomb.

The pope of Rome (*Romanae sedis papa*). For the use of the word *papa* for the bishop of Rome, cf. Introduction, p. 271. In IV. 19 (26) it is used by King Charibert. Cf. also below, in this chapter, in the passage relating to S. Brice, and note to V. *20* on p. 543.

In the eighth year of Valens and Valentinian. The date of S. Martin's birth is supposed to have been about 316 (cf. *Gallia Christ.* xiv, col. 6).

The heretics. Maximus had been called upon by Bishop Ithacius to

punish the Priscillianists. Cf. Sulpicius Severus (see below), *Sacrae Historiae*, ii. 65.

He died at Candes (*apud Condatensem vicum*). Cf. I. 35 (48); VIII. 40. See note to the latter chapter.

Three books written by Sulpicius Severus on his life. Sulpicius Severus was born in Aquitaine in the middle of the fourth century and died in 410. His Life of Martin is entitled *De Vita Beati Martini*; but two of the three books of his *Dialogi* are also concerned with the saint. He was the disciple of Martin while the saint was bishop of Tours, and is therefore an authority of the first importance. Gregory himself wrote a Life of Martin (V. S. M.), and so did Fortunatus. For works relating to Sulpicius Severus, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Bio-bibliogr.*, col. 4348. Cf. notes on pp. 482 and 487 above.

In the monastery now known as the Greater, he built a church in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. This is the famous monastery of Marmoutier (*Maius Monasterium*), the foundation of which by Martin is mentioned by Sulpicius Severus (*De Vita B. Mart.*, ch. 7); the site is in the commune of Sainte-Radegonde, arrondissement and canton of Tours, Indre-et-Loire. The monastery later became a great Benedictine house. Cf. *Gallia Christ.* xiv, cols. 192 ff.; Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, p. 276; and U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.: Topo-biogr.*, col. 1852. In V. P. xx Gregory mentions the name of Eustochius as abbot of Marmoutier.

In many villages . . . he built churches. The places mentioned are all in the district of Tours; see the map given by Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, p. 261. Longnon disagrees with the former view that the village of Cisomagus is represented by Chisseaux, preferring to identify the site with that now occupied by Ciran-la-Latte (pp. 269, 270).

Brice betook himself to the pope of Rome (*ad papam Urbis*). Cf. note on p. 601. Rome is styled Urbs, 'the City' *par excellence*.

He erected the small basilica above the body of the blessed Martin. This sentence appears to be an interpolation, as it breaks the context, and repeats the substance of that which concludes the paragraph. See note on Bishop Perpetuus below.

The villages of Clion, Brèches, Ruan, Brizay, and Chinon. For these see Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, pp. 264 ff. Some of the identifications have given rise to difference of opinion, and Clion appears to be doubtful, though no certain improvement has been suggested. Chinon is mentioned elsewhere in the History (V. 11 (17); VI. *13*). Maximus, a pupil of Martin, established a monastery there (G. C., ch. 22).

Braye, Yzeures, Loches, and Dolus. Braye is now known as Reignac (Longnon, as above, p. 266. For the other places, see his pp. 272 ff.). Yzeures is *Iciodorum vicus*; Loches, *Lucas vicus*.

In a letter by the holy Paulinus. Cf. Migne, *Patr. lat.* lxi, col. 339.

The sixth bishop . . . was Perpetuus. In II. 14 Perpetuus is called 'fifth' bishop after the holy Martin. In the earlier books Gregory counts from Martin, and includes Justinian and Armentius. The church of Perpetuus is described by Sidonius, a friend and correspondent of this

bishop (*Ep.* iv. 18). Perpetuus died in 490. For works referring to him, see U. Chevalier, *Rép. des sources hist.*, as above, col. 3581.

At Montlouis (*Monte Laudiaco*). The village is in the canton of Tours (Longnon, as above, p. 275). It is mentioned as *Vicus Laudiacus* in II. 1.

In the villages of Esvres . . . Vernou. See Longnon, as above, pp. 272 ff.; all are in Indre-et-Loire.

When he made his will. These gifts are not mentioned in the will and must have been made in the bishop's lifetime.

Volusianus. 491–8. Cf. de la Coudre, *La vie de St. Volusien évêque de Tours* (Limoges, 1722).

The monastery in which the holy abbot Venantius was buried. This monastery, near S. Martin's, was later represented by the collegiate church of S. Venant (Longnon, p. 259).

In the tenth place Theodore and Proculus. In III. 17 Gregory puts these two after Leo, i.e. in the fourteenth place.

A church . . . of the holy Gervasius and Protasius . . . the church of Saint Mary. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, as above, pp. 246, 250.

A worker in wood (*Faber lignarius*), *of which he made turrets covered with gold.* The *turres olocriso tectas* of the text were perhaps the tower-shaped vessels in which the bread to be consecrated was carried from the sacristy to the altar during the Mass. Cf. Introduction, p. 337. The bishop must therefore be regarded as a skilled craftsman and carver in wood. In III. 17 Leo is described as *vir strenuus atque utilis in fabrica operis lignarii.*

The fifteenth. In III. 17 Gregory places Injuriosus after Martin, still calling him fifteenth bishop. This is because he there counts Theodorus and Proculus as two, whereas in the present list they count as one only.

The common table for canons (*mensa canonicorum*). The canons were the clergy of the cathedral church whose names were entered on the *matricula* or 'canon'; they were supported by its revenues. In V. P. ix we are told that there was a common table at Bourges, and that to be absent from it, even for the purpose of fasting, was an offence dealt with by the archdeacon.

The villages of Thuré, Céré, and Orbigny. Cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, pp. 268, 283.

It was all ruined. The cathedral church (*ecclesia urbis Turonicae*), built by Litorius (337–91), was destroyed by the fire which laid waste the city in the time of Euphronius, Gregory's predecessor, who restored two other churches, but not the cathedral (cf. Longnon, *Géogr.*, p. 245). This was left for Gregory to rebuild, and was completed about 580. The poem by Fortunatus (*Carm.* x. 6) entitled *Ad ecclesiam Toronicam quae per Episcopum Gregorium renovata est,* must refer to this reconstruction of the cathedral church, for the words *ecclesia Toronica* could not refer to any other. Fortunatus describes the mural paintings executed by order of Gregory to illustrate scenes from the life of Martin and miracles wrought by the saint. It is possible that the painted

decoration mentioned in the present passage may be identical with the work described by Fortunatus, even though the word *basilica* is used by Gregory, for he might apply the term in a general sense even to the *ecclesia* or cathedral church. But it may be that he refers to the church of S. Martin, always called by him a basilica. In that case we must suppose him to have had mural paintings renewed there when the partial damage caused by Wiliachar was restored. But the words *parietes adustos repperi*, ' I found the walls burned ', suggest a church in a state of abandonment when Gregory first became bishop, and this is only true of the *ecclesia Turonica*. Moreover, in IV. 13 (20) the restoration after Wiliachar's fire is said to have been carried out by the order, and presumably at the expense of King Lothar, and Gregory was not the kind of man to claim credit for work done under such conditions. It is therefore advisable to take the whole passage as referring to the restoration of the cathedral.

Relics of the martyrs of Agaune. According to the legend, the Theban legion, composed of Christians, was sent by Diocletian to join in quelling an insurrection in Gaul in 287. While camped in the Valais, it refused to participate in an official (pagan) sacrifice, and in consequence of this act of disobedience it was cut down. Its commander was named Mauritius, whence the modern name, Saint-Maurice-d'Agaune. A monastery was built on the place where the legionaries died ; here Sigismund, king of Burgundy, who had restored it, took refuge (III. 5, 6). Cf. note to III. 5 on pp. 506–7. The *Passio* of the martyrs of Agaune by Eucharius (d. 455) is in M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* iii (1896), pp. 20 ff., ed. by B. Krusch.

The custodian of the church. The word is *aedituus*. His duties may have corresponded to those of a sacristan.

I placed all in the cathedral church (*in ecclesia collocavi*). Gregory restored the relics to his own cathedral, from which they had been removed to the church of S. Martin.

Burned with fire. By Wiliachar, as mentioned in the note above.

Decorated by the skill of our craftsmen (*artificum nostrorum opere*). The words read as if there were skilled decorators, perhaps including fresco-painters, in the regular service of the Church. But *nostrorum* may also be taken in a more general sense, ' our craftsmen of Tours '.

I have written ten books of History. For Gregory's written work, see M. G. H., *Script. rerum Merov.*, vol. i.

One book on the Offices of the Church. The treatise called *De cursu stellarum*, the position of the stars being important for determining the hour of nocturns and matins. Cf. Introduction, p. 372 n.

To be condemned with the Evil One. This seems a penalty disproportionate to the offence.

Our Martianus. This is Martianus Capella, the grammarian of the fifth century, whose work called *Satiricon*, consisting of nine books, was a classic in the schools from his own day to the later Middle Ages. Most of the books are devoted to the Seven Liberal Arts. A knowledge

of Martianus Capella was indispensable to any one pretending to the higher culture.

It has been suggested that the whole of the invocation closing the History and addressed to the writer's successors is ironical. They are not to add, subtract, or change a jot or tittle. But if it amuses them, they may make their verse of it, for that will in no way endanger its value. Only let them leave the original text alone. This view does not seem to agree with what we know of Gregory's character and mode of thought. He was a downright man with an almost excessive admiration for the literary arts which he did not possess and the higher education which he had not himself enjoyed. In the prologue to G. C. he quite sincerely addresses himself to the *litterati* of his time, deploring his grammatical weakness, and concluding that his rude and terse writings will at least have the advantage of forming the raw material, the substance of which they may expand in elegant verse (*quod nos inculte et breviter stilo nigrante describimus, vos lucide ac splendide . . . versu in paginis prolixioribus dilatetis*). In times when the Bible itself was versified by literary churchmen, it is unnecessary to seek any other than the obvious meaning in Gregory's words. Diffuseness and prolixity were literary virtues in the fifth and sixth century, not least in verse, as the admired poems of Fortunatus sufficiently show. But the prose preface of Fortunatus to his metrical *Vita Sancti Martini* is sufficient to settle the question. In this preface, addressed to Gregory, the poet says that he sends back by Gregory's messenger the metrical version of the *Vita Beati Martini* and the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, which (evidently at Gregory's request) he has rendered into four books of hexameters. He not only does this, but offers forthwith to render into verse Gregory's own prose Miracles (*virtutes*) of S. Martin in the same way, the bishop having expressed the wish that such a version should be made : *Cum iusseritis autem, ut opus illud . . . quod de suis virtutibus explicuisti, versibus debeat digeri, id agite ut ipsum mihi relatum iubeatis transmitti.* It is perfectly clear from the whole tenor of this prefatory letter that Gregory heartily approved of poetical versions from the prose works of himself and others. All that he desired was that his original text should be preserved intact. Cf. Leo's note on the present passage (M. G. H., *Script. rer. Merov.* i, p. 293).

The sum of all which years is five thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. Gregory's figures present difficulties, and manuscripts disagree. Attempts to rectify and reconcile have been many, and the result new discrepancies. As Ruinart remarks in his final note to the History : *quonam autem modo haec annorum series cum antiquis auctoribus aut etiam cum ipsomet Gregorio componenda sit fusius inquisiere viri docti, Scaliger, Petavius, Menander, Maanus, Valesius, &c., sed cum non eandem viam inierint, in varias abiere sententias.* He judged it vain to carry the inquiry farther, and in that judgement the reader will probably concur.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES[1]

Aaron, ii. 85, 216.
Abel, ii. 3, 7.
Abraham, ii. 3, 9, 10, 15, 45.
Abraham, hermit and ascetic, i. 350; ii. 61, 496.
Absalom, ii. 133.
Adam, ii. 3, 7, 8, 345.
Adelberg, ii. 587.
Adrianus, see Hadrian.
Aegidius (Egidius), master of the soldiery, i. 90; ii. 33, 56, 59, 494.
Aetheria (Silvia), ii. 483.
Aetherius (Etherius), bishop of Lisieux, ii. 232, 266–7.
Aetherius, bishop of Lyons, ii. 416–17, 464.
Aëtius, i. 90; ii. 33, 46–9, 492.
Aëtius, wife of, ii. 33, 47.
Aëtius, archdeacon, ii. 187.
Ageric (Agyric), S. Airy, bishop of Verdun, i. 86; ii. 110, 320, 369, 376, 379, 382, 396, 572.
Agila, king of the Visigoths, ii. 107, 121, 517.
Agilan, Visigothic envoy, ii. 214.
Agilulf, king of the Lombards, ii. 594.
Agin, Duke, ii. 436.
Agnes, Abbess, i. 82; ii. (414), 418–21, 590.
Agricius, bishop of Troyes, ii. 355.
Agricius (Agroecius), ii. 53.
Agricola, saint and martyr, ii. 59.
Agricola, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, ii. 166, 218, 333.
Agricola, bishop of Nevers, ii. 416–17.
Agricola, patrician, ii. 134.
Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, ii. 34, 65, 72, 74–5, 77–8, 84.
Albinus, Saint, ii. 250.
Albinus, governor of Provence and bishop of Uzès, ii. 152–3, 242, 553.
Albofled, sister of Clovis, ii. 70, (107), 500, 513.
Alboin, king of the Lombards, ii. 116, 118, 149, 150, 184, 529.
Alcima, sister of Sidonius (Apollinaris), i. 294, 427; ii. 86, 93, 505.
Alexander, Sulpicius, i. 33; ii. 49, 50, 492.
Alithius, bishop of Cahors, ii. 57.
Amalaberg, queen of Thuringia, ii. 87, 506.
Amalaric, son of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, i. 94, 97, 103; ii. 77, 86, 92, 107, 502, 505.
Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric, ii. 513–14.
Amalo, Duke, ii. 369, 398.
Amandus, bishop of Bordeaux, ii. 57.
Amatus, patrician, ii. 150.
Ambrosius, citizen of Tours, ii. 231, 248, 289.
Amelius, bishop of Bigorra (Tarbes), ii. 349, 375.
Amo, Lombard duke, ii. 153–4, 531.
Ananias, ii. 419.
Anastasius, Emperor, i. 93, 97; ii. 78.
Anastasius, abbot of S. Victor, Marseilles, ii. 246.
Anastasius, priest of Clermont, ii. 115, 123–5.
Anatolianus, martyr, ii. 22, 486.
Anatolius, boy recluse, i. 377; ii. 358.
Andarchius, ii. 116, 154–6.
Anianus (S. Aignan, Agnan), bishop of Orleans, ii. 46, 387, 491, 584.
Animodus, *vicarius*, ii. 433.
Ansovald, Duke, sent to Tours to appoint a successor to Count Leudast, ii. 219; sent on a mission to Spain, 251; reports to Gregory on the position of Catholics in that country, 251–2; loyal to the young King Lothar II, 291; accompanies Fredegund on her visit to the dying Praetextatus, 354. ii. 171, 336, 555–6, 575.
Antestius, ii. 328, 348, 363–4, 401.
Antidius, bishop of Agen, ii. 331.
Antonius (Antony), Saint, ii. 4, 25, 487.
Antoninus, Emperor, ii. 19.
Apollinaris, son of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, ii. 77, 84, 86, 502, 505–6.
Aprunculus, bishop of Langres and Clermont, ii. 62, 64, 75, 86.
'Aptachar' (Authari), king of the Lombards, ii. (397), 432, 586, 593.
Aravatius, bishop of Maestricht and Tongres, ii. 33, 44–5, 491.
Arbogast, Count, ii. 51, 492.
Arcadius, Emperor, ii. 29, 470.
Arcadius, son of Apollinaris, and grandson of Sidonius, i. 99, 102–3; ii. 92–3, 101–2, 508.

[1] Numbers in brackets indicate that a person is mentioned in the text without being named.

Aredius (S. Yrieix), abbot of Limoges, i. 256, 368 ; ii. 339, 348, 424, 465–8, 600, 601.
Aregund, queen of Lothar I, ii. 117–18.
Arfaxath, ii. 9.
Aridius, Gallo-Roman, ii. 71–2.
Arigisel (Aregysel), ii. 95–6.
Arius, heresiarch, ii. 61, 85, 216, 384–5, 504.
Armentaria, mother of Gregory of Tours, i. 4, 5, 20 ; ii. 536.
Armentarius, a Jew, ii. 302.
Armentius, bishop of Tours, ii. 37, 471.
Arnegisel (Arnegysil), ii. 348.
Arthemius (Artemius), bishop of Clermont, ii. 4, 27, 57.
Arthemius (Artimeus), bishop of Sens, ii. 355.
Asclepius, Duke, ii. 252.
Ascovindus, citizen of Clermont, ii. 128.
Ascyla, wife of Richemer, ii. 53.
Asteriolus, ii. 84, 109.
Asterius, patrician, ii. 53.
Athaloc, Arian bishop, ii. 384, 584.
Athanagild, King, accession of, ii. 121 ; gives his daughter Brunhild to Sigibert in marriage, 137 ; gives his daughter Galswinth to Chilperic, 137–8 ; death, 147. ii. 209, 395, 396, 397, 525.
Athanagild, son of Hermangild, ii. 577.
Athanaric, king of the Visigoths, ii. 33, 44, 491.
Attalus, nephew of S. Gregory, bishop of Langres, ii. 84, 97–100, 510.
Atticus, consul, ii. 29.
Attila, king of the Huns, i. 90 ; ii. 46–8, 491.
Audica, king of Galicia, ii. 275.
Audin, citizen of Tours, ii. 401.
Audioveus, bishop of Angers, ii. 445.
Audo, ii. 297.
Audovald, Duke, ii. 430, 593.
Audovar, Count, ii. 139, 140, 168.
Audovera, queen of Chilperic, i. 73–4, 120, 121 ; ii. 138, 212, 265.
Augustine, Saint, on rebaptism, ii. 490.
Augustus, Emperor, ii. 15, 16.
Aunacharius, bishop of Auxerre, ii. 416–17.
Auno, ii. 322.
Aunulf, ii. 160.
Aurelian, Emperor, ii. 103.
Aurelius, Bishop, ii. 462.
Ausanius, friend of Parthenius, ii. 111.
Austadius, bishop of Nice, ii. 242.
Austrapius, Duke, ii. 115, 131, 521.
Austrechild (Bobila), queen of Guntram, i. 81 ; ii. 135, 166, 185, 196, 206–7, 524.
Austregisel, ii. 321–2.
Austrinus, bishop of Orleans, ii. 387.
Austrovald, count and duke, ii. 365–6, 376, 401.
Authari, king of the Lombards, *see* Aptachar.
Avitus, Emperor, bishop of Placentia, ii. 33, 56, 61, 494.
Avitus, bishop of Vienne, refuses secret baptism to King Gundobad, ii. 73 ; his speech, *ibid.* ; his Letters and Homilies, 74, 502 ; Gregory's allusion to him at the Council of Paris, 187 ; his letter to Clovis, 498. i. 33, 409, 413.
Avitus, bishop of Clermont, his election to the see, ii. 144–5 ; converts five hundred Jews, i. 252 ; ii. 177–9. i. 82–3 ; ii. 116, 165, 434, 527.
Avitus, abbot of S. Mesmin-de-Micy, i. 98 ; ii. 89, 507, 573.
Avius, *see* Vedast.

Babillas, bishop of Antioch, ii. 20, 484.
Badegisil (Baudegisil), duke and mayor of the palace, bishop of Le Mans, i. 87 ; ii. 244, 297, 360, 433.
Baderic, king of Thuringia, ii. 87.
Baddo, envoy of Fredegund, ii. 365, 369, 382–3.
Basil, Saint, ii. 466 (Rule of).
Basilius, Bishop, ii. 65.
Basilius, citizen of Poitiers, ii. 154.
Basina, queen of Thuringia, consort of Childeric, ii. 56, 495 (legend of).
Basina, daughter of Chilperic, i. 121 ; ii. 212, 265, 370, 409, 414, 422, 424, 446–7, 450, 451, 458, 559.
Baudegil, deacon, ii. 182.
Baudegisil, *see* Badegisil.
Baudin, domestic, referendary, and bishop of Tours, ii. 118, 119, 475.
Bede, the Venerable, i. 22 (on grammar), 25–6, 32, 244 ; ii. 490.
Belisarius (Belsuarius), ii. 108, 514–15.
Belphegor, ii. 54.
Benedict, Saint, i. 353, 373–4.
Benignus, Saint (S. Bénigne), relics of, ii. 477.
Benjamin, ii. 10.
Beowulf, i. 185 *n.*

Beppolen, Duke, i. 129; ii. 201, 328, 354, 362–3, 383, 436–7.
Beregisel, ii. 144.
Beretrude, ii. 406, 588.
Bertha, queen of Ethelbert, i. 51, 187–8; ii. (135), (398), 524, 586–7.
Berthar (Bertechar), king of Thuringia, i. 102; ii. 87, 91.
Berthefled, daughter of Charibert, nun, ii. 403.
Berthefred (Bertefried), joins Ursio in hostility to Duke Lupus, ii. 234; plots with Ursio and Rauching against King Childebert II, 377–9; his death, 381–2. i. 128–9; ii. 369, 396, 455, 552.
Berthegund, sister of Bishop Bertram, nun, ii. 403–5, 424, 440.
Bertram (Bertchramn), bishop of Bordeaux, supports Chilperic against Bishop Praetextatus, ii. 188, 191–2; accused of intrigue with Fredegund, 220, 224; accuses Gregory of slander, 224–5; supports the pretender Gundovald, 308–10; sarcastically addressed by Guntram, 330; reviles Palladius at the royal table, 334; fined by the Council of Mâcon for irregularly consecrating a bishop, 344; his death, 346–7; dispute between his mother and sister about his will, 404–5. i. 87; ii. 568.
Bertram, archdeacon of Paris and bishop of Le Mans, ii. 360, 386, 416, 418.
Berulf, Duke, ii. 223, 227, 248, 261, 327, 348, 550.
Biomad, ii. 495.
Bisin or Bessin, king of Thuringia, ii. 56, 494–5.
Bladast, Duke, invades Gascony, ii. 248; acts with Desiderius against Bourges, 261–2; joins the pretender Gundovald, 305; besieged with him in Convenae, but escapes, 312, 315; presented to Guntram by Gregory, 333. ii. 349.
Boantus, ii. 327, 336.
Bobila, *see* Austrechild.
Bobo, Duke, ii. 211, 278, 547.
Bobolen, referendary, ii. 356, 363.
Bodegisil, son of Mummolen, ii. 429, 593.
Bodic, Breton chief, ii. 184.
Bodigisel, Duke, ii. 347, 577.
Boniface, Saint, i. 244.
Boso, ii. 317, 401.
Boso, Guntram, *see* Guntram Boso.
Brachio, Abbot, ii. 165, 179, 538.
Brice (Briccius), Saint, bishop of Tours, his relations with S. Martin, ii. 36; accused by the people of Tours, and expelled, 36–7, 47; his visit to Rome and final restoration to his see, *ibid.*; builds basilica over tomb of S. Martin, 471. ii. 489.
Britannus (Britanus), Count, ii. 147. *Cf.* Palladius.
Brunhild (Brunechildis), queen, character and life, i. 69–73; letter of S. Germanus to her, 114; marries King Sigibert, ii. 137; banished to Rouen after that king's death, 168; marries Prince Merovech, 169; unable to receive him in Austrasia, 184; maintains relations with Spain, 212; valiantly defends Duke Lupus, 234; releases a would-be assassin sent by Fredegund, 298–9; receives Waddo, mayor of the household to Rigunth, 320; suspected by Guntram, 332; assumes guardianship of her son, 347; conspiracy of notables to humiliate her, 377; seeks to save the conspirator Berthefred, 379; receives envoys from Spain, 385; present at Andelot, 389; sends envoys to Spain with costly gifts, 399; again suspected by Guntram, but clears herself by oath, 402–3; plot against her in the palace, 408. i. 116–17, 118, 121; ii. 115, 147, 160, 165, 180, 186, 190, 209, 269, 270, 283, 312, 346, 349, 369, 370, 376, 381, 387–8, 390, 391, 392, 407, 456, 510, 525, 533, 577.
Buccelin (Butilin), invades Italy, i. 107, 230; ii. 108–9, 518.
Buccovald (Bucciovald), Abbot, ii. 396.
Burgolen, ii. 199, 356, 414.
Burgundio, nephew of Felix, bishop of Nantes, ii. 249, 250.

Caesar, Julius, ii. 15.
Caesaria, Saint, sister of S. Caesarius, ii. 414, 418.
Caesaria, mother-in-law of Firminus, ii. 126.
Caesaria, wife of Count Britannus, ii. 147.
Caesarius, consul, i. 349; ii. 29.
Caesarius, Saint, bishop of Arles, i. 367; ii. 412, 414, 418, 589.

Cain, ii. 3, 7, 440.
Cainan, ii. 8.
Calumniosus, Duke, otherwise Egilan, ii. 353.
Caluppa, recluse, i. 376; ii. 165, 177.
Canao (Chanao), son of Waroch, ii. 438.
Capella, *see* Martianus.
Caprasius, Saint (S. Caprais), ii. 248, 555.
Carietto, master of the soldiery, ii. 50.
Carpilio, father-in-law of Aëtius, ii. 48.
Cartherius, *see* Charterius.
Cassian, John, i. 348–9; ii. 466, 601.
Cassiodorus, i. 367.
Cassius, martyr, ii. 22, 124, 486, 519.
Castinus, count of the domestics, ii. 53.
Catinus (for Gatianus), ii. 20.
Cato, priest of Clermont, ii. 115, 119–23, 128, 141.
Cautinus, bishop of Clermont, supplants Cato as candidate for the see, ii. 121; his drunkennes and avarice, 123; his death, 141. i. 87; ii. 115, 122, 128, 144, 434–5.
Cecrops, ii. 15.
Cedinus, Duke, ii. 431.
Celsus, patrician, ii. 115, 134, 139, 150.
Cenchris, king of Egypt, ii. 15.
Chanao (Canao), chief of the Bretons, ii. 118, 132.
Chararic, king of the Franks, i. 95; ii. 34, 79.
Charegisel, chamberlain of Sigibert, ii. 160.
Charibert, King, character of, i. 51–2; sent by his father against his rebellious brother Chramn, ii. 129; his wives, 135, 397; restores Emerius to the see of Saintes, 135–6; his death, 154, 181; his daughter, queen of Ethelbert of Kent, *see* Bertha. i. 111; ii. 117, 131, 220, 255, 283, 291, 293, 389, 397, 400, 403, 409, 419, 524.
Charibert, queens of, *see* Ingoberg, Merofled, Theudechild, Marcovefa.
Charimer, referendary and bishop of Verdun, ii. 396.
Chariulf, of Convenae, ii. 315–16, 320.
Charterius (Cartherius), bishop of Périgueux, ii. 231, 253–4.
Childebert I, King, character of, i. 47–8; attempts to usurp Auvergne, ii. 92; defeats Amalaric in Septimania, *ibid.*; joins Lothar I in the invasion of Burgundy, 93; his brief treaty with Theuderic, 96–7; accessory to the murder of his nephews in Paris, 101–2; agrees with Theudebert, 104–5; joins Theudebert against Lothar, 105–6; joins Lothar I in invasion of Spain, 106–7; abets Chramn in his rebellion against Lothar, 128–9, 130; his death, 132. i. 97, 99, 102–3, 106, 108–9, 318; ii. 84, 86, 115, 117, 134, 160, 244, 254, 297, 512.
Childebert II, King, character of, i. 61–2; saved after his father's murder, 168; adopted by his uncle Guntram, 185; allies himself with Chilperic, 234; disputes with Guntram over Marseilles, 245–7; further engagements with Chilperic, 260, 261; opposed by his army, 262; invades Italy by agreement with the Emperor Maurice, 274; rebuffed by people of Paris, and by Guntram, 290, 291; disputes with Guntram over territory, 294; his embassy to Guntram flouted, 295–6; makes peace with Guntram, becoming his heir, 311, 312; invades Italy, 343; escapes assassination, 350; welcomes embassy from Spain, 374; causes Rauching to be put to death, 377–8; sends his son to Soissons as king, 407; palace plot against him, 408–9; further invasion of Italy, 430; again escapes assassination, 454. i. 82, 116–17, 122; ii. 161, 165, 171, 175, 180, 190, 198, 219, 231–2, 233, 252, 256, 264, 277, 283, 289, 293, 303–4, 310, 327–8, 331, 336–8, 348–9, 360, 365, 369, 370, 371–2, 375, 379, 381–3, 385, 387–8, 389 ff., 394–5, 397, 399, 401–3, 407, 414, 416, 422, 424, 432, 440, 448–9, 456, 464–5, 478, 534, 577.
Childeric, King, story of his banishment and restoration, ii. 56–7; fought at Orleans, 59; made treaty with Odovacar and defeated the Alamanni, 59, 60; death, 65; discovery of his sword and signet-ring, i. 427; ii. 569, 599. i. 90; ii. 33, 54, 494–5.
Childeric, Prince, son of Lothar I, ii. 117–18.
Childeric, Vandal king, ii. 44, 490.

Childeric the Saxon, ii. 289, 343, 424, 459, 562.
Chilperic, King, character of, i. 110 ff.; seizes treasure of Lothar I, ii. 133–4; marries and causes death of Galswinth, 137–8; invades Tours and Poitiers, 154, 157; wars against Sigibert, 158–60; separates Merovech and Brunhild, 169; writes to S. Martin, 182; invades Touraine, 183; accuses Praetextatus at Paris, 186 ff.; interviews Gregory in the garden, 188; sends an army against Brittany, 260; loses two sons by disease, 205–6; surrenders his son Chlodovech to Fredegund, 210, 211; as theologian and reformer of the alphabet, 217–18; at the Council of Berny, 224–5; receives gifts from Constantinople, 233; tries to convert the Jew Priscus, 235; orders baptism of Jews, 250; his conciliatory action, 252; defeated by Guntram, 261; betroths his daughter to Recared, 265; acts with justice in the case of Aetherius, 269; retreats to Cambrai, 274; sends his daughter Rigunth to Spain, 276; murdered at Chelles: his character, 278–9. i. 10, 12, 82; ii. 165–6, 168, 171, 174, 179, 180, 181, 192, 198, 203, 209, 212–14, 219, 221, 227, 231–2, 234, 238, 245, 247–8, 253–4, 260, 271, 303, 310, 327, 332–3, 344, 374, 391, 405, 419, 455–7, 548, 552.
Chilperic, king of Burgundy, ii. 66, 497, 507.
Chlochilaic (Hygelac), king of the Danes, i. 185; ii. 87, 506.
Chloderic, son of Sigibert the Lame, ii. 77–8.
Chlodobert, son of Chilperic, ii. 206, 227, 546.
Chlodomer, King, son of Clovis, his birth, ii. 68; takes King Sigismund prisoner, murders him, and is afterwards killed in battle by the Burgundians, 89; murder of his sons by their uncle Lothar, 100–1. i. 47, 98; ii. 100, 108, 134, 187.
Chlodomer, Prince, son of Guntram, ii. 135, 185.
Chlodosind, sister of Childebert II, present at Andelot, ii. 379; asked in marriage by Recared, 385, 397; provision with regard to her in the Pact of Andelot, 390; Guntram conditionally agrees to her betrothal, 393; gifts sent to Spain for Recared as her betrothed, 399. ii. 534, 585–6.
Chlodovald (Saint Cloud), son of Chlodomer, ii. 90, 102, 510–11.
Chlodovech, *see* Clovis.
Chlodovech, son of Chilperic, driven from Tours by Mummolus, ii. 154; hunted out of Bordeaux, 156; expelled from Soissons with Queen Fredegund, 169; takes Saintes, 179; sent to Berny to catch infection, 210; surrendered to Fredegund and murdered at Noisy, 211–12; his body exhumed and buried in Paris by Guntram, 335. i. 113, 118, 120; ii. 138, 226, 327.
Chlogio (Clodio), i. 90; ii. 53, 494.
Chlothsind, daughter of Lothar I, queen of Alboin, ii. 117–18, 150.
Chonomor, chief of the Bretons, ii. 118.
Chramn (Chramnus), son of Lothar I, sent to Auvergne, ii. 122; his outrageous conduct at Clermont, 125–6; moves to Poitiers, whence he conspires with his uncle Childebert I, 128–9; outwits his brothers and advances to Dijon, 129, 130; goes to Paris and allies himself with Childebert against his father, 130, 131; allies himself with the Bretons, 132; captured by Lothar, strangled, and burned with his wife and daughters, 133. i. 108–9; ii. 115, 118, 475.
Chramnesind, citizen of Tours, ii. 322–3, 387–8.
Chramnichis, ii. 586.
Christopher, a merchant, ii. 284, 321.
Chroc, king of the Alamanni, ii. 4, 22–3, 485.
Chrodechild, *see* Clotild.
Chrodin, Duke, ii. 231, 252–3, 556.
Chrona, Burgundian princess and nun, ii. 66.
Chundo, ii. 424, 438–9, 594.
Chunsina, queen of Lothar I, ii. 117.
Chuppa, marshal or count of the stables, ii. 212, 318, 424, 433, 548.
Chus, son of Ham, ii. 3, 8, 9.
Ciuciolo, count of the palace, ii. 193.
Clara, wife of Francilio, bishop of Tours, ii. 474.
Claudius, Emperor, ii. 18.

Claudius, duke of Lusitania, ii. 587.
Claudius, a murderer, ii. 305–7.
Clement, Saint, ii. 19, 428.
Cleph, king of the Lombards, ii. (150), 529.
Clodio, *see* Chlogio.
Clotild (Chrodechild), queen of Clovis, character, i. 80; seeks to convert Clovis, ii. 67–8; persuades him to be baptized, 69; incites her sons to revenge against Burgundy, 88; becomes guardian of the sons of Chlodomer, 90; tricked into surrendering the boys to their uncles at Paris, 101–2; her charity and humility, 103; her prayer that civil war might be prevented, 106; her death at Tours and burial in Paris, 117; appoints two Burgundian bishops at Tours, 473. i. 97–8; ii. 34, 81, 115, 123, 498.
Clotild, daughter of Clovis, queen of Amalaric, ii. (86), 92, 502.
Clotild, daughter of Charibert, nun at Poitiers, narrative of her rebellion, i. 360 ff.; ringleader of a rebellion among the nuns at Poitiers, ii. 409; leads a number of them to Tours, where she rejects Gregory's counsel, 410–13; appeals to King Guntram, 414; returns to Poitiers and surrounds herself with a gang of ruffians, who maltreat bishops in the church of S. Hilary, 415; seizes the lands of the nunnery, and is excommunicated, 416; refuses to obey King Childebert's envoy, 422; orders her bravoes to break into the monastery and carry off the abbess, 446; defies the bishop of Poitiers, and incites to violence, 447; is subdued by Count Macco, 448; tried by a commission of bishops, who send their judgement to Guntram and Childebert, 449 ff.; pardoned, and received into communion, 458. ii. 370, 424, 459, 588.
Clotild, daughter of Guntram, ii. 389.
Clovis (Chlodovech), King, character, i. 45; chief events in his career, 91 ff.; birth, ii. 57; defeats Syagrius and obtains his surrender from Alaric, 65; his action with regard to the sacred vessel stolen from Soissons, 66; marries Clotild, who seeks his conversion, 66–7; adopts Christianity and is baptized, 69, 70; supports Godegisel against Gundobad in Burgundy, and makes peace, 70–2; confers with Alaric, but soon invades his kingdom, 74–5; defeats Alaric at Vouillé, 77; made proconsul by the Emperor Anastasius, 78; removes other kings of the Franks from his path, 78 ff.; tricks the *leudes* of Ragnachar with spurious gold, 80; his death and burial at Paris, 81. ii. 85–6, 107, 167, 473, 504.
Columban, Saint, i. 71, 243, 356, 368, 414–15.
Constans, Emperor, ii. 24, 469.
Constans, son of Constantine the tyrant, ii. 52.
Constantina, nun at Poitiers, ii. 414.
Constantine, Emperor, ii. 23–4, 69, 469.
Constantine, tyrant, ii. 52–3, 493.
Constantius, Emperor, ii. 24.
Cornelius, pope and martyr, ii. 22.
Cosmas and Damian, Saints, ii. 427, 476.
Crescens, ii. 241.
Crispin and Crispinianus, Saints, ii. 206, 378.
Crispus, son of Constantine, ii. 24, 486.
Cymulus, *see* Emerius.
Cyprian, saint and martyr, ii. 22.
Cyricus (Quiricus), Saint, monastery of, ii. 61.
Cyrola, Arian bishop, ii. 33, 39–43.

Dacolen, Duke, son of Dagaric, ii. 198–9.
Dagobert, son of Chilperic, ii. (206), 546.
Dagulf, Abbot, ii. 327, 344.
Dalmatius, bishop of Rodez, ii. 166, 173, 219, 270.
Daniel, ii. 14.
David, King, ii. 3, 13, 54, 85, 133, 216, 441.
Decimus Rusticus, ii. 52–3.
Decius, Emperor, ii. 20, 469.
Denis, *see* Dionysius.
Deotherius, *see* Deutherius.
Desideratus, bishop of Verdun, ii. 109.
Desideratus, bishop of Albi, ii. 347.
Desiderius, Duke, defeated by Mummolus, ii. 179; victorious at Périgueux and Agen, 247–8; invests the territory of Bourges, which is

relieved by King Guntram; indiscipline of his army, 261–2; sequestrates the treasure of Princess Rigunth at Toulouse, 292; joins the pretender Gundovald, 305; deserts him, 312; seeks safety after Gundovald's defeat, 320; received by Guntram, 348; meets his death before Carcassonne, 365. ii. 211, 283–4, 434–6, 538, 567, 570, 581.
Desiderius, bishop of Eauze, ii. 346.
Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, i. 71.
Desiderius, charlatan, ii. 372–3.
Desiderius, deacon, ii. 416.
Deuteria, Queen, i. 81; ii. 84, 104–5.
Deutherius (Deotherius), bishop of Vence, ii. 396.
Didimia, nun of Poitiers, ii. 451.
Dinifius, bishop of Tours, ii. 84, 86, 100, 474.
Diocletian, Emperor, ii. 23, 157.
Diogenianus, bishop of Albi, ii. 57.
Dionysius (Denys), saint and martyr, i. 238; ii. 20, 203, 468.
Disciola, nun, ii. 258.
Dodo, *see* Gundegisel.
Dolo, ii. 199.
Domigisel, envoy of Chilperic, ii. 251, 278.
Domigisel, citizen of Angers, ii. 344, 363.
Dominicus, ii. 240.
Domitian, Emperor, ii. 19.
Domitianus, bishop of Angers, ii. 410.
Domnola, wife of Burgolen and Nectarius, ii. 328, 356, 363.
Domnolus, bishop of Le Mans, ii. 231, 244, 410.
Dragolen, Duke, also called Industrius, ii. 165, 198–9.
Droctigisel, bishop of Soissons, i. 87; ii. 370, 407–8.
Droctulf, governor of the children of Childebert II, ii. 408–9.
Dynamius, governor of Provence, influences episcopal election, 242; imprisons Theodore, bishop of Marseilles, 245; supports the clergy of Marseilles against the bishop and Childebert's representative Gundulf, but is forced to yield, 245–6; captures Theodore and sends him to Guntram, 247; restored to favour by Childebert II, 381. ii. 231, 245–7, 553, 583.
Dynamius, bishop of Angoulême, ii. 57.
Ebero, ii. 294.
Eberulf, high official of Chilperic, accused by Fredegund of having murdered the king, ii. 299; takes sanctuary at Tours, i. 311; ii. 300; his lawlessness and abuse of Gregory II, 301–2; murdered by Claudius in the *atrium* of S. Martin's, 305–7.
Eberulf, of Tours, ii. 322.
Ebrachar, Duke, ii. 399, 436–8.
Ebregisel, bishop of Cologne, ii. 448.
Ebregisel, envoy of Brunhild, ii. 399.
Ecdicius, senator, ii. 33, 64.
Edobech, ii. 52.
Edom, *see* Esau.
Egidius, master of the soldiery, *see* Aegidius.
Egidius, bishop of Reims, suspected of having betrayed Prince Merovech, ii. 193; goes with Austrasian notables as envoy to Chilperic, 234; member of a second embassy to the same king, 260–1; driven from Childebert's camp by hostile soldiery, 262; sent as member of an embassy to Guntram, 295–6; Guntram warns Childebert against Egidius, 311; arrested as involved in the plot of Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred, 455; tried by a council of bishops at Metz, confesses his treason, deprived and banished, 455–8. i. 9, 87, 121, 123–4; ii. 369, 383, 424, 543, 564–5.
Egilan, *see* Calumniosus.
Elafius, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, ii. 166, 212.
Elias, prophet, ii. 35.
Elisha, prophet, ii. 35, 441.
Éloi (Eligius), Saint, i. 432–3.
Emerius (Cymulus), bishop of Saintes, ii. 135.
Emerius, ii. 435.
Ennodius, duke of Tours and Poitiers, ii. 198, 348, 369, 375–6, 455.
Enoch, ii. 3, 7, 8.
Enos, ii. 8.
Epagathus, Vettius, ii. 20, 21.
Eparchius, bishop of Clermont, ii. 60.
Eparchius, hermit of Angoulême, i. 377; ii. 231, 242–3.
Epiphanius, bishop of Fréjus, ii. 255.
Epiphanius, abbot of S. Remigius at Reims, ii. 457–8.
Epolon, martyr, ii. 20.

Esau, ii. 3, 10.
Ethelbert, king of Kent, i. 51, 187; ii. (398).
Eucherius, ii. 60.
Eufrasius, bishop of Tours, i. 4; ii. 75, 86, 505.
Eufrasius, priest, ii. 144.
Eufronius, bishop of Tours, elected and consecrated bishop of Tours, 127–8; resisted taxation imposed by Charibert, 400; signatory of the episcopal letter to Radegund, 410. ii. 115, 136, 475–6.
Eufronius, bishop of Autun, ii. 58.
Eufronius, a Syrian merchant, ii. 308–9.
Eugenius, bishop of Carthage and martyr, ii. 39, 41–3, 490.
Eugenius, tyrant, ii. 51–2.
Eulalius, count of Clermont, ii. 343, 348, 365, 424, 434–6.
Eunius, bishop of Vannes, ii. 166, 200, 201, 212.
Eunomius, count of Tours, ii. 166, 219, 223, 302.
Euphemia (Eufemia), Saint, church of, ii. 428.
Euric (Evarex), king of the Visigoths, i. 207; ii. 33, 60, 64.
Euric, king of Galicia, ii. 275.
Europs, ii. 15.
Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, i. 33; ii. 6, 15, 24, 35, 217, 385, 481, 486.
Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, ii. (217), 548.
Eusebius, bishop of Paris, ii. 463.
Eusicius, hermit, i. 377; ii. 508.
Eustasius, bishop of Bourges, ii. 463.
Eustenia, niece of Gregory, i. 5, 6, 418.
Eustochius, bishop of Tours, ii. 33, 37, 58, 78, 471.
Eutyches, heresiarch, ii. 74, 501.
Evantius, bishop of Vienne, ii. 361.
Evantius, envoy of Childebert II, son of Dynamius, ii. 429.
Evarex, *see* Euric.
Eve, ii. 3, 7, 345, 412.
Evodius, of Clermont, ii. 125, 144.
Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse, ii. 57.
Ezekiel, prophet, ii. 14, 425, 441.

Faileuba, queen of Childebert II, present at Andelot, ii. 379; provision made for her in the pact signed at that place, 390; reveals a palace plot to the king, 408. ii. 381, 407, 582.
Falco, ii. 566.
Falech, ii. 9.
Faramod, brother of Ragnemod, ii. 463.
Faraulf, ii. 298.
Farron, ii. 80.
Fausta, Empress, ii. 24, 486.
Faustianus (Faustinianus), bishop of Dax, ii. 309, 310, 330, 344.
Faustus, bishop of Auch, ii. 347.
Felix, Saint, martyr, ii. 374.
Felix, bishop of Belley, ii. 416.
Felix, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, ii. 416.
Felix, bishop of Nantes, saves the brother of Breton chief, ii. 118; bitter correspondence with Gregory, 172; sends envoys to marauding Bretons, 202–3; harbours the priest Riculf, calumniator of Gregory, 226; attempts to influence choice of his successor while on his deathbed, 249, 250; signatory of the episcopal letter to Radegund, 410. i. 12, 82; ii. 147, 231, 535–6, 545, 551.
Felix, Bishop, envoy of Childebert II, ii. 392–3.
Felix, senatorial, ii. 154, 242.
Felix, envoy of Guntram, ii. 338.
Ferreolus, bishop of Limoges, ii. 201, 293.
Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, ii. 231, 242.
Fiard (Friard), Saint, recluse, ii. 116, 147, 528.
Firminus, count of Clermont, ii. 115, 125–6, 139, 140, 144, 149.
Flavianus, domestic, ii. 388, 433, 447.
Flavius, referendary, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, ii. 218, 464, 570.
Florentianus, mayor of the household or palace, ii. 400, 587.
Florentius, father of Gregory, i. 4, 5.
Fortunatus, poet, bishop of Poitiers, i. 12, 15, 20, 21–2, 37, 48, 52, 64 ff., 76–7, 81–5; ii. 177.
Francilio, bishop of Tours, ii. 100, 474.
Fredegund, queen of Chilperic, character of, i. 73–80; married to Chilperic, ii. 138; sends assassins to murder Sigibert, 160; tries to bribe Gregory, 189; burns the tax-lists, 205–6; orders the murder of her stepson, Chlodovech, 211–12; her sumptuous marriage gifts to her

daughter Rigunth, 277 ; takes refuge in church after Chilperic's death, 280, 289 ; sends an assassin against Brunhild, 298–9 ; clears herself by oath, 335 ; sends out other assassins against Childebert II, 349, 350 ; causes Bishop Praetextatus to be stabbed in church, 354 ; poisons the stirrup-cup of a Frank, 355 ; attempts the life of King Guntram, 364–5 ; attempts to murder her daughter Rigunth, 405–6 ; intrigues against Guntram in Brittany, 437 ; quells a feud by the axe, 463. i. 10, 82, 111–12, 123, 127, 129 ; ii. 169, 180, 182, 193, 198, 222, 263–4, 291, 295, 296, 305, 318, 320, 349, 353, 362–3, 382, 392, 425, 454, 525, 566, 580.
Friard, *see* Fiard.
Frigeridus, Renatus Profuturus, i. 33–4 ; ii. 48, 52, 492.
Frontonius, bishop of Angoulême, ii. 207.
Frontonius, deacon at Périgueux, ii. 254.

Gailen, servant of Merovech, ii. 179, 192–3.
Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, ii. 489, 490.
Gaiso, count of Tours, ii. 400.
Gall, Saint, bishop of Clermont, i. 246 ; ii. 115, 119, 120, 126.
Gallienus, Emperor, ii. 22.
Gallienus, friend of Gregory, ii. 222–3.
Gallomagnus, referendary, ii. 408–9.
Gallus, bishop of Clermont, uncle of Gregory, i. 6 ; ii. 119, 120, 126, 516.
Galswinth, queen of Chilperic, sister of Brunhild, i. 111, 112 ; ii. 137–8, 390, 525.
Garachar, count of Bordeaux, ii. 333.
Gararic, Duke, ii. 294, 303.
Garivald, duke of the Bavarians, ii. 122.
Gatianus (S. Gatien), bishop of Tours, ii. 21, 30, 469, 470, 601. *See also* Catinus.
Gaudentius, father of Aëtius, ii. 48.
Gelimer (Gelasimer), king of the Vandals, ii. 490.
Genobaud, duke of the Franks, ii. 49.
Genovefa (S. Geneviève), ii. 117, 515.
Germanus and Laurence, Saints, church of, at Ligne, ii. 60.
Germanus, Saint, of Auxerre, church of, at Auxerre, ii. 183 ; at Tours, 475.
Germanus, Saint, bishop of Paris, excommunicates King Charibert, ii. 136 ; solemnly warns King Sigibert, 160 ; his death, 176 ; he appears to prisoners, who are set free, 357 ; his letter to Brunhild, 533. i. 82 *n.*, 86 ; ii. 165, 179, 512.
Germanus, prefect of Rome, ii. 426, 591.
Gerontius, Duke, ii. 52.
Gervasius and Protasius, Saints, church of, at Rome, ii. 428 ; church of, at Tours, 471, 474.
Goar, ii. 52, 493.
Godegisel, king of Burgundy, treacherously joins Clovis against his own brother Gundobad, ii. 70 ; defeated and slain by Gundobad in Vienne, 72. i. 93 ; ii. 34, 66, 85, 501, 505.
Godegisel, king of the Vandals, ii. 52.
Godegisel, Duke, son-in-law of Lupus, ii. 159, 381–2.
Godin, ii. 169.
Godomar, king of the Burgundians, i. 97–9, 104 ; ii. 85, 88–90, 505.
Gogo, governor of Childebert II, i. 88 ; ii. 219, 233, 510, 525, 549, 577.
Goiswinth (Godeswinth, Gunthswinth), queen of Athanagild and Leuvigild, mother of Queen Brunhild, ii. 147 ; seeks to convert Ingund to Arianism by force, 209 ; counsels her stepson, Recared, 371. ii. 547, 581.
Gratian, Emperor, ii. 25.
Gregory the Great, Pope, his attitude to letters, i. 22, 409, 413 ; his letters to Queen Brunhild, 72, 188, 246 ; to Childebert II, 272 ; his early life and high office in Rome, ii. 425 ; his foundation of monasteries and ascetic life, *ibid.* ; his attempt to avoid election thwarted, 426 ; his address to the people of Rome, 426–8 ; orders processions from different quarters to make supplication for relief from the plague, 428. ii. 478, 500, 536, 591.
Gregory, Saint, bishop of Langres, i. 3 ; ii. 84, 97, 102, 128, 174.
Gregory of Tours, Life of, i. 1 ff. ; consecration as bishop, 9 ; death, 13 ; as writer and authority, 20 ff. ; dispute with Bishop Felix, ii. 172 ; receives Prince Merovech into sanctuary, 179 ; at trial of Bishop Praetextatus, 187 ff. ; his interview

with Chilperic in the garden, 188; refuses bribe from Fredegund, 189; accused of slandering Fredegund, 222; tried by the bishops at Berny and acquitted, 224–5; with Chilperic at Nogent, 235; attempts to convert Priscus, 236–7; attests a miracle of Eparchius, 243; his advice to Burgundio, 250; causes Leudast to be warned against Fredegund, 263; relates his vision to Eberulf, 301; intervenes to end a blood-feud at Tours, 322–3; intercedes for conspirators, 333; addresses envoys of King Guntram, 338; in danger of drowning, *ibid.*; mission to King Guntram, 369; present at burial of Saint Radegund, 371; experience with a charlatan, 373–4; his second mission to Guntram, 388; remonstrates with Guntram, 392–3; visits Queen Ingoberg, 398; opposes the royal commissioners of taxes, 400, 401; remonstrates with Berthegund, 403; one of the bishops appointed to try the rebellious nuns of Poitiers, 448; relates story of the destruction of Antioch, told him at Tours by Simon, a bishop, 460, 461; enumerates his works, 477.

Grindio, retainer of Merovech, ii. 193.

Grippo, envoy of Childebert II, i. 157; ii. 424, 428–30, 432.

Gundegisel, or Dodo, count of Saintes and bishop of Bordeaux, ii. 347, 415–16, 421, 448, 452.

Gunderic, Vandal king, ii. 38, 489.

Gundioc (Gundeuc), Burgundian king, ii. 66.

Gundobad, king of Burgundy, compiles the Burgundian laws, i. 207; murders his brother and his queen, ii. 66; gives his daughter Clotild in marriage to Clovis, 67; defeated by his treacherous brother and by Clovis, 70, 71; makes terms with Clovis at Avignon, 72; defeats and slays his brother at Vienne, *ibid.*; ready to receive but not to confess Christianity, 73; rebuked by Bishop Avitus, *ibid.* i. 91, 93, 97; ii. 501, 505.

Gundobad, son of King Guntram, ii. 135.

Gundovald, the pretender, called Ballomer, his career, i. 124–6; presumed son of Lothar I, ii. 254; repudiated by that king, but recognized by Charibert, 254–5; escapes to Italy and joins Narses, 255; goes to reside in Constantinople, *ibid.*; invited to return to Gaul by Guntram Boso, who on his arrival robs him of much treasure, *ibid.*; supported by Mummolus and Desiderius, 292; raised on the shield as king, 292–3; at Poitiers, Angoulême, Périgueux, and Toulouse, 304–5; supported by Bishop Bertram of Bordeaux, 308–9; orders consecration of a bishop, 309–10; retreats to Convenae, where he is besieged, 312 ff.; his speech from the ramparts defending his claims, 314–15; denounces his betrayer, Mummolus, 316; abandoned to the enemy and slain, 317; his sons, 399, 402. i. 427–8; ii. 231, 256, 283–4, 295, 330, 333, 343 *n.*, 344, 458, 503, 571.

Gundovald, Duke, ii. 157, 168, 532.

Gundovald, count of Meaux, ii. 344.

Gundulf, Duke, domestic, i. 4; ii. 245, 257, 554.

Gunthar, son of Chlodomer, i. 100; ii. 90, 102.

Gunthar, son of Lothar I, ii. 103, 117–18.

Gunthar, abbot of S. Venantius, bishop of Tours, ii. 119, 122, 475.

Guntheuc, queen of Chlodomer and Lothar I, ii. 90.

Guntram, King, character of, i. 52–60; sent by Lothar I against Chramn, ii. 129; his queens, 135; relations with Chilperic and Sigibert, 158–60; fines a duke, 183; kills slanderers of his queen, 185; loses his two sons, *ibid.*; reinstates Salonius and Sagittarius, 195; dispute with Childebert II about Marseilles, 245–7; arrests Bishop Theodore, 255; captures and releases Guntram Boso, 256; defeats Chilperic, 261; restores part of Marseilles to Childebert II, 264; his kindness to Bishop Aetherius, 269; his speech against simony, 270–1; at Paris after the death of Chilperic, 289–92; abuses and expels an embassy from Childebert II, 295–6; reinstates Bishop Praetextatus, 297; threatens Eberulf

and seeks his death, 299, 305; tortures envoys from Gundovald, 310; his meeting with Childebert, 311; his visit to Orleans, 329–34; reburies Princes Chlodovech and Merovech, 335–6; his disastrous invasion of Septimania, 350–2; his life attempted, 371–2; discovers Austrasian plot, 377; at Andelot, 379, 381, 389; rejects Visigothic offer of peace, 385; receives Gregory as envoy from Childebert, 388; discussion with bishops, 392–4; at Marseilles during plague, i. 257; ii. 394–5; suspicious of Brunhild, 399, 402; again defeated by Visigoths, 400; receives the rebellious nun Clotild, 414; invades Brittany, 436; enforces cruel game-laws, 438–9; acts as sponsor to the young Lothar II, 464–5. ii. 116–17, 134, 136, 139, 140, 150, 152, 154, 165, 173–4, 179, 196, 223, 233–5, 251–3, 260, 274, 283–4, 294, 298, 301, 303, 308, 312, 318–19, 327–8, 337–8, 343–5, 348, 353, 355, 359, 360, 362, 365, 369, 370, 376, 380, 382, 386–8, 398, 456–7, 531, 563, 577–8, 593–5.

Guntram Boso, Duke, sent against Theudebert, son of Chilperic, ii. 159; in sanctuary at Tours, 171; leaves sanctuary with Merovech, 183; enters service of King Guntram, 256; besieges Avignon, *ibid.*; visits Constantinople with invitation to Gundovald, 310, 311, 314; his servants rob a tomb, 346; placed under surveillance by Childebert, 376–7; brought before the king, sentenced and slain, 379–81; his sons, 396. i. 124, 129, 179, 180, 193, 198, 295, 316.

Gyges, ii. 15.

Habakkuk, ii. 54.

Hadrian (Adrianus), ii. 19.

Ham, ii. 8.

Harivald, a Frank, ii. 464.

Heber, ii. 9.

Hebron (Nimrod), son of Chus, ii. 9, 482.

Helen, mother of Constantine, ii. 24.

Heraclius, military tribune, ii. 50.

Heraclius, priest of Bordeaux, bishop of Angoulême, ii. 136, 207–8.

Heraclius, Bishop, ii. 166.

Hermanfrid, King, i. 100, 101; ii. 84, 86–7, 90–2.

Hermangild, son of Leuvigild, converted to Catholicism by Ingund, ii. 209, 210, 547; rebels and obtains aid of Byzantine forces, *ibid.*; captured and banished by his father, 275–6; put to death, 348, 578. i. 129; ii. 147, 264, 271, 528, 534.

Herod, king of the Jews, ii. 3, 18, 125, 206, 278, 483, 546.

Herpo, Duke, ii. 183.

Hesychius, bishop of Grenoble, ii. 416–17.

Hezekiah, ii. 35.

Hieronimus, *see* Jerome.

Hilary, Saint, bishop of Poitiers, banished, and released after four years, ii. 24. ii. 76, 85, 217, 290, 420, 468, 472, 487, 489, 504–5.

Hilary, Saint, church of, at Poitiers, ii. 76, 131, 165, 198, 414, 468.

Hillidius, *see* Illidius.

Hippolytus, Saint, ii. 20.

Holofernes, ii. 398.

Honorius, Emperor, ii. 29, 48, 470.

Hortensius, ii. 144.

Hospicius, hermit of Nice, i. 376; ii. 231, 238–9, 552–3.

Huneric, Vandal king, ii. 39, 43–4, 490.

Hygelac, *see* Chlochilaic.

Illidius (Hillidius), Saint Allyre, i. 8; ii. 26, 488.

Imnachar, ii. 126.

Industrius, *see* Dracolen.

Ingitrude, sister of Bishop Bertram, declares a miracle at S. Martin's tomb, ii. 197; founds nunnery near the basilica of S. Martin at Tours, 403; persuades her daughter Berthegund to leave her husband and become abbess, 403–4; quarrels with Berthegund over inheritance, 404–5; appoints her niece abbess, 439; her death, *ibid.* ii. 315, 370.

Ingoberg, queen of Charibert, i. 51; ii. 135, 369, 397–8.

Ingomer, son of Clovis, ii. 68.

Ingund, queen of Lothar I, ii. 117–18.

Ingund, daughter of Sigibert, i. 129, 130; betrothed to Hermangild, son of Leuvigild, ii. 147; resists attempts to convert her to Arianism, 209; converts Hermangild to

Catholicism, 209–10; abandoned by Leuvigild to the Byzantine authorities in Spain, 271, 276; rumour of her removal to Constantinople, 343; dies in Africa on her way to that city, 348; Guntram's resentment against the Visigoths, 385, 393. ii. 327, 396, 534, 577, 581, 592.
Injuriosus, senatorial of Clermont, ii. 26, 488.
Injuriosus, bishop of Tours, ii. 27, 101, 117–18, 474, 488, 510.
Injuriosus, *vicarius* of Tours, ii. 302–3.
Innocentius, bishop of Le Mans, ii. 244.
Innocentius, count of Javols and bishop of Rodez, ii. 269, 436.
Irenaeus, Saint, bishop of Lyons, ii. 4, 20, 484.
Isaac, ii. 3, 10.

Jacob, the patriarch, ii. 3, 10, 11, 216.
Jacob, son of Macliav, ii. 185.
James, the Apostle, ii. 3, 17, 18.
James, bishop of Nisibis, ii. 24, 486–7.
Japheth, son of Noah, ii. 8.
Jareth, son of Methuselah, ii. 8.
Jeroboam, ii. 14.
Jerome, Saint, i. 33; ii. 6, 24–5, 35, 481, 486.
Jesus Christ, ii. 15, 16.
Job (Jobab), ii. 3, 10, 213; quoted, 213.
John, Evangelist, Saint, ii. 19, 421, 442; quoted, 40, 214–15, 272–3, 442; day of, 334; nativity of, 472.
John and Paul, Saints, church of, at Rome, ii. 428.
John, tyrant, ii. 48.
John III, Pope, ii. 195.
John, baptismal name of Hermangild, ii. 210.
John, son of Eulalius, ii. 436.
John, father of Sichar of Tours, ii. 321.
Jonah, ii. 9; quoted, 124.
Joseph, son of Jacob, ii. 3, 10, 11.
Joseph, Saint, ii. 15.
Joseph of Arimathea, ii. 3, 16, 17.
Joshua (Jesu Nave), ii. 3, 13.
Jovinus, tyrant, ii. 52, 493.
Jovinus, governor of Provence, ii. 152–3, 242, 245.
Jovius, ii. 408.
Judas Iscariot, ii. 192.
Judas (also named Quiriacus), ii. 24.
Judith, ii. 398.
Julian, Saint, of Auvergne, ii. 468; feast of, 434.
Julian, Saint, church of, at Brioude, ii. 60, 93, 100, 119, 126, 142, 156, 434, 467, 517; church of, at Paris, 251, 375; church of, at Antioch, 149.
Julian, ascetic, i. 377; ii. 141–2.
Justin, Emperor, succeeds Justinian, ii. 148; his avarice and madness, 149; associates Tiberius with him as Caesar, *ibid.*; his death, 201. ii. 116, 193, 525, 529.
Justin, philosopher and martyr, ii. 19, 484.
Justina, prioress at Poitiers, niece of Gregory, i. 5; ii. 446, 595.
Justinian, Emperor, appoints Narses to succeed Belisarius, ii. 108; sends an army into Spain, 121; his death, 148. ii. 524, 529.
Justinian, nephew of Justin II, ii. 201.
Justinian, bishop of Tours, ii. 37, 471.
Justinus, brother-in-law of Gregory, i. 5.
Justus, archdeacon of Clermont, ii. 26.
Juvencus, ii. 24, 486.

Laban, bishop of Eauze, ii. 346.
Lampadius, deacon at Langres, ii. 172–5.
Landeric, i. 122–3.
Lanthechild, sister of Clovis, ii. 70, 500.
Laurentius (Laurence), Saint, church of, at Montlouis, ii. 473; at Paris, 244, 256; of SS. Laurentius and Germanus, at Ligne, 60. ii. 20, 240, 484.
Lazarus, ii. 215, 442–3.
Leander, bishop of Seville, i. 178 *n.*; ii. 547, 578, 581, 583–4.
Legonus, bishop of Clermont, ii. 26.
Leo, bishop of Tours, abbot of S. Martin's, ii. 100, 474.
Leo, citizen of Poitiers, ii. 128.
Leo, cook of Gregory, bishop of Langres, ii. 97–100.
Leontius, bishop of Bordeaux, i. 82; ii. 135–6, 571.
Leuba, ii. 349.
Leubast, abbot and *martyrarius*, ii. 122.
Leubovera, abbess of Radegund's

monastery at Poitiers, intrigue of rebellious nuns against her, ii. 409 ; captured and kept in durance by the rebels, 446, 452 ; the charges made against her, 450, 451 ; reinstated in the monastery, 454. ii. 410, 415, 447, 458.
Leucadius, senator, ii. 21, 485.
Leudast, count of Tours, seeks the death of Merovech, ii. 180 ; removed from his office and imprisoned by Chilperic, 219 ; story of his career, 220 ff. ; his part in the plot against Gregory, 222 ; though warned against Queen Fredegund he seeks her forgiveness, 263 ; his torture and cruel death, 264. ii. 166, 231.
Leudegisel, duke and commander, i. 126 ; ii. 315, 318, 345, 353.
Leudovald (Leuvald), bishop of Bayeux, sent on an embassy to Austrasia by Chilperic, ii. 234 ; his courageous intervention at Rouen after the murder of Bishop Praetextatus, 355 ; again acts as envoy, 383.
Leudovald, a Frank of Tournai, ii. 464.
Leunard, domestic, ii. 296.
Leunast, archdeacon of Bourges, ii. 165, 175–6.
Leuthar, brother of Buccelin, i. 107.
Leuva, king of the Visigoths, ii. 147, 396, 528, 546.
Leuvigild, king of the Visigoths, revises Visigothic laws, i. 207 ; succeeds Athanagild, ii. 147 ; his drastic removal of enemies, *ibid.* ; persecutes the Catholics, 209 ; captures and banishes his son Hermangild, 210, 275 ; reported to feign conversion to Catholicism, 251–2 ; exacts an oath of fealty from the king of Galicia, 275 ; causes Hermangild to be slain, 348 ; captures Frankish ships, 359 ; his death, 366. i. 129, 130 ; ii. 214, 258, 271, 328, 396, 528, 546–7, 578, 581.
Licerius, bishop of Arles, ex-referendary, ii. 361, 396.
Licinius, abbot of S. Venantius, bishop of Tours, ii. 34, 78, 81, 86, 473, 505.
Liminius, martyr of Auvergne, ii. 22, 486.
Litigius of Clermont, ii. 94, 509.
Litorius, bishop of Tours, ii. 30, 469, 470, 472.
Longinus, bishop in Africa, ii. 41–2.
Lot, ii. 460, 461.
Lothar (Chlothachar) I, character of, i. 48–9 ; joins in the attack on Burgundy, ii. 89, and on Thuringia, 90 ; takes Radegund captive, 91 ; joins Childebert I in a second attack on Burgundy, 93 ; murders two of his nephews in Paris, 101–2 ; attacked by Childebert I and Theudebert, 105–6 ; invades Spain with Childebert, 106 ; his wives and sons, 117 ; defeats the Saxons and ravages Thuringia, 122 ; defeated by the Saxons, 127 ; defeats the Bretons and puts to death his son Chramn, 135 ; dies, and is buried at Soissons, 135. i. 99, 101, 108 ; ii. 84, 86, 104, 108, 115, 125, 129, 130, 131, 150, 161, 184, 244, 254, 294, 304, 310, 313, 378, 386, 391, 400, 413, 418–19, 475, 523–4.
Lothar II, son of Chilperic, acknowledged by notables, ii. 291 ; dangerous illness and recovery, 439 ; King Guntram his sponsor at his baptism, 465. i. 123 ; ii. 314, 329, 343, 355, 362–3, 377, 386, 394, 424.
Lothar, Prince, son of Guntram, ii. 135, 185.
Lupentius, abbot of S. Privat at Javols, ii. 231, 269.
Lupicinus, hermit, i. 375.
Lupus, Duke, harassed by notables of Austrasia, despite Brunhild's defence, he withdraws to Guntram's kingdom, ii. 234–5 ; returns to Austrasia, 381 ; reconciled with Bishop Egidius, 383. i. 88, 121 ; ii. 155, 231, 369, 457, 531–2, 552, 583.
Lupus, citizen of Tours, ii. 231, 248–9, 381.

Macco, count of Poitiers, ordered by Childebert II to quell the rebellion of the nuns, ii. 416 ; he is successful, 448 ; a witness in favour of the abbess Leubovera, 451 ; his action against highwaymen, 458.
Macliav, Breton chief, escapes from his brother, and is tonsured at Vannes, ii. 118 ; excommunicated, 119 ; slain by his wronged nephew, 184–5 ; father of Waroch, 200.

Magatrude, wife of Badegisil, ii. 360, 433.
Magnachar (Magnar), father of Marcatrude, his sons executed by Guntram, ii. 185 ; Queen Austrechild originally a servant in his household, 196. ii. 125, 135, 165, 524, 540.
Magneric, bishop of Trèves, ii. 337, 360, 379, 380.
Magnovald, Duke, ii. 378.
Magnovald, executed at the royal palace of Metz, ii. 359.
Magnulf, bishop of Toulouse, ii. 284, 304, 310.
Malaleel, ii. 8.
Mallulf, bishop of Senlis, ii. 279, 280.
Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, ii. 74, 502.
Marachar, count of Angoulême, ii. 207.
Marcatrude, queen of Guntram, daughter of Magnar, ii. 135, 524.
Marcellinus and Peter, Saints, church of, at Rome, ii. 428.
Marcellus, Saint, church of, at Chalon-sur-Saône, ii. 200, 398, 439 ; feast of, 371, 581–2, 587.
Marcellus, bishop of Uzès, ii. 242.
Marcion, heresiarch, ii. 19, 484.
Marcomer, Duke, or petty king of the Franks, ii. 49, 51.
Marcovefa (Marchovefa), queen of Charibert, ii. 135–6, 220.
Marileif, physician of Chilperic, robbed by Merovech's men and relieved by Gregory, ii. 180 ; robbed at Poitiers by Guntram's men, and degraded to the servile state, 303. ii. 284, 538, 567.
Mark, Saint, ii. 18.
Mark, referendary of Chilperic, sent to Limoges to enforce new taxation, and only saved from death by the bishop, ii. 201 ; his deathbed repentance, 257–8. ii. 206, 231.
Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, resists Guntram's occupation of Poitiers, ii. 303 ; gives up a gold chalice as ransom, *ibid.* ; asks for reassessment of taxation in the city, 400 ; appointed, with Gregory, to reconcile Ingitrude and her daughter, 405 ; refuses to receive the relics obtained by Radegund, 413 ; one of the bishops maltreated by the bravoes of Clotild, 415 ; suggests a concession to the rebellious nuns, 421–2 ; demands the release of the abbess Leubovera, 447 ; one of the commission of bishops appointed to try the case of the nuns, 448. ii. 413, 581, 590.
Mars, the god, ii. 67.
Martial, Saint, bishop of Limoges, i. 238 ; ii. 20, 21, 128, 468.
Martianus for Majorian, ii. 56.
Martianus Capella, i. 33 ; ii. 477, 604.
Martin, Saint, burial, commemoration of, 58 ; *Eulogiae* of, 330.
Martin, Saint, of Tours, i. 245, 348 ; ii. 4, 23–4, 29, 30, 35–6, 75–6, 128, 157, 183, 187, 290, 319, 373, 411, 420, 468, 470, 471, 478, 487, 488–9, 523 ; body of, struggle for, 29 ; cell of, at Candes, 29, 362, 470, 488, 580 ; cell of, at Tours, 476.
church (basilica) of, at Tours, small church built by S. Brice, ii. 47, 473 ; new church built by Perpetuus, 471 ; inscriptions over south door, 546 ; fire at, 132 ; mural paintings in, i. 326–7, 428 ; ii. 476, 603–4 ; restoration by Lothar I, 132 ; restoration by Gregory, 476 ; *atrium* of the church, 300, 305 ; nunnery in the *atrium*, 403. i. 7, 238 *n.* ; ii. 33, 58, 76, 128, 131–2, 165, 171, 175–6, 179 ff., 192, 209, 231, 244, 299, 305–8, 339, 343, 361, 374, 398, 404, 439, 472 ff., 523.
church of, at Candes, ii. 362 ; church of, at Rouen, 169 ; church of, in the Woëvre, 381 ; oratory of, at Paris, 357 ; monastery of, at Tours, i. 352 ; ii. 474 (abbot mentioned) ; nunnery in *atrium* of the basilica, 403 ; 'house' of, near Bourges, 319 ; tomb of, at Tours, 37, 58, 78, 175–6, 180, 182 (letter laid on), 197, 221, 223, 300, 301, 339 (dust from), 467, 471, 544 ; festivals of, 58, 198, 219, 329, 467, 472 ; Life of, by Gregory, 536 ; by Sulpicius Severus, i. 33 ; ii. 488–9, 602 ; miraculous power of, i. 7, 238 ; ii. 117, 159, 168, 171, 175–6, 197, 199, 224, 283–4, 306–7, 327, 339, 341–2, 357, 359, 400, 401, 467 ; relics of, 157, 208, 338–9, 546.
Martin, Saint, of Brives-la-Gaillarde, ii. 292, 293.

Martin, bishop of Galicia (Braga), i. 82 ; ii. 166, 208, 546.
Martin, priest of Lyons, ii. 146–7.
Martius, hermit, i. 376.
Mary, Saint, church of, at Poitiers, ii. 421 ; at Rome, 428 ; at Toulouse, 293 ; at Tours, 362, 474–5. ii. 16, 420, 421.
Mary, companion of religious impostor, ii. 462–3.
Maurice Tiberius, Emperor, his accession, ii. 260 ; his subsidy to Childebert II for an invasion of Italy, and demand for its return, 274 ; confirms the election of Gregory the Great as pope, 426 ; surrenders to Childebert men presumed guilty of killing Frankish envoys, 432. i. 122 ; ii. 424, 428, 591–2.
Maurilio (Maurilius), bishop of Cahors, ii. 213, 548.
Maxentius, Abbot, i. 375 ; ii. 76, 502.
Maximin, Saint, bishop of Trèves, ii. 24, 337 (church of, at Trèves).
Maximus, tyrant, emperor at Trèves, i. 374 ; ii. 25–6, 49, 52, 187, 470.
Médard, Saint, bishop of Vermand, Noyon, and Tournai, his death, and burial by Lothar I at Soissons, ii. 131–2 ; miracles after his death, 224 ; church dedicated to him at Soissons, 133, 161, 169, 224, 378. i. 102 *n.* ; ii. 115, 522, 550.
Médard, a tribune, ii. 303, 598.
Melania, Saint (Thecla), ii. 4, 24–5, 487.
Melanius, bishop of Rouen (Melantius), ii. 298, 356, 362.
Merofled, queen of Charibert, ii. 135–6.
Merovech, Frankish king, ii. 54.
Merovech, son of Chilperic, sent to Poitiers, but goes to Rouen and marries Brunhild, 168 ; separated from her and kept under surveillance, 169 ; tonsured and sent to a monastery, 179 ; escapes and takes sanctuary at Tours, where he is received by Gregory, 179, 180 ; in danger from Guntram Boso, 180 ; converses with Gregory, 181 ; escapes a trap laid by Fredegund and Guntram Boso, 182 ; resorts to *sortes Biblicae*, 183 ; leaves Tours and is captured, but escapes into sanctuary at Auxerre, 183 ; refused admission to Austrasia, 184 ; in hiding in Champagne, 184 ; betrayed to his father, orders his servant to slay him, 192–3 ; his body later brought to Paris and buried by that of his brother Chlodovech, 336. i. 117–19 ; ii. 138, 165, 186, 190, 221, 327, 335.
Methuselah, *see* Malaleel.
Michael, Archangel, ii. 258.
Mir, king of Galicia, ii. 212, 275, 548.
Modestus, carpenter, ii. 224.
Moses, ii. 11, 12, 85, 178, 216 ; law of, 177, 251.
Mummolen, father of Duke Bobo, ii. 278, 593.
Mummolen of Soissons, father of Bodegisil, ii. 429.
Mummolus (Eunius), count of Auxerre and patrician, made patrician, ii. 150 ; defeats invading Lombards, 150, 151 ; defeats Saxons coming from Italy, 151 ; again defeats the Lombards, 153 ; victorious over Chilperic's general, Desiderius, 179 ; deserts King Guntram, 233 ; receives the pretender Gundovald at Avignon, 255 ; besieged in that city by Guntram Boso, but relieved, 256–7 ; accompanies Gundovald on a royal progress, 292–3 ; with Gundovald at Bordeaux, 304 ; enters Convenae with the pretender, and is there besieged, 312 ; betrays Gundovald, 315–17 ; he is himself betrayed and slain, 318 ; wife of, ii. 318–19. i. 113, 125–6 ; ii. 116, 165, 231, 284, 288, 327, 538, 562.
Mummolus, bishop of Langres, ii. 175.
Mummolus, prefect, ii. 232, 265, 297.
Munderic, kinsman of Theuderic I, ii. 84, 95–6.
Munderic, bishop of Langres, ii. 173, 536.

Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar), ii. 14, 15.
Namatius, bishop of Clermont, i. 326 ; ii. 58, 59 (wife of).
Namatius, bishop of Orleans, ii. 369, 386.
Nanninus, master of the soldiery, ii. 49, 50.
Nanthinus, count of Angoulême, ii. 166, 207–8.
Narses, Byzantine general, patrician, duke of Italy, appointed in place of Belisarius, ii. 108 ; contends against Buccelin, 109 ; defeats Buccelin,

122 ; story of his concealed treasure, 194 ; receives the pretender Gundovald in Italy, 255, 314. i. 108 ; ii. 314, 543.
Nectarius, brother of Badegisil, bishop of Le Mans, ii. 297.
Nectarius, husband of Domnola, ii. 327, 356, 363.
Nepotianus, bishop of Clermont, ii. 4, 26.
Nero, Emperor, ii. 3, 18, 125, 278.
Nicasius, bishop of Angoulême, ii. 331, 415–16.
Nicetius (Nizier), bishop of Lyons, great-uncle of Gregory, i. 4, 6 ; his election to see of Lyons, character, and power of miracle, ii. 145 ; his memory slandered by his successor, 146 ; his appearances to a man in dreams, 146–7 ; intercedes for Munderic, 173 ; presides over the council at Lyons which deprived Salonius and Sagittarius, 195 ; seen in a vision by King Guntram, 333. i. 280 ; ii. 116, 174, 528, 536.
Nicetius, Saint, bishop of Trèves, i. 82, 335 ; ii. 465–6.
Nicetius, count, afterwards bishop of Dax, ii. 310, 344.
Nicetius, governor of Provence, count of Clermont, ii. 328, 343, 351, 353, 363, 395.
Nicetius, husband of Gregory's niece Eustenia, i. 6 ; ii. 180, 538.
Nimrod, *see* Hebron.
Ninus, king of Assyria, ii. 3, 9, 15.
Noah, ii. 8, 9.
Nonnichius (Nunnichius), bishop of Nantes, ii. 250, 363.
Nonnichius, count of Limoges, ii. 253–4.
Novatianus, heretic, ii. 20, 484.

Occila (Optila), trumpeter of Aëtius, ii. 49, 492.
Odovacar (Odoacer), ii. 33, 59, 496.
Olo, *see* Ullo.
Olo, Duke, ii. 430.
Ommatius, bishop of Tours, ii. 100, 474.
Oppila, Visigothic envoy, ii. 271.
Optila, *see* Occila.
Orestes, bishop of Bazas, ii. 310, 344.
Orosius, historian, i. 33 ; ii. 6, 9, 25, 35, 53, 168, 481, 494, 534.
Otto, referendary, ii. 456.

Palladius, bishop of Saintes, character of, i. 87 ; consecrates Faustianus as bishop of Dax at bidding of the pretender Gundovald, ii. 310 ; received with bitterness by Guntram, 330, 331 ; humiliated by Guntram at Mass, 333–4 ; exchanges abuse with Bishop Bertram at the king's table, 334 ; condemned to contribute his share towards support of Faustianus, 344 ; arrests clergy and causes them to be flogged, 347 ; accused of harbouring envoys of Fredegund, but not convicted, 363–4.
Palladius, count of Javols, son of Britannus, ii. 147–8.
Papianilla, wife of Parthenius, ii. 111.
Pappolen, ii. 231, 250.
Pappolus, bishop of Chartres, ii. 297, 336.
Pappolus, bishop of Langres, ii. 174.
Parthemius, bishop of Javols, ii. 147.
Parthenius, unpopular minister of Theudebert, ii. 110 ; attacked by the people after that king's death, but escaped to Trèves, 110, 111 ; concealed in a chest in a church, 111 ; discovered and stoned, *ibid.*
Pascentius, abbot of S. Hilary and bishop of Poitiers, ii. 131.
Pastor, ii. 387.
Patiens, bishop of Lyons, ii. 64, 497.
Patroclus, recluse, i. 377 ; ii. 165, 177.
Paul, Saint, ii. 18, 26, 45, 47, 240, 373, 417, 470, 472 (feast of) ; quoted, 216, 237, 252, 271–3, 417, 443–5.
Paul, Saint, missionary to Gaul, bishop of Narbonne, ii. 20, 21.
Paul (Agilulf ?), king of the Lombards, ii. 432.
Paul, Count, i. 91 ; ii. 59, 496.
Paulellus (Paulinus ?), priest at Reims, ii. 99.
Paulinus (of Périgueux ?), ii. 57.
Paulinus (of Nola ?), ii. 471.
Pegasius, bishop of Périgueux, ii. 57.
Pelagia, mother of Aredius, ii. 466, 601.
Pelagius II, Pope, ii. 425, 526, 591.
Pelagius, citizen of Tours, ii. 328, 361.
Peonius, count of Auxerre, ii. 150.
Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, rebuilds the church of S. Martin, ii. 58, 471, 495 ; his death, 65 ; institutes fasts and vigils, 473–4. ii. 33.
Peter, Saint, ii. 18, 44–5, 47, 216, 240, 373, 470, 472.

Peter, Saint, church of, at Rome, ii. 428.
Peter, deacon, brother of Gregory, falsely accused by the deacon Lampadius at Langres, ii. 172; clears himself by oath at Lyons, 173–4; his murder, 174. i. 5.
Pharaoh, ii. 11.
Phatyr, a Jewish convert, ii. 251.
Phineas (Phinees), ii. 54.
Photinus (Pothinus), bishop of Lyons, martyr, ii. 4, 19, 484.
Pientius, bishop of Aix, ii. 247.
Pientius, bishop of Poitiers, ii. 131.
Pilate, ii. 16–18, 483; *Acts* of, 16.
Placidina, wife of Sidonius, i. 294; ii. (61), 86, 93, 505.
Plato, archdeacon of Tours, afterwards bishop of Poitiers, ii. 222–3.
Polycarp, saint and martyr, ii. 4, 19, 20.
Polyeuctes (Polioctus), martyr, ii. 290, 563.
Porcarius, abbot of S. Hilary, Poitiers, ii. 421.
Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen, i. 10, 87, 117, 119, 127; ii. 165, 186 ff. (trial of), 283, 297, 327, 328, 345, 353–5 (murder of), 362, 394.
Prilidianus, martyr, ii. 20.
Priscus, bishop of Lyons, ii. 145–7, 345.
Priscus, a Jew, supplies Chilperic with precious objects, ii. 235; Chilperic and Gregory vainly attempt to convert him at Nogent, 235–8; murdered by a converted Jew, i. 252; ii. 250, 251. ii. 527, 552.
Privatus, Saint, bishop of Javols, ii. 4, 23, 468, 486.
Privatus, Saint, church of, at Javols, ii. 269. *See also* Lupentius.
Proculus, bishop of Tours, ii. 100, 473.
Proculus, priest at Vollore, ii. 94.
Proculus, priest of Marseilles, ii. 246.
Promotus, bishop of Châteaudun, ii. 283, 297.
Pronimius, bishop of Agde and afterwards Vence, ii. 396–7.
Protadius, ii. 579, 596.
Protasius, Saint, church of, at Rome, ii. 428, 471. *See also* Gervasius.

Quintianus, bishop of Clermont and of Rodez, ii. 75, 84, 86, 93–4, 119, 144, 505.
Quintinus, master of the soldiery, ii. 49, 50.
Quiriacus (Judas), discoverer of the Cross, ii. 24.
Quiricus, *see* Cyricus.
Quirinus, bishop of Sissek, ii. 23.

Radegund, queen and saint, her life, i. 67–9, 82–5, 102; a princess of Thuringia, ii. 87; her father murdered by her uncle, *ibid.*; captive of Lothar I, who afterwards married her, 91; escorts a nun recluse to her cell, 259; opposes the betrothal of Basina to a Visigothic prince, 265; acquainted with facts about Gundovald (?), 315; her death at Poitiers, 371; letter of the bishops to her with regard to her monastery, 410–13; her dispatch of a mission to the East for relics, 413; unable to conciliate Maroveus, bishop of Poitiers, 413–14; her letter to the bishops on behalf of her foundation, 418–21; her tomb, 447, 453. i. 351, 354; ii. 369, 450, 581, 596–7.
Ragnachar, Frankish petty king, i. 95; ii. 34, 65, 80.
Ragnemod, bishop of Paris, successor of Germanus, with Gregory at Tours when Merovech took sanctuary, 179, 180; with Chilperic in the garden at time of the Council of Paris, 188; baptizes a son of Chilperic, 257; gives sanctuary to Queen Fredegund after Chilperic's death, 289; imprisons a religious impostor, 374; his death, 463. ii. 203, 424, 445.
Ragnovald, Duke, ii. 247, 293; wife of, 247.
Raguel, son of Esau, ii. 10.
Rathar, Duke, ii. 327, 336.
Rauching, Duke, tortures a serf with burning tapers, and buries a man and woman alive, ii. 170; captures assassins sent by Fredegund against Childebert, 349, 350; conspires with Ursio and Berthefred against Childebert, but is detected and executed, 377–8; wife of, 378. ii. 165, 348, 369, 383, 455, 582.
Rebecca, wife of Isaac, ii. 10.
Recared, son of Leuvigild, king of the Visigoths, sent to urge his brother Hermangild's submission, ii. 210; betrothed to Chilperic's daughter,

Rigunth, 265; invades Toulouse and Provence, 353; raids Frankish territory from Narbonne, 360; succeeds his father, Leuvigild, 366; offers peace to Guntram, 371; his conversion, 383–4; again offers peace to Guntram, 385; his envoys proceed to Childebert, and ask his sister's hand, *ibid.*; Guntram only sanctions the marriage on conditions, 393. ii. 147, 209, 369, 399, 534, 578, 581, 583.
Regalis, bishop of Vannes, ii. 437.
Rehoboam, *see* Roboam.
Remigius (Remi), Saint, bishop of Reims, baptizes Clovis, ii. 69, 70; festival of, 346; church dedicated to, at Reims, ii. 383, 457, 458; book of his Life, i. 91.
Remigius (Remedius), bishop of Bourges, ii. 232.
Renatus, *see* Frigeridus.
Reoval, physician, ii. 449, 596.
Respendial, king of the Alans, ii. 52, 493.
Revocatus, Bishop, ii. 44.
Rheu, son of Falech, ii. 9.
Ricchar, brother of Ragnachar, ii. 80.
Richemer, father of Theodomer, ii. 53. *See also* Ascyla.
Riculf, archdeacon of Tours, i. 284; ii. 222, 226.
Riculf, subdeacon at Tours, ii. 179, 222, 225–6.
Rignomer, Duke, brother of Ragnachar, ii. 81.
Rigunth, daughter of Chilperic, betrothed to Prince Recared, ii. 209, 265; shows sympathy with Gregory when he is falsely accused, 225; her unfortunate journey towards Spain, i. 154; ii. 276–8; on her father's death, detained in Toulouse and her treasure confiscated by Desiderius, 292; takes sanctuary in church of S. Mary at Toulouse, 293; brought home by order of her mother, Fredegund, 318; quarrels with her mother, and is nearly murdered by her, 405–6. i. 122–3; ii. 232, 283, 296, 305, 310, 312.
Roboam (Rehoboam), ii. 14.
Roccolen, ii. 165, 168, 171.
Rodan, Lombard duke, ii. 153–4, 531.
Romachar, bishop of Coutances, ii. 354.
Romanus, count of Javols, ii. 148.
Romulf, count of the palace, ii. 400.
Romulf, bishop of Reims, ii. 457.
Rosamund, queen of Alboin, ii. (150), 529.
Rufinus, bishop of *Convenae*, ii. 312.
Rusticus, bishop of Aire, ii. 310.
Rusticus, bishop of Clermont, ii. 33, 57–8.
Rusticus, Decimus, prefect, ii. 53.

Sabaudus (Sapaudus), bishop of Arles, ii. 139, 361, 526.
Sabellius, heresiarch, ii. 74, 501.
Sacerdos, bishop of Lyons, ii. 145.
Safarius, bishop of Périgueux, ii. 415–16.
Saffaracus, bishop of Paris, ii. 145, 528.
Sagittarius, bishop of Gap, with his brother, Salonius, fights against the Lombards with Mummolus, ii. 151; they outrage Bishop Victor, and are deprived, 195; permitted to appeal to Rome, and reinstated, *ibid.*; for renewed scandalous conduct Guntram has them confined in monasteries, 196; released, and return to their evil ways, 197; again deprived and imprisoned, they escape, 200; Sagittarius joins the pretender Gundovald, 305; besieged at Convenae, 312; hurls missiles at the enemy from the walls, 315; joins Mummolus in betraying Gundovald, 316; killed while trying to escape, 318. i. 87, 285–7; ii. 165, 284, 530.
Saius, bishop of Auch, ii. 347.
Sale, son of Arfaxath, ii. 9.
Sallust, the historian, i. 7; ii. 126, 287–8 (quotation from), 520.
Salonius, bishop of Embrun, *see under* Sagittarius.
Salvius, abbot, and bishop of Albi, joins Gregory in rebuking Chilperic for heresy, ii. 218; his vision of the sword of the divine wrath over the royal villa at Berny, 227; his death, 285; of his vision while out of the body, 285–8; elected bishop against his desire, 288; his bravery during plague and redemption of prisoners, *ibid.* i. 377; ii. 166, 258, 283, 347.
Samson, son of Chilperic, ii. 165, 198, 227.
Samuel, ii. 13, 35.
Sapphira, ii. 419.

Saruch, son of Rheu, ii. 9.
Saturninus, Saint (S. Sernin), i. 238; ii. 20, 468, 484–5; his church at Toulouse, 248.
Saul, king of the Jews, ii. 13.
Scapthar, adherent of Chramn, ii. 126.
Secundinus, associate of Theudebert I, ii. 84, 109.
Sedulius, poet, ii. 218, 279, 548, 562.
Senoch, hermit, i. 14; ii. 165, 176, 537.
Septimina, royal nurse, ii. 408–9.
Sergius, saint and martyr, relics of, ii. 308–9, 476, 569.
Servius, king of Rome, ii. 15.
Seth, son of Adam, ii. 8.
Severus, Sulpicius, i. 20, 33, 348; ii. 9, 35, 187–8, 470, 482, 487, 489, 602.
Severus, father-in-law of Guntram Boso, ii. 199.
Shem (Sem), ii. 8, 9.
Siagrius, bishop of Autun, ii. 174, 396, 417, 464.
Sichar, citizen of Tours, ii. 321–3, 369, 387–8.
Sidonia, wife of Mummolus, ii. 572.
Sidonius (Apollinaris), poet, bishop of Clermont, stories of his eloquence and charity, ii. 61; his ill treatment by two priests, 61–2; his death, 62; the famine and persecution in his time, 64–5; quotation from his Letters, 123. i. 6; ii. 33, 242, 485–6, 491–2, 495, 496, 497, 502, 519, 531, 545, 568, 596.
Sigeric (Sigiric), son of Sigismund, i. 97; ii. 88, 506.
Siggo, referendary, ii. 171, 535.
Sighar, citizen of Poitiers, ii. 154.
Sigibert the Lame, king of the Ripuarians, i. 94; ii. 77–8.
Sigibert, King, character of, i. 60–1; defeats the Avars, war with Chilperic, ii. 134; weds Brunhild, 137; worsted by the Avars, but secures peace, 138–9; invades Provence, 139; sends embassy to Constantinople, 149; defeats Chilperic by aid of pagan Germans, 158–9, 160; murdered by emissaries of Fredegund, 160. i. 82, 110, 113–15; ii. 115–17, 140, 147, 151, 153–7, 168, 171, 173, 175, 184, 209, 221, 255, 294, 297, 348, 365, 389, 391, 393, 401, 405, 413, 419, 455, 585–6.
Sigila, a Visigoth, ii. 160.
Sigimund, priest, ii. 399.
Sigismund, king of Burgundy, saint, builds monastery at Agaune, ii. 87; murders his son, 88; his penitence at Agaune, *ibid.*; taken prisoner by Franks, 89; murdered by order of Chlodomer, *ibid.* i. 97–8; ii. 84, 187, 350, 506–7.
Sigivald, the elder, duke, ii. 94, 100, 104, 179.
Sigivald, the younger, ii. 104–5.
Sigivald (Sigvald), envoy of Childebert II, ii. 295.
Sigulf, Duke, ii. 343, 567.
Sigulf, one of that name, ii. 156.
Sigulf, another, ii. 304.
Silvester, Pope, ii. 69.
Silvester, priest at Langres, ii. 173–4.
Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, i. 19.
Simeon (Symeon) Stylites, i. 378; ii. 341, 460, 575, 599.
Simon Magus, ii. 18, 63, 223, 271, 550.
Simon (Symon), bishop from Armenia, ii. 459, 460, 599.
Simplicius, bishop of Vienne, ii. 57.
Sirivald, ii. 84, 110.
Sisinnius, master of the soldiery, ii. 154.
Sixtus, *see* Xystus.
Socratius, ii. 435.
Sollius (for Sidonius), ii. 123.
Solomon, Book of, ii. 181; proverb of, 361.
Solomon, King, ii. 3, 13, 15, 160, 217, 286.
Sophia, Empress, consort of Justin, rebukes Tiberius, ii. 193; acts treasonably towards him, 202; gives him interested advice on his death-bed, but is thwarted by him, 259, 260; sends relic of the True Cross to Radegund, 558.
Stephen, protomartyr and saint, ii. 18, 22, 45.
Stephen, Saint, church of, at Clermont, ii. 59; at Marseilles, 246; at Rome, 428; oratory of, at Metz, 45.
Stilicho, patrician, ii. 53.
Stremonius, bishop of Clermont, ii. 20, 21, 25.
Suavegotha, daughter of Sigismund, ii. (88), 507.
Sulpicius Severus, *see* Severus.
Sulpicius Alexander, *see* Alexander.
Sulpicius, bishop of Bourges, ii. 270, 271, 424, 463, 560.
Sunnegisel, marshal (*comes stabuli*), ii. 408–9, 455.

Sunniulf, Abbot, ii. 115, 142.
Sunno, petty king of the Franks, ii. 49, 51.
Susanna, wife of Priscus, bishop of Lyons, ii. 145–6.
Syagrius, son of Aegidius, king of the Romans, defeated by Clovis, ii. 65 ; flies to Alaric, by whom he is surrendered, *ibid.* ; put to death by Clovis, *ibid.* i. 91 ; ii. 59, 79, 497.
Syagrius, bishop of Autun, *see* Siagrius.
Syagrius, son of Agyric, bishop of Verdun, ii. 110.
Symeon, *see* Simeon.
Symon, *see* Simon.
Symphorian, Saint, church of, at Autun, ii. 33, 58, 352 ; feast of, 472.
Syrivald, ii. 110.
Syrus, master of the soldiery, ii. 50.

Tacitus, i. 191.
Tatto, *see* Wistrimund.
Terentiolus, ex-count of Limoges, ii. 351.
Tetradia, wife of Eulalius and Desiderius, i. 307 ; ii. 348, 365, 424, 434–6.
Tetradius, bishop of Bourges, ii. 100.
Tetradius, cousin of Cautinus, ii. 141.
Tetricus, bishop of Langres, an ancestor of Gregory, i. 4 ; events before and after his death, ii. 172–3 ; his apparition, 174 ; appears in a vision related by King Guntram, 333. ii. 129, 536.
Tharae, son of Saruch, ii. 9.
Thecla, *see* Melania.
Theodore, bishop of Marseilles, menaced by his clergy, aided by the governor of Provence, ii. 245 ; detained by King Guntram, *ibid.* ; receives the pretender Gundovald, 255 ; imprisoned and taken before Guntram, *ibid.* ; accused by Guntram of complicity in Chilperic's death, 332 ; again sent before King Guntram, 336 ; his reputation for holiness, 337 ; restored to his diocese, 345 ; remains in Marseilles during the plague, 395–6. i. 86 ; ii. 231, 314, 327, 574.
Theodore, bishop of Tours, ii. 100, 473.
Theodoric, Visigothic king, called by Gregory *Theodorus*, ii. 46–7.
Theodoric, king of Italy, his intervention in the south of Gaul, i. 94, 99, 102, 170, 179, 413 ; ii. 88, 107.
Theodosia, queen of Leuvigild, ii. 209, 371.
Theodosius I, Emperor, ii. 4, 25.
Theodosius II, Emperor, ii. 48.
Theodosius, archdeacon and bishop of Rodez, ii. 219, 232, 270.
Theodulf (Theudulf), abbot of Le Mans, ii. 244.
Theodulf, count of Angers, ii. 343.
Theodulf, deacon of Paris, ii. 424, 445.
Theuda, king of the Visigoths, i. 103 ; ii. 107, 513.
Theudat, king of Italy, ii. 108.
Thephei, king of Egypt, ii. 15.
Theudebald, king of Austrasia, his reign, i. 107–8 ; son of Theudebert and Deuteria, ii. 105 ; his death, 126. ii. 120, 121, 122.
Theudebert I, king of Austrasia, character and career, i. 49–51, 103, 105–6 ; son of Theuderic, ii. 86 ; defeats Danish raiders, 87 ; fights under his father in Thuringia, 90 ; recovers Frankish territory in the south, 103–4 ; weds Deuteria, 104 ; defends his rights against his uncles, 104–5 ; chivalrous conduct to Sigivald, *ibid.* ; his justice and generosity as king, 105 ; puts away Deuteria to marry Wisigard, *ibid.* ; joins his uncle Childebert in an attack upon his other uncle, Lothar, 105–6 ; invades Italy, 108 ; lends money to Verdun, which he remits, 109–10 ; his death, 110. ii. 84, 161, 465, 511, 515.
Theudebert, son of Chilperic, captured at Soissons by Sigibert but released on taking an oath, ii. 134 ; breaks his oath and invades Sigibert's cities, 157 ; his death, 159–60, 161 ; Guntram Boso believed guilty, 171, 193. i. 114 ; ii. 116, 221.
Theudebert, son of Childebert II, his birth, ii. 360 ; his relation to the plot of Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred, 377 ; sent as prince to Soissons at the request of the people, 402, 407 ; his later career, i. 131–4 ; ii. 370, 380, 390, 391, 579.
Theudechild, queen of Charibert, i. 111 ; ii. 135–6.
Theudegisel, king of the Visigoths, ii. 107, 513.
Theudemer, king of the Franks, ii. 53.
Theuderic, son of Clovis, character,

i. 46–7 ; his birth, ii. 67 ; follows up his father's victory at Vouillé, 77–8 ; sends his son against Danish raiders, 87 ; weds daughter of Sigismund, 88 ; victorious in Thuringia, 90, 91 ; his treachery and meanness, 91 ; refuses to join in attack on Burgundy, and overruns Auvergne, 93 ; circumvents the pretender Munderic, 95–6 ; dispatches Theudebert to S. Gaul, 103 ; death, 104. ii. 86, 109, 110, 134, 502.
Theuderic, son of Childebert II, birth, ii. 372 ; conspiracy of Ursio and Berthefred with regard to him, 377 ; provision with regard to him in the Pact of Andelot, 390 ; later career, i. 132–4 ; ii. 579, 582.
Theuderic, son of Chilperic, ii. 254, 257, (265).
Theuderic, son of Bodic, chief of the Bretons, ii. 185.
Theudovald (Theudobald), Prince, son of Chlodomer, murdered by Lothar I, ii. 90, (101–2), 507.
Theudovald (Theudvald), priest, ii. 370 (an error for Theuthar).
Theuthar, priest and ex-referendary, ii. 405, 422, 452.
Thorismund, Visigothic king, ii. 46–8, 492.
Tiberius, Roman Emperor, ii. 16, 17.
Tiberius II, East Roman Emperor, appointed Caesar by Justin, ii. 149 ; legends as to his liberality, 193–4 ; ascends the throne, 201–2 ; thwarts the plans of the Empress Sophia, 202 ; his successful war against Persia, *ibid.* ; envoys sent to him by Chilperic, bring back gifts, including large gold medals, 233–4 ; on his death-bed thwarts the Empress Sophia by marrying his daughter to Maurice, 259, 260. ii. 165–6, 231, 251, 543, 545.
Tobit, example of, i. 5.
Traguilla, servant of Amalasuntha, ii. 107.
Trajan, Emperor, ii. 4, 19.
Tranquilla, wife of Sichar, ii. 388.
Transobad, priest at Rodez, ii. 219, 270.
Trasamund, king of the Vandals, ii. 38, 489.
Trophas, king of the Argives, ii. 15.
Trophimus, Saint, bishop of Arles, ii. 20, 21.
Trudulf, count of the palace, ii. 382.
Ullo, count of Bourges, ii. 317, 571.
Ultrogotha (Vultrogotha), queen of Childebert I, ii. 132, 213, 513, 522.
Urbanus, Saint, martyr of Antioch, ii. 20.
Urbanus, son of Melania, ii. 24, 487.
Urbicus, bishop of Clermont, ii. 4, 25–6.
Urbicus (Urbitus), bishop of Riez, ii. 416–17.
Ursicinus, bishop of Cahors, ex-referendary, ii. 213, 270, 344–5.
Ursinus, Saint, of Bourges, ii. (21), 485.
Ursio, Austrasian duke, attacks Duke Lupus, ii. 234 ; treats Brunhild with arrogance, *ibid.* ; leagued with Rauching and Berthefred in a plot against Childebert II, i. 128 ; ii. 377 ; withdraws to the Woëvre, 379 ; attacked by the king's forces and slain, 381–2. ii. 369, 383, 455, 552.
Ursus, citizen of Clermont, ii. 155–6.

Valens, Emperor, ii. 4, 24–5, 470.
Valentinian I, Emperor, ii. 24–5, 470.
Valentinian II, Emperor, ii. 51.
Valentinian III, Emperor, ii. 48–9.
Valentinianus, heretic, ii. 20.
Valentinus, heretic, ii. 19, 484.
Valerian, Emperor, ii. 22.
Vedast (otherwise Avius), ii. 283, 289.
Venantius, abbot and saint, ii. 473 ; monastery of, at Tours, 475.
Veneranda, ii. 135.
Venerandus, bishop of Clermont, ii. 33, 57.
Vennocus, *see* Winnoch.
Veranus, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, ii. 355, 372, 416–17, 582.
Verus, bishop of Tours, ii. 65, 473.
Verus, bishop of Vienne, *see* Virus.
Vespasian, Emperor, ii. 18.
Vettius Epagathus, martyr, ii. 20, 21.
Victor, Saint, of Marseilles, i. 348 (monastery of) ; ii. 395–6, 586.
Victor, son of the tyrant Maximus, ii. 50.
Victor, bishop of Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, ii. 195.
Victorinus, martyr of Auvergne, ii. 22, 486.
Victorius of Aquitaine, i. 33 ; ii. 7, 459, 482, 540, 599.
Victorius, duke of Auvergne, ii. 33, 60, 61, 496.

Victorius, bishop of Rennes, ii. 356, 410.
Vidimael (Vidimacl), chief of the Bretons, ii. 386.
Vigilius, archdeacon of Marseilles, ii. 152.
Vincent, saint and martyr, churches of, *see* Agen, Paris; tunic of, i. 256; ii. 106, 373.
Vindemialis, Bishop, ii. 41–2.
Virgil, the poet, ii. 155.
Virgil, quotations from, i. 7; ii. 139, 155, 346, 532.
Virgilius, abbot of Arles, ii. 396.
Virus, bishop of Tours, *see* Verus.
Virus (Verus), bishop of Vienne, ii. 361.
Virus, nephew of Count Eulalius, ii. 435.
Visigard, *see* Wisigard.
Vitalis, Saint, relics of, ii. 59.
Volusianus, bishop of Tours, ii. 33, 65, 473.
Vuldetrada (Valdetrada), queen of Theudebald, and Lothar I, also of Duke Garivald, ii. 121–2, 518.
Vulfolaic or Wulfolaic (S. Walfroy), hermit, ii. 327, 338, 575.

Wacho, king of the Lombards, ii. 511.
Wadelen, *see* Wandelen.
Waddo, count of Saintes, mayor of the household, accompanies the Princess Rigunth when she sets out for Spain, ii. 278; joins the pretender Gundovald, 305; besieged with him in Convenae, 312; joins in his betrayal, 316; escapes after the fall of the town, 318; favourably received by Queen Brunhild, 320; murdered while seeking to appropriate an estate, 406–7; place of his treasure betrayed by his sons, 458–9. ii. 284, 370, 561.
Waldin, a Frank of Tournai, ii. 464.
Waldo, otherwise Bertram, deacon at Bordeaux, ii. 346, 576.
Walfroy, *see* Vulfolaic.
Wandelen (Wadelen), appointed to succeed Gogo as governor of Childebert II, ii. 233; his death, 347. ii. 327, 510, 577.
Warmar, envoy of Sigibert, ii. 149.
Waroch, chief of the Bretons, son of Macliav, ii. 185; defeats Chilperic's forces, but makes terms with that king, 200; ravages territory of Nantes, makes terms with Guntram, but breaks them, 386–7; again wars against Guntram, 437–8.
Werpin, count of Meaux, ii. 344.
Wilichar (Willichar), priest, ii. 130, 132, 521.
Wiliulf of Poitiers, ii. 383.
Willachar (Wiliachar), count of Orleans, ii. 294, 438, 475, 521, 522–3, 604.
Winnoch (Vennocus), Breton priest, i. 377; ii. 197, 358.
Wintrio, Duke, ii. 343, 430.
Wisigard (Visigard), queen of Theudebert I, ii. 84, 103, 105, 109.
Wistrimund, otherwise Tatto, citizen of Tours, ii. 467.
Witigis, king of the Ostrogoths, i. 104, 179; ii. 541.

Xystus (Sixtus), Pope, ii. 20, 484.

Zaban, Lombard duke, ii. 153–4, 531.
Zabulon, son of Jacob, ii. 9.
Zahulf, envoy of Gundovald, ii. 310.
Zara, son of Raguel, ii. 9.
Zoroaster, ii. 8, 482.
Zorobabel, ii. 14.
Zotan, envoy of Gundovald, ii. 310.

INDEX OF PLACES AND PEOPLES

Aelia, ii. 19.

Africa, Province of, Vandal persecution in, ii. 39 ff.; Princess Ingund detained in, 346; she dies there, 348; adventures of an Austrasian embassy there on its way to Constantinople, 428–30. i. 104; ii. 490, 534, 577.

Agaune (*Agaunense monasterium*), Saint Maurice; its connexion with Sigismund, king of Burgundy, i. 97–8, 350; ii. 87–9; the martyrs of, ii. 476, 604; treasure of, i. 427; ii. 506–7.

Agde (*Agatensis urbs, Agatha*), ii. 233, 396–7.

Agen (*Agennum*) and its territory reduced by Desiderius for Chilperic, ii. 247–8; church of S. Caprasius at, 248; church of S. Vincent near, 313. ii. 284, 331, 388, 401.

Aire (*Iulii vicus, Iulensis*), ii. 375, 389.

Aisne, river (*Axona fluvius*), ii. 270.

Aix, in Provence (*Aquensis urbs*), ii. 153, 247.

Alais (*Arisitensis vicus*), ii. 173, 536.

Alamanni, the, defeated by Clovis, i. 92; ii. 68–9; their champion victorious over the Vandal, 38; cross to Africa, 39; overrun part of Italy, but subdued by Odovacar, 59, 60. i. 171; ii. 22, 34, 52, 498.

Alans, the, defeated by Thorismund, ii. 48. i. 172; ii. 52–3, 489, 493.

Albi (*Albiga*), S. Eugenius dies there in banishment, ii. 43; suffers from the plague, 264, 288; men of Albi taken captive by Mummolus redeemed by Bishop Salvius, 288; restored by Guntram to Childebert II, 365; confirmed to Childebert II by Pact of Andelot, 389. i. 93; ii. 77, 166, 218, 258, 562.

Allier, river (*Flavaris, Elacris*), ii. 204.

Alluyes (*Avallocium vicus*), ii. 158, 532.

Amboise (*Ambaciensis vicus*), i. 245 (pagan temple at). ii. 75, 470.

Ampsivarii, ii. 51.

Andelot (*Andelaus* or *Andelaum*), scene of the pact between Kings Guntram and Childebert, i. 128–9; text of the pact, ii. 389–92. ii. 381, 583, 585.

Angers (*Andecava*) and its territory entered by Odovacar, ii. 59; men of Angers in Chilperic's army against the Bretons, 200; bishop of Vannes banished thither, 201, 212; church of S. Albinus at, 250; earthquake at, 253; citizens drive out a count sent by King Guntram, 343–4; harassed by Duke Beppolen, 362; famine at, 461. ii. 33, 157, 179, 261, 363, 387, 410, 438, 445–6, 473.

Anglo-Saxons, i. 187–90.

Angoulême (*Ecolisma*), taken by Clovis, ii. 78; Theudebert, son of Chilperic, buried there, 160; Eparchius, the recluse of, 242–3; men of Angoulême in Guntram's disorderly army, 351. ii. 207, 231, 331, 415. *See also* Dynamius, Frontius, Heraclius, Nicasius, bishops; Chramnulf, Marachar, Nanthinus, counts.

Anicium, Anitium (Le Puy), ii. 462, 600.

Aninsula (*Anni insula*), monastery of, ii. 179, 538.

Antioch in Syria, ii. 20, 149, 341, 424, 460, 461 (vision of destruction of), 529, 599. *See also* Babillas, Ignatius, Simeon, bishops; Julian, Saint, church of.

Apamea in Syria, ii. 149.

Aquileia, ii. 48–9.

Aquitaine (*Aquitania*), i. 165–6; ii. 65, 497.

Ardennes (*Ardoennensis silva*), ii. 346.

Arelaunum (Brotonne), forest of, ii. 512.

Argives, ii. 15.

Arles (*Arelate*) and territory, nominal primacy of, i. 269, 270; S. Trophimus, bishop of, ii. 20; Chroc captured there, 23; plague at, 119; Theudechild, relict of King Charibert, a nun there, 137; taken by Sigibert but recaptured by Guntram's duke, Celsus, 139; raided by Lombards, 153; its territory invaded by Recared, 353;

Radegund receives Rule for her foundation from S. Caesarius at, 414, 418; religious charlatan at, 462. ii. 116, 361, 396, 600. *See also* Caesarius, Licerius, Sabaudus, Trophimus, Virgilius, bishops.
Arles, province of, ii. 119, 153, 353, 376, 462.
Armenia, ii. 460 (bishop from); martyrs of, 599.
Arvernians (*Arverni*), *see* Auvergne and Clermont.
Asia Minor, ii. 484.
Assyrians, ii. 15.
Attica, ii. 15.
Auch (*Ausciensis urbs*), ii. 347, 459. *See* Faustus, Saius, bishops.
Aude, river, ii. 401–2.
Austrasian notables, as aristocratic party refuse to follow the advice of Lothar I, ii. 127; refuse to receive Prince Merovech, 184, 192; accused by Bishop Theodore of inviting the pretender Gundovald to Gaul, 255; send Gundovald a message by Guntram Boso, 314; hostile attitude to Brunhild, 345–6; plot of Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred against Childebert II, 377 ff. i. 116, 127–8; ii. 511, 520, 552, 557, 565, 577, 582.
Austrasians, ii. 184, 520, 539.
Autun (*Augustodunum*), image of Cybele at, i. 247; besieged by Lothar I and Childebert I, ii. 93; church of S. Symphorian at, 352; monasteries there, 396, 414. ii. 174, 463, 464, 598. *See also* Eufronius, Siagrius, bishops.
Auvergne, revolts against Theuderic, i. 102–3; ii. 92; cruelly punished, 93–4; discontented under Lothar I, 108; taxation remitted by Theudebert on church lands in, 105; locusts in, 132; traversed by Saxons returning from Italy, 152; devastated by army of Mummolus, 179; the calamity of (plague), 198; floods in, 203–4; churches in, robbed by Guntram's men, 352. i. 165–6; ii. 4, 27, 33, 60, 75, 84, 100, 116, 177, 226, 346, 434–5, 526. *See also* Clermont, Limagne.
Auxerre (*Authisiodorensis urbs*), ii. 149, 183 (church of S. Germain at), 539. *See also* Aunachar, Bishop; Peonius, Count.
Avars (called Huns by Gregory), attack Austrasia, ii. 134; again attack, defeating Sigibert, but granting terms, 138–9. i. 110, 113, 186–7; ii. 524, 525–6.
Avignon (*Avennio*), i. 93, 125–6, 410; ii. 71, 139, 140, 151, 153, 233, 244, 256–7, 292, 314, 316, 319, 331, 459, 551.
Avranches (*Abrincatis*), ii. 389.

Babel, ii. 9.
Babylon, ii. 3, 9, 14, 15, 161, 482.
Babylon in Egypt, ii. 11, 482.
Balesmes (*Balatedinis vicus*), ii. 473.
Barcelona, ii. (92), 508.
Barrou (*Barraus vicus, Berravensis pagus*), ii. 248, 473, 555.
Basques, *see* Gascons.
Bavarians, the, i. 185–6.
Bayeux (*Baiocassini*), ii. 200, 234, 355, 383.
Bayeux, Saxons of, *see* Saxons.
Bayonne (*Laburdus*), ii. 389.
Bazas (*Vasatensis urbs*), ii. 250, 253. *See also* Orestes, Bishop.
Beaucaire (*Ugernum, Arelatense castrum*), ii. 353, 376, 578.
Begorra, *see* Bigorra.
Belley (*Belicium*), ii. 416 (Felix, bishop of).
Bellinzona (*Bilicio castrum*), ii. 430, 593.
Berny-Rivière (*Brinnacus*), royal villa, Chilperic seizes his dead father's treasure there, i. 110; ii. 133; Chilperic and Fredegund burn tax-registers there during the fatal sickness of their children, 205–6; council held there before which Gregory is tried, 223–4; Bishop Salvius sees a vision there, 227. ii. 155, 199, 210, 550.
Beslingen (*Belsonancus*), Austrasian royal villa, ii. 327, 345, 576.
Bessin, region of Bayeux, ii. 200.
Béziers (*Biterris urbs*), ii. 103–4, 511.
Bigorra (Begorra), *see* Cieutat; the diocese later = Tarbes.
Black Mountain (*Niger mons*) (*Nigremont*?), ii. 129, 521.
Blois (*Blesum*), men of, ii. 288, 299.
Bologna (*Bononia civitas*), ii. 59.
Bongheat (*Bulgiatensis villa*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 100, 510.
Bordeaux (*Burdigala*), Clovis winters there, i. 93; ii. 78; story of a novice there, 142–4; Chlodovech, son of Chilperic, hunted from the

town, 156; supernatural fire at, 204; wolves enter the town, 253; Gundovald the pretender there, 308–10; boy recluse at, 358–9; one of the cities given to Galswinth as *morgengabe*, 390. ii. 116, 207, 220, 224, 266, 312, 372, 401, 404, 415. *See also* Amandus, Bertram, Gundegisel, Leontius, bishops; Garachar, Count.

Bouges (*Vosagensis pagus*), Indre, ii. 387, 584.

Bourg-de-Déols (*Dolensis vicus*), Indre, ii. 59, 496.

Bourges (*Bituricus*), early Christianity at, ii. 21–2; plague at, 141; recluse Patroclus at, 177; Leudast despoiled and driven from the town, 226–7; attacked by armies of Chilperic, 261; its territory devastated, 262; men of Bourges attack Tours, 293–4; also attack Poitiers, 303. ii. 59, 93, 165, 204, 212, 231, 248, 317, 337–8, 351, 364, 396, 456, 461, 463, 564.

Braye (*Brixis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471, 602.

Brèches (*Bricca vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471.

Bretons, the, driven from Bourges by Visigoths, ii. 59; Chanao, chief of the Bretons, murders his kinsmen, 118; Bretons fight for Chramn, 132–3; feud between chiefs, 184–5; hostile relations with Chilperic, 200–1, 202–3; a Breton hermit, 358; make reparation for raids to Guntram, but break their promises, 386–7; ravage Nantes and Rennes, 397; again raid these cities, but obtain peace, 436–8. i. 92, 129, 174–5; ii. 166, 200, 212, 496, 584.

Brioude (*Brivate, Brivatensis vicus*), procession to, from Clermont, ii. 126; pilgrimages to, i. 5; ii. 56, 467. *See also* Julian, Saint, church of.

Britons, the, i. 187–8; ii. 25.

Britain, ignorance of, i. 18.

Brittany, invaded by Lothar I, ii. 132; gives refuge to Leudast, 221. *See* Bretons.

Brives-la-Gaillarde (*Briva Currecia vicus*), ii. 292–3, 564.

Brizay (*Brixis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471.

Bructeri, ii. 51.

Buchau forest (*Buconia silva*), near Cologne, ii. 78–9, 503.

Burgundians, with Jovinus, ii. 52; famine among, 64; their kings, 66; the Princess Clotild, 67; Kings Gundobad and Godegisel and Clovis, 70–2; attacked by the sons of Clovis on Clotild's demand, 88–90; Arianism of, 91–2; defeated by the Lombards, 150. i. 169–71; ii. 53. *See also* Chilperic, Godegisel, Godomar, Gundeuc, Gundobad, Sigismund, kings.

Burgundy, i. 165, 170–1; ii. 93, 129, 179, 187, 474, 501. *See also* Burgundians.

Cabaret (*Caput Arietis*), Aude, ii. 353.

Cabrières (*Capraria*), Hérault, ii. 103, 511.

Cahors (*Cadurcus*) overrun by Prince Theudebert, son of Chilperic, ii. 157; dispute between its bishop and the bishop of Rodez, 270; bishop of, banished for receiving Gundovald, 344–5; restored to Brunhild by Guntram as one of those given by Chilperic to Galswinth, 381, 390, 391. ii. 93, 166, 213, 270, 271, 583.

Cambrai (*Camaracum*), city of Ragnachar, annexed by Clovis, ii. 80; Chilperic withdraws thither from Sigibert, i. 122; ii. 274. ii. 53, 232, 276.

Candes (*Condatensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, *matricula* at, i. 276; church of S. Martin at, ii. 362, 580. ii. 29, 470, 488.

Canini (*Campi*), ii. 430, 593.

Carcassonne (*Carcasona urbs*) in Septimania, farthest point reached by Guntram's army, ii. 351; Duke Desiderius slain before the walls, 365; temporarily subjected to Guntram by Duke Austrovald, 401.

Carpitania, province in Spain, ii. 264, 276, 559.

Carthage (*Carthago*), martyrdom of S. Cyprian at, ii. 22; in the time of Vandal persecution, 39; Frankish embassy to the Byzantine Court attacked there, 428–30. i. 130; ii. 534, 593. *See also* Cyprian, Eugenius, bishops.

Carthaginians, the, ii. 168, 429.

Casilinum, battle of, i. 107, 230.

Catalaunian plain, ii. 491.

Cavaillon (*Cavillonensis urbs*), i. 5 ; ii. 355, 372, 416.
Céré (*Cerate vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 475.
Ceresium stagnum (Lake of Lugano), ii. 430.
Chamavi, ii. 51, 493.
Chalon-sur-Saône (*Cabillonum*), taken by Chramn, ii. 129 ; plague at, 141 ; council at, 200 ; church at, built by Bishop Agricola, 218 ; King Guntram at, 299, 329 ; Boantus executed there, 336 ; attempted assassination of Guntram in church at, 371 ; Gregory as envoy from Childebert has audience of Guntram there, 388 ; girl takes sanctuary in church of S. Marcellus at, 398. ii. 383, 438–9, 464, 465, 587, 593. *See also* Agricola, Flavius, Veranus, bishops.
Châlons-sur-Marne (*Catalaunorum civitas*), ii. 212, 416–17. *See* Elafius, Felix, bishops.
Champagne (*Campania*), men of, defeated by Chilperic, ii. 169 ; invaded by Chilperic, 184 ; Merovech in hiding in, 192 ; furnishes men for invasion of Italy, 430. ii. 99, 337, 377, 383, 464. *See also* Lupus, Wintrio, dukes.
Chantoceaux (*Sellense castrum*), Maine-et-Loire, ii. 131, 522.
Chantoin (*Cantobennicus mons, Cantobennum*), near Clermont-Ferrand, ii. 26, 60, 496.
Charbonnière, forest of (*Carbonaria silva*), ii. 49, 492.
Chartres (*Carnotena urbs*) and territory, ii. 158, 204, 283, 289, 297, 372, 389. *See also* Pappolus, Bishop.
Chastel-Marlhac (*Meroliacense castrum*), Cantal, ii. 84, 94, 509.
Châteaudun (*Dunum, Dunense castrum*) made an episcopal see by Sigibert, but the bishop removed after this king's death, ii. 297–8. ii. 159, 289, 305, 389, 533.
Château-Meillant (*Mediolanense castrum*), Cher, ii. 261, 456, 558, 598.
Chatti, ii. 51.
Chelles (*Cala*), Seine-et-Marne, royal villa, ii. 210 ; Chilperic murdered at, 278–9 ; his treasure removed from, 289, 456.
Cher, river (*Cares fluvius*), ii. 213.
Chinon (*Cainon vicus*), ii. 165, 185, 248, 471, 540, 602.
Cieutat (*Bigorra, Begorra*), Hautes-Pyrénées, ii. 375, 390, 585.
Ciran-la-Latte (*Cisomagensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 470, 602.
Clain, river (*Clennum flumen*), ii. 416.
Clermont-Ferrand (*Arvernus, Arvernorum civitas*), S. Stremonius at, ii. 20 ; taken by Alamanni, 22 ; intrigues at episcopal election, 57 ; church built by Namatius, and its paintings, 58–9 ; Victorius Euric's duke at, 60 ; Sidonius, bishop at, 61 ; Aprunculus escapes to, 64 ; Apollinaris, son of Sidonius, bishop, 86 ; sedition against King Theuderic, 92 ; Theuderic at, i. 103 ; ii. 93, 94 ; election of Cautinus after death of Gall, 120–1 ; misdeeds of Chramn at, 125–6, 128 ; plague at, 140, 141 ; election of Avitus as bishop, 144 ; the charlatan Andarchius at, 154–6 ; conversion of five hundred Jews by Avitus, 177–9 ; Mummolus at, 257 ; miraculous release of prisoners, 434. ii. 4, 25, 75, 104, 119, 129, 148, 223, 343, 424, 474. *See also* Cassius, Julianus, Liminius, martyrs ; Apollinaris, Aprunculus, Artemius, Avitus, Cautinus, Eparchius, Eufrasius, Gallus, Illidius, Legonus, Namatius, Nepotianus, Quintianus, Rusticus, Sidonius, Stremonius, Urbicus, Venerandus, bishops ; Eulalius, Firminus, Hortensius, Nicetius, Salustius, counts ; Arcadius, Ascovindus, Avitus the Emperor, Evodius, Injuriosus, Ommatius, Palladius, citizens.
Clion ? (*Calatonnus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471, 602.
Clysma, ii. 11, 483.
Coblentz (*Confluentes*), ii. 337, 575.
Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinensis*), attacked by Franks, ii. 49 ; Arbogast at, 51 ; Sigibert the Lame at, 78 ; Clovis at, 79 ; Gundovald sent to by Sigibert, 255. ii. 448, 503. *See also* Ebregisel, Bishop.
Comminges, Saint-Bertrand-de-, *see Convenae*.
Compiègne (*Compendium villa*), i. 109 ; ii. 133, 266.
Constantinople, heresy at, ii. 74 ; Persarmenian envoys at, 149 ; conspiracy to attack Tiberius in the

Hippodrome, 201–2; Gundovald at, 254–5, 314; Frankish embassy returns from, 429; surgeons of, i. 417; ii. 449. i. 50, 124, 129, 130, 178, 417; ii. 25, 148, 256, 310, 343, 545, 547, 577, 583, 590, 591, 595–6.
Convenae (afterwards Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges), Haute-Garonne, Gundovald takes refuge in, ii. 312; the place besieged, 313 ff.; its capture and burning, 317. i. 126; ii. 570.
Cordova (*Corduba*), ii. 561.
Corinthians, the, ii. 15.
Cornus (?), village (*Cornutius vicus*), ii. 201, 545.
Cournon, monastery of (*Chrononense monasterium*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 148, 528–9.
Coutances (*Constantina civitas*), ii. 192, 354. *See also* Romachar, Bishop.
Cuise, forest of (*Cocia* or *Cotia silva*), ii. 133, 210, 524, 547.

Danes, the, raid the coast of Theuderic's kingdom, i. 233; ii. 87; their king slain by Theudebert, *ibid.* i. 185 *n.*; ii. 506. *See also* Chlochilaic.
Dax (*Aquensis urbs*), ii. 309–10, 330, 344. *See also* Faustianus, Nicetius, bishops.
Deutz (*Divitia civitas*), ii. 130, 521.
Die? (*Diensis urbs*), Drôme, ii. 153 (written *Virdunensis urbs*).
Dijon (*Divionense castrum*), Bishop Aprunculus escapes from, ii. 64; battle between Clovis and Burgundians near, 70; Gregory's description of, 103; Chramn at, 129; churches of, 130, 521; plague at, 141; Gregory's brother, Peter, buried at, 174. ii. 110, 115, 501, 511, 536.
Dio (*Deas castrum*), Hérault, ii. 103, 511.
Dispargum (Duisburg?), i. 90; ii. 53, 494.
Dolus (*Dolus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471.
Dordogne, river (*Dornonia fluvius*), ii. 305, 310.

East, the, ii. 78 (the Holy Land), 308 (indeterminate).
Eauze (*Helosa*), Gers, ii. 346. *See also* Desiderius, Laban, bishops.
Egypt, ii. 3, 10, 11, 13, 238.
Egyptians, ii. 12, 15.
Embrun (*Ebredunensis urbs*), ii. 150, 151, 153–4, 195. *See also* Salonius, Bishop.
Empire, East Roman, i. 177–8.
Enachim Hebron), ii. 8.
Esvres (*Evina vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 473.
Étampes, territory of, (*Stampensis pagus*), ii. 389, 456.

Floriacum, villa (Fleurey-sur-Ouche), Côte-d'Or, ii. 110, 515.
Francia, 'land of the Franks', 'Frankish land', 'Frankish soil', ii. 49, 126, 130, 391, 520.
Franks, the, early history of, i. 89 ff.; ii. 49 ff.; kings of, i. 45 ff.; ii. 34, 51–3; relations with Anglo-Saxons, i. 188–90; social development of, 191 ff. *See also* Austrasians, *Francia*, Neustria.

Galicia (*Gallicia*), Suevi in, ii. 38; Mir, king of, sends envoys to Guntram, 212; Mir defeated by Leuvigild; his successors, 275; vessels sail from Gaul to, 359. ii. 208, 546. *See also* Audica, Euric, Mir, kings; Martin, Bishop.
Gallo-Romans, i. 92, 94, 165–9.
Gap (*Vappensis urbs*), ii. 195.
Garonne, river (*Garonna flumen*), ii. 312, 343.
Gascons (*Wascones, Vascones*) of Gascony (*Wasconia*), defeat Duke Bladast, ii. 248; ravage the low country and withstand Duke Austrovald, 376; invade the low country, *ibid.* i. 121, 167, 173–4, 181 *n.*; ii. 555.
Gauls, the, ii. 22.
Gaza, i. 447 (wine of); ii. 306, 567.
Geneva (*Ienuva civitas*), ii. 140.
Germania Gemina, ii. 497.
Germans from beyond the Rhine, i. 114–15; ii. 159, 532, 533.
Germany, ii. 49, 51–2, 492.
Germigny-des-Prés, i. 327, 430.
Gévaudan, the (*Gabalitana regio*), ii. 434, 462. *See also* Javols.
Gothic territory, ii. 292. *See also* Septimania.
Goths, the, *see* Ostrogoths, Visigoths.

Gracina, island of, off Poitou, ii. 220, 549.
Grenoble (*Gratianopolis*), i. 318 (crypt at) ; ii. 153, 416.
Grèzes, Grèzes-le-Château (*Gredonense castrum*), Lozère, ii. 23.

Helesmes (*Helenae vicus*), i. 90.
Huns, Bishop Aravatius warned that they should come, ii. 44 ; they enter Metz, 45 ; besiege Orleans, 46 ; defeated by Aëtius, 47 ; ravage Italy, 48 ; mentioned by Renatus Frigeridus, 48.

Idumaeans, ii. 10.
India (*Indiae*), ii. 11.
Ireland, i. 18, 188, 190, 414.
Isère, river (*Isera fluvius*), ii. 153.
Israel, kingdom of, ii. 3.
Israelites, the, in Egypt, 10, 12 ; in the desert, 13 ; under the kings, 13, 14 ; in the time of Christ, 16, 17 ; under Vespasian, 18, 19 ; famous names quoted by Gregory, 35 ; idolatrous Franks compared with, 54.
Italy, Bishops Brice and Justinian in, ii. 37, 471 ; invaded by the Huns, 48 ; invaded by Alamanni, 60 ; invaded by King Theudebert, 108, and by Buccelin, 108–9, 122 ; coming of the Lombards into, 149, 150 ; treasure of Narses in, 194 ; invaded by Childebert II, 274, 343 ; Gundovald the pretender in, 314 ; other invasions by Childebert, 397, 399, 430–2 ; Saint Martin in, 470. i. 104, 107–8, 122 ; ii. 88, 104, 255, 428, 561, 575–6, 586, 593. *See also* Lombards, Rome ; Narses, Theodoric.

Javols (*Gabalitana urbs, Gabalum civitas*) Lozère, Bishop Privatus (S. Privat) beaten to death by Alamanni, ii. 23 ; quarrel between bishop and count of, 147–8 ; church of S. Privatus at, 269 ; the abbot Lupentius falsely accused and murdered by the count, 269, 270 ; religious charlatan at, 462. ii. 486, 528. *See also* Gévaudan, Mende ; Privatus, Parthemius, bishops ; Innocent, Palladius, Romanus, counts ; Lupentius, Abbot.
Jersey (?), ii. 192, 542.
Jerusalem, ii. 6, 19, 25, 35, 78, 179, 197.
Jewish people, the, *see* Israelites.
Jews in Gaul, flatter Bishop Cautinus of Clermont, ii. 125 ; suppliers of valuables, *ibid.*, 144 ; possess medical knowledge, 175–6 ; forcible conversion of five hundred at Clermont by Bishop Avitus, 177–9 ; Chilperic and Gregory attempt to convert Priscus, 235 ; Chilperic orders conversion of Jews, 250, 251 ; murder of Priscus, 251 ; murder of a Jewish money-lender, 302–3 ; Jews at Orleans acclaim King Guntram, 329. i. 157, 253, 392 ; ii. 527, 537, 552, 553.
Jocundiacus (Jonzac ?), ii. 182, 539.
Jouarre, crypt at, i. 318.
Judaea, ii. 15.

Kent (*Chancia, Canthia, Ganthia*), ii. 135, 398, 524, 586–7.

Lacedaemonians, ii. 15.
La Crau (*Lapideus campus*), ii. 153.
Lambres (*Lambrus vicus*), Nord, ii. 161.
Langeais (*Alingaviensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 470.
Langres (*Lingonica urbs, Lingonas*), murder of Gregory's brother Peter at, ii. 172–5. i. 4, 5 ; ii. 64, 103. *See also* Aprunculus, Gregory, Mummolus, Munderic, Pappolus, Tetricus, bishops.
Laon (*Lugdunum clavatum*), ii. 235, 552.
Latium, ii. 15.
Latte (*Latta*), monastery of, ii. 116, 157, 532.
Le Mans (*Cenomannis*), ii. 81, 168, 179, 231, 244, 267, 360, 386, 398, 403, 410, 461. *See also Aninsula* ; Badegisil, Bertram, Domnolus, Innocent, bishops ; Theodulf, Abbot.
Lescar (*Benarna, Benarnum urbs*), Basses-Pyrénées, ii. 375, 390, 582, 585.
Lérins, monastery of, i. 348 ; ii. 553.
Ligne (*Licaniacensis vicus*), ii. 60.
Limagne of Auvergne (*Lemanis Arverna*), ii. 92, 203–4, 508, 545.
Limoges (*Lemovicas*) and territory, S. Martial, bishop, ii. 20 ; ravaged by Prince Theudebert, 157 ; Mummolus defeats Chilperic's duke, Desiderius, there, 179 ; rising against Chilperic's new taxes severely punished, 201 ; Gundovald raised

on the shield in the territory of, 292; monastery of Aredius in, 339; one of the cities forming the *morgengabe* of Galswinth, 390; Aredius a native of, 465. ii. 132, 253, 351, 468. *See also* Ferreolus, Martial, bishops; Aredius, Abbot; Nunnichius, Terentiolus, counts.

Lisieux (*Lexoviensis* or *Lixoensis urbs*), ii. 266. *See also* Aetherius, Bishop.

Loches (*Loccis, Lucas vicus*), ii. 471.

Loire, river (*Liger*), islands in, ii. 59, 75. ii. 29, 53, 157, 171, 213, 343.

Lombards, the, Alboin invades Italy, ii. 149, 150; Lombards invade Gaul, 150, 153–4, 238–9; make terms with Childebert, 274; unfairly treated by Childebert in the matter of a royal marriage, 397; defeat Childebert's dukes, *ibid.*; threatened by a new invasion by that king, 399, 400; attacked by Austrasian armies under twenty dukes, 430; though unconquered, seek peace, 431–2. i. 82, 112, 113, 122, 179–81; ii. 118, 196, 255, 393. *See also* Italy, Rome; Alboin, Aptachar (Authari), Cleph, 'Paul', kings; Amo, Rhodan, Zaban, dukes; Vulfolaic, hermit.

Lugano, lake (*Ceresium stagnum*), ii. 430, 593.

Luzillé (*Luciliacus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 475.

Lydians, ii. 15.

Lyons (*Lugdunum*), foundation of, ii. 15, 16; martyrs of, 19, 20; famine at, 64; plague at, 141, 394; Salonius and Sagittarius tried by an episcopal council there, 195; walls undermined by floods, 204; monastery at, 435. i. 237 *n.*; ii. 21, 53, 75, 145, 173, 464, 484. *See also* Aetherius, Irenaeus, Nicetius, Patiens, Photinus, Priscus, Sacerdos, bishops.

Macedonians, ii. 15.

Macho, *villa* of, ii. 153, 531.

Mâcon (*Matisco*), Council of, i. 127; ii. 344–5. i. 139; ii. 371.

Maestricht (*Trejectensis urbs*), ii. 45.

Maine, ii. 168, 171, 200; *see also* Le Mans.

Manthelan (*Mantalomagensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 321, 472.

Mareil (*Maroialensis villa*), Sarthe, ii. 433, 594.

Mareuil (*Maroialum*), Loir-et-Cher, 293, 564.

Marlenheim (*Marilegium villa*), royal domain in Alsace, ii. 409, 454, 597.

Marmoutier (*Maius monasterium*), Indre-et-Loire, i. 349, 352; ii. 470, 473, 602.

Marne, river (*Matrona fluvius*), ii. 211, 256, 335.

Marseilles (*Massilia*), maritime trade of, i. 156–7; ii. 152; import of papyrus, 172; Jews from Clermont return there, 179; division of, between two kingdoms, 245–6, 247, 260; church of S. Stephen, and church and monastery of S. Victor at, 246, 395–6, 586; the pretender Gundovald lands at, 254–5, 314; half the city restored to Childebert by Guntram, 264, 336; King Guntram at, during plague, 394–5, 461. i. 139–40, 151–2; ii. 155, 233, 345, 530, 536, 558, 581, 600.

Marseilles, province of (territory of), ii. 70, 363, 461. *See also* Theodore, Bishop.

Mauretania, ii. 39.

Mauriopes, village of, Aube (?), ii. 388, 584.

Mayence (*Moguntiacus urbs*), ii. 50.

Mayenne, river (*Meduana torrens*), ii. 438, 594.

Méallet (*Melitense monasterium*), monastery of, Cantal? ii. 177, 537.

Meaux (*Meldus, Meledus*), Brunhild's children detained at, ii. 168; Childebert II at, 289; mentioned in Pact of Andelot, 389; citizens of, ask for son of Childebert as king, 407. i. 141, 143; ii. 588. *See also* Gundovald, Werpin, counts.

Melun (*Miglidunense castrum*), ii. 261, 263.

Menat, monastery of (*Manatensis cellula*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 179.

Mende (*Mimate*), ii. 23, 468, 528. *See also* Javols.

Merida (*Emerita civitas*), ii. 251.

Méry, plain of (*Mauriacus campus*; alternative, Moirey, Aube), ii. 46, 491.

Metz (*Mettis, Mettensis urbs*), the Huns at, 45–6; Cautinus consecrated bishop of Clermont at, 121; also his successor, Avitus, 144; robbery of tomb at, 346; Magno-

vald executed in Childebert's palace at, 359; Gregory goes to, and is sent by Childebert on a mission, 388; Bishop Egidius confined at, 455. ii. 383, 430, 549.
Milan (*Mediolanum, Mediolanensis urbs*), recaptured by Franks from the Byzantine forces, i. 105; S. Martin's first monastery at, ii. 30, 470; Childebert's army camps near, 430. i. 488.
Mont-Louis (*Laudiacus mons, vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 37, 473, 603.
Moselle, river (*Musella fluvius*), ii. 99, 337.
Mougon (*Mediconnus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 473.
Mouson? (*Momociacense oppidum*), ii. 399.

Nanterre (*Nemptudorus vicus*), Seine, ii. 464, 600.
Nantes (*Namnetas*), country of, ravaged by Bretons, ii. 202, 386; embassy sent there by Guntram to control the Breton chiefs, 386; the vineyards again plundered, 387; further Breton devastations, 397, 436; plague at, 461, 468. ii. 118, 172, 249, 261, 363, 410. *See also* Felix, Nunnichius, bishops.
Narbonne (*Narbo*) and territory, plague at, 249, 264; made a base by Recared, 360; Recared announces his conversion to 'the province' of, 384. i. 145, 152, 157; ii. 20. *See also* Septimania; Paul, Bishop.
Neuilly (*Noviliacus vicus*), ii. 475.
Neuss (*Nivisium castellum*), ii. 50.
Neustria, i. 165, 167.
Nevers (*Nevernensis urbs*), ii. 329. *See also* Agricola, bishop.
Nice (*Nicea, Nicensis urbs*), ii. 151, 238, 552. *See also* Austadius, Bishop; Hospicius, recluse.
Nile, the, ii. 11.
Nîmes (*Nemausus*), ii. 351, 353.
Nineveh (*Nineve urbs*), ii. 9, 106, 427.
Nisibis, ii. 24 (James, bishop of).
Nogent (*Novigentum villa*), Seine, ii. 233–4, 551.
Noisy-le-Grand (*Nuceto villa*), Seine-et-Oise, ii. 211, 547.
Novempopulana, i. 173; ii. 65, 497, 512.
Noyon, i. 102.

Octavus, village (*S. Symphorien d'Ozon?*), Isère, ii. 394, 586.
Orbigny (*Orbaniacus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 475.
Orge, river (*Urbia fluvius*), ii. 231, 252.
Orleans (*Aurelianis, Aurelianensis urbs*) and territory, besieged by Attila, ii. 46; Childeric at, 59; fire at, 204; quarrel with Châteaudun, 288–9; joins Bourges against Poitiers, 303; King Guntram at, 329–34, 404; Syrians and Jews at, 329; church of S. Avitus at, 330; the king's banquet, 331; Guntram mortifies Bishop Palladius at Mass, 333–4; church of S. Anianus at, 387. i. 151–4; ii. 89, 134, 135, 283, 372, 491, 495. *See also* Anianus (S. Aignan), Austrinus, Namatius, bishops.
Osser or Osset (*Osser castrum*), near Seville, Leuvigild defeats his son Hermangild at, ii. 275; miraculous spring at, i. 258; ii. 185, [459], 540, 599.
Ostrogoths, i. 94, 170, 178–9. *See also* Theodoric, King.
Ouche, river (*Oscara fluvius*), ii. 70, 103.
Oust, river (*Ulda* or *Hulda fluvius*), ii. 436, 594.

Pannonia, the Huns start from, ii. 45; reputed home of the Franks, 53; S. Martin a native of, 23, 208, 470. ii. 589. *See also* Sabaria.
Paris (*Parisius*), capital of Clovis, Childebert I, and Charibert, Dionysius (Saint Denis) sent to, ii. 20; Clovis at, 78; death and burial of Clovis at, 81; his daughter Clotild buried at, 92; murder of young princes at, 101–2; Clotild, queen of Clovis, buried at, 117; Chramn at, 130; council at, 157; its territory ravaged by Sigibert, 159; Sigibert and Brunhild at, 160; the young Childebert carried off from, 168; Chilperic builds circus at, 186; bloodshed in church at, 203; Chilperic's young son buried at, 206; floods at, 256; Chilperic breaks his oath by entering the city, 257; Chilperic again at, 261; Leudast infuriates Queen Fredegund at, 263; Princess Rigunth

sets out from, 276–7; Chilperic buried at, 280; Fredegund in sanctuary at, 289, 296; Guntram received by the citizens, Childebert excluded, 290; the pact between the sons of Lothar not to enter the city, 290; Guntram's appeal to the people of, 291; Guntram guarded while at, 298; Guntram again at Paris, 334; the bodies of Chilperic's sons Merovech and Chlodovech buried at, 335–6; great fire at, 356–8; religious charlatan imprisoned at, 374; Eusebius, a Syrian, elected as bishop of, 463; Guntram once more at, 464. i. 138, 140, 142–3; ii. 136, 192, 210, 212, 238, 265, 304–5, 328–9, 382, 389, 399, 402, 410, 439, 445, 457, 468.

Churches of: cathedral, ii. 263, 280, 559; S. Dionysius, 166, 203, 206; Holy Apostles (S. Peter, later S. Geneviève), 92, 102, 117, 186–7, 189, 225, 504, 510; S. Julian, 251, 375, 582; S. Lawrence, 244, 256; S. Martin (oratory), 357; S. Vincent (later S. Germain), i. 318, 430; ii. 132, 280, 335–6, 356–7, 512–13, 522, 537. Palace at Thermae, i. 110; ii. 541–2. *See also* Dionysius (S. Denis), Eusebius, Germanus, Ragnemod, Saffaracus.

Patmos, island of, ii. 19.

Pavia (*Ticinum, Ticina civitas*), ii. 108, 431.

Périgueux (*Petrocoricus*), captured by Desiderius for Chilperic, ii. 247; men of, in Guntram's army against Septimania, 351, 401. ii. 57, 242, 253, 415. *See also* Charterius, Pegasius, Safarius, bishops.

Persarmenians (*Persiani* for *Persi Armeni*), ii. 149, 529.

Persians, the, ii. 8, 149, 202, 460.

Placentia, ii. 56. *See also* Avitus, Emperor, bishop of.

Plan de Fazi (*Musticae calmes*), Hautes-Alpes, ii. 150, 530.

Poitiers (*Pectavus*) and territory, relic of the True Cross at, i. 254; baptistery at, i. 318; S. Hilary dies at, ii. 24; men of, dispute the body of S. Martin with men of Tours, 29, 30; passed by Clovis without attack, 75–6; monastery founded by Radegund, at, i. 68, 362 ff.; ii. 91, 409 ff., 413 ff., 446 ff.; Chramn at, 128; Mummolus recovers the city for Sigibert, 154; slaughter and ravaging by Theudebert, son of Chilperic, 157; attacked by Chilperic, 198; men of, in army against the Bretons, 200; Leudast in sanctuary in church of S. Hilary at, 227; the city surrenders to King Guntram, 294; again surrenders after throwing off allegiance, 303. i. 138–9, 140, 144, 152, 360 ff.; ii. 131, 168, 172, 181, 213, 220, 265, 278, 289, 304–5, 322, 348, 375, 378, 383, 388–9, 400, 404, 406, 440, 458–9, 474, 595. *See* Hilary, Maroveus, Pascentius, Pientius, Plato, bishops; Macco, Count. Churches: S. Hilary, Holy Cross, S. Mary.

Pompierre (*Pons Petrius*), Vosges, ii. 540.

Ponthion (*Pontico* or *Pontigo villa*), Marne, ii. 134, 269, 524, 560.

Portus (Porto), ii. 428, 592.

Provence (*Provincia*), occupied by Theodoric, i. 94; ceded to the Franks by Witigis, 104; division of, 105; dispute between governor and ex-governor of, ii. 152; ravaged by Guntram's army, 352; pestilence in, 361. ii. 84, 242, 245, 299, 553, 600. *See also* Arles, Marseilles; Albinus, Dynamius, Jovinus, Nicetius, governors.

Puy de Dôme, ii. 485.

Pyrenees (*Pyrineus mons, Perinenses montes*), ii. 53, 204.

Randan, monastery of (*Randanense monasterium*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 141, 526. *See* Sunniulf, Abbot.

Ravenna, i. 81–2, 410, 426.

Red Sea (*Rubrum mare*), ii. 3, 11, 12, 477.

Reims (*Remensis urbs, Remus*) and territory, ravaged by Childebert I, ii. 130; taken by Chilperic, 134; Chilperic advances to, 159; Merovech hides in the territory of, 192; Bishop Egidius flies home to, 262; Egidius guaranteed safe-conduct in the church of S. Remigius, 383. i. 92 *n.*; ii. 99, 234, 311, 424, 457–8, 498–9. *See also* Champagne; Egidius, Remigius, Romulf, bishops; Lupus, Duke.

Rennes (*Redonica urbs*) and territory,

ravaged by the Bretons, ii. 201, 202, 397, 436. ii. 356, 362–3, 410. *See also* Victorius, Bishop.
Ressons-sur-le-Matz (*Rosotense territorium*), Oise, ii. 391, 585.
Rhine, river (*Rhenus fluvius*), ii. 49, 51, 78, 158, 337; peoples from beyond, 158–9.
Rhône, river (*Rhodanus fluvius*), ii. 53, 70, 71, 139, 140, 152, 173, 204, 256–7, 350.
Riez (*Regense territorium*), Basses-Alpes, ii. 151. *See also* Urbicus, Bishop.
Rodez (*Rutena urbs, Rotinus*), Bishop Quintianus flies from to escape the Visigoths, ii. 75; taken by Theudebert, son of Clovis, 77. i. 93; ii. 86, 103, 173, 219, 270, 343. *See also* Dalmatius, Innocentius, Quintianus, and Theodosius, bishops.
Romagnat (*Romaniacus campus*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 132, 523.
Romans, the, ii. 15, 25, 33, 49, 50, 52–3, 59.
Rome, first Christians at, ii. 18; persecutions at, 22; Bishop Brice of Tours seeks the Pope, 37, 471; Aravatius of Tongres visits, 44; church of S. Peter at, i. 326; ii. 47; Bishops Salonius and Sagittarius appeal to the Pope, 195; floods and plague at, 425; Gregory the Great and his election to the papacy, 425–6; address of Gregory the Great to the people of, 426–8; principal churches of, 427–8; pilgrimage to, in the sixth century, 491. ii. 24–5, 136, 167, 239, 240, 469, 591–2, 602. *See also* Clement I, Cornelius, Gregory I, John III, Pelagius II, and Xystus, bishops or popes.
Rouen (*Rotomagus, Rotomagensis urbs*) and territory, Sigibert advances to, ii. 160; Queen Brunhild sent to, by Chilperic, 168; Merovech marries her there, 168–9; Bishop Praetextatus restored to, 297; Queen Fredegund banished from, to Rueil, 298; Fredegund causes Praetextatus to be murdered in church at, 353–4; Bishop Leudovald of Bayeux closes the churches after the murder, 355; bishops sent by Guntram rebuffed at, 355–6. ii. 190, 261, 362, 410. *See also* Melantius, Praetextatus, bishops.
Rouergue (*Rutenus terminus*), ii. 434.
Ruan, village of (*Rodomagus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 471.
Rueil (*Rotoialensis, Rigoialensis villa*), Seine-et-Oise, ii. 298, 383, 464, 565, 600.

Sabaria, ii. 23, 470, 486. *See also* Pannonia.
Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, *see Convenae*; Saint-Germain, ii. 512, 513; Saint-Lizier (*Consorannis urbs*), 389; Saint-Maurice-en-Valais, *see* Agaune; Saint-Mesmin-de-Micy, 573; Saint-Péravy-la-Colombe, 89, 507.
Saintes (*Sanctona, Santonas*), King Charibert and an episcopal election at, 135–6; captured by Chlodovech, son of Chilperic, 179; episcopal council at, 208; men of Saintes in Guntram's army attacking Septimania, 351; Bishop Palladius arrested by Antestius at Easter, 363–4. ii. 278, 310. *See also* Emerius, Palladius, bishops; Gundegisel, Waddo, counts.
Saône, river (*Araris flumen*), ii. 70, 204, 350.
Saragossa (*Caesar Augusta*), siege of, by Childebert, i. 106–7. i. 106; ii. 52, 512.
Saxons, the, defeated by Lothar I, ii. 122; defeat Lothar, who is compelled to make terms, 126–7; invade Austrasia, 130; Saxons who had followed Alboin defeated by Mummolus, 151; suffered to return to Austrasia, 152; defeated by Suevi on their return, 184. i. 108, 183–5; ii. 518, 520, 530.
Saxons of Bayeux or the Bessin (*Saxones Baiocassini*), i. 172, 226; ii. 200, 437, 544.
Saxons with Odoacer, ii. 59, 496.
Scheldt, river (*Scaldis fluvius*), ii. 79.
Scythia (*Scitia*), ii. 48.
Seine, river (*Sequana fluvius*), ii. 158, 256, 350.
Senachar, ii. 8.
Senlis (*Silvanectis*), division of between Guntram and Childebert, ii. 388–9, 391, 584–5. i. 140, 141, 143; ii. 249, 279. *See also* Mallulfus, Bishop.

Sens (*Senonica urbs*), i. 137–9, 140; ii. 439. *See also* Artimeus, Bishop.
Senuvia, ii. 572.
Septimania, Guntram's army invades, ii. 350; frontier to, closed by the Visigoths, 371; Visigoths invade Arles from, 376; again invaded by Guntram, whose army is ambushed, 401–2. i. 130, 145–6, 239; ii. 233, 348, 353, 359, 384, 396, 502, 584.
Seville (*Hispalis*), ii. 209, 547, 561.
Sicamber, ii. 69, 500.
Sicily (*Sicilia*), ii. 109, 425 (monasteries in), 515, 591.
Sicyonians (*Sicionii*), ii. 15.
Sinai, mount (*Sina mons*), ii. 12.
Sissek (*Sisciensis urbs*), ii. 23, 486.
Sodom, ii. 461.
Soissons (*Suessionas*), Syagrius resides at, ii. 65; Clovis restores vase stolen from church of, 66; S. Médard buried at, 131; Lothar I buried at, in church of S. Médard, 133; becomes the capital of Chilperic, 134; King Sigibert buried in church of S. Médard, 161; Chilperic defeats men of Champagne at, 169; Chilperic builds a circus at, 180; Chilperic's son, Chlodobert, buried in church of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, 206; Rauching's wife takes sanctuary in church of S. Médard, 378; Childebert's eldest son sent as king to, 402, 407. i. 90, 91, 103, 110, 153; ii. 171, 249, 265, 350, 429, 454, 522, 550. *See also* Droctegisel, Bishop.
Somme, river (*Sumena fluvius*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 54.
Sonnay (*Solonacensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 470.
Sorcy (*Sauriacus villa*), Aisne, ii. 408, 588.
Spain (*Hispania*), Arian persecution in, ii. 38, 209; Constans in, 52; invaded by Childebert, 106–7; invasion of, by Justinian, and succession of King Athanagild, 121; Sigibert weds Brunhild, daughter of Athanagild, 137; Chilperic marries Galswinth, her sister, 138; springs at Osset in Spain, 185, 459; earthquake in, 204; Princess Ingund resists conversion to Arianism, 209; Ingund converts Hermangild, who seeks Byzantine aid against his father, 209, 210; envoys from Mir, king of Suevi in Galicia, 212–13; Chilperic's envoys tell Gregory the state of Spain, 251–2; Rigunth, daughter of Chilperic, betrothed to Recared, son of Leuvigild, 265; Leuvigild takes prisoner his son Hermangild, 275–6; he puts Hermangild to death, 348; embassies from, 214, 271, 359, 360, 393; conversion of Recared, 383–4; Brunhild sends gifts to Court of, 399; S. Martin prevents persecution by Maximus in, 470; Byzantine conquests in, 517–18. i. 106, 181–3; ii. 27, 65, 86, 92, 258, 293, 366, 373, 396, 489, 512, 540, 547–8, 577. *See also* Agila, Athanagild, Hermangild, Leuva, Leuvigild, Recared, kings; Goiswinth, Theodosia, Brunhild, Galswinth, queens and princesses.
Stablo, villa (Estoublon, Basses-Alpes), ii. 151, 530.
Strasbourg (*Argentoratum, Strateburgus*), ii. 407, 457, 588.
Suevi, take Galicia, ii. 38; in central Europe, 184; Mir, king of the Suevi, in Galicia, 212, 275; defeat of Mir by Leuvigild, his death, 275; Audica becomes king of Galicia, 275. i. 181 *n.*; ii. 489, 546. *See also* Galicia.
Susa in Italy (*Segusium* or *Sigusium urbs*), ii. 154, 531.
Syrians, i. 175–6; ii. 308–9, 329, 463, 552, 569, 573. *See also* Eufronius, Syrian merchant, Eusebius, Bishop.

Tarbes, *see* Bigorra.
Tangier (*Traducta urbs*), ii. 39, 490.
Tauredunum castrum, ii. 116, 140, 526.
Theifali, the, i. 172–3, 226; ii. 131, 176, 537. *See also* Tiffauges.
Thérouanne, people of (*Tarbennenses*), ii. 192, 542.
Thiers, early mosaic at, i. 327.
Thuré (*Taurisiacus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 475.
Thuringia (Thoringia), Childeric takes refuge in, ii. 56; kings of, 87; campaign of Theuderic and Lothar I in, 90, 91; ravaged by Lothar I, 122. i. 100, 101, 185, 187; ii. 507.
'Thuringia' on lower Rhine, traversed by Franks, ii. 494; invaded by Clovis, 66. i. 89, 90, 171–2.

Thuringians, the, i. 185.
Tiber, river (*Tiberis fluvius*), ii. 425.
Tiffauges, ii. 537. *See* Theifali.
Toledo (*Tolidus*), Leuvigild sends his son into banishment from, ii. 210, 275–6; council of Arian bishops at, 546–7; council summoned by Recared, 584. i. 112.
Tongres (*Tungrus, Tungrense oppidum*), ii. 44–5. *See also* Aravatius, Bishop.
Tonnerre (*Ternodorense castrum*), ii. 173, 536. *See also* Munderic, archpriest.
Toulouse (*Tolosa*), church of La Daurade, i. 327; S. Saturninus (Sernin) at, ii. 20, 21; Syagrius, taking refuge at, is surrendered to Clovis by Alaric, 65; Clovis removes Alaric's treasure from, 78; Ragnovald's wife takes sanctuary in church of S. Saturninus, 248; Princess Rigunth at, 293; she takes sanctuary in church of S. Mary, *ibid.*; Gundovald at, 304–5, 318; people of, revenge themselves on Guntram's defeated troops, 351; Recared seizes territory of, 353; Desiderius levies a force at, 365; Bishop Volusianus of Tours banished to, 473. i. 139, 140, 142–3, 152–3, 154, 426; ii. 72, 310, 401, 468, 485, 588. *See also* Exsuperius, Magnulf, Saturninus, bishops.
Tournai (*Tornacus*), Chilperic withdraws within, ii. 160; blood-feud at, quelled by Fredegund, 463–4. i. 115; ii. 198, 225, 599.
Tournon-Saint-Pierre (*Tornomagensis vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 470.
Tours (*Turonus*) and territory, S. Martin and S. Brice at, ii. 36–7, 470, 471; Bishop Perpetuus builds new church of S. Martin, 58; Clovis and, 75–6; Clovis invested as proconsul at, 78; bishops of, 100; death of Queen Clotild at, 117; clergy of, 123; Eufronius made bishop, 128; Lothar I does penance at, 133; Chilperic's son Chlodovech expelled from, 154; Theudebert, son of Chilperic, subdues, 157; Merovech, son of Chilperic, visits, 168; Gregory harassed for giving sanctuary to Guntram Boso at, 171–2; Merovech in sanctuary in church of S. Martin, 179 ff.; territory ravaged by Chilperic's army, 183; sufferings at the hands of Count Leudast, 220 ff.; districts of, ravaged, 248, 262; people desire to pass under rule of Childebert, 293–4; Eberulf in sanctuary at S. Martin's, 299 ff.; murder of Eberulf in the *atrium*, 305–7; blood-feud between citizens of, 321–3, 387–8; religious impostors at, 372–5; Childebert's proposal of taxation prevented by Gregory, 400, 401; story of Ingitrude's convent at S. Martin's, 403–5, 439, 440; visit of S. Aredius to, 467; pestilence at, 468; Gregory's account of the bishops of Tours and of fasts and vigils in the churches, 469 ff. i. 9, 10, 13–14, 82, 93–4, 113, 117, 118–19, 138–9, 140, 141–2, 144, 152; ii. 81, 122, 136, 200, 204, 253, 271, 302–3, 315, 348, 359, 389, 410, 498.

Churches of: basilica of S. Martin, *see under* Martin, Saint; cathedral church, ii. 181, 361, 398, 470, 472, 476, 523, 603–4; S. Mary, 362, 474; SS. Peter and Paul, 472; S. Germanus, 474; S. Vincent, 475; S. Venantius, monastery church, 475; baptistery at, 476; *cellula* of S. Martin at, 469; monasteries at, i. 352, 358. *See also* list of bishops, ii. 469; Eunomius, Gaiso, Leudast, Wiliachar, counts.
Trèves (*Treverus*) and territory, S. Maximinus at, ii. 24; the emperor Maximus at, 25, 26; S. Illidius at, 26; Arbogast in winter quarters at, 51; sacked by Franks, 53; Parthenius murdered at, 110, 111; Theodore of Marseilles succoured by bishop of, 337; church of S. Maximinus at, *ibid.*; Vulfolaic (S. Walfroy) builds a monastery in territory of, 339. i. 137, 144, 151, 153; ii. 27, 49, 97, 360, 379. *See also* Magneric, Maximinus, Nicetius, bishops.
Troyes (*Trecas urbs*), ii. 337, 355. *See also* Agricius, Bishop.
Tuscany (*Tuscia*), ii. 108. *See also* Theuda, King.

Unstrut, river (*Onestrudis fluvius*), ii. 91, 507.
Uzès (*Ucetica urbs*), ii. 231, 242, 343.

See also Albinus, Ferreolus, Marcellus, Martinus, bishops.

Valence (*Valentia urbs*), Drôme, ii. 153–4.
Vandal kingdom, fall of, ii. 44.
Vandals, ii. 33, 38–9, 52, 489, 490.
Vannes (*Venetus, Venetica urbs*), ii. 118, 200, 347, 387, 437. *See also* Eunius, Regalis, bishops.
Vasso Galatae, temple called, ii. 22, 485.
Velay (*Vellavum territorium*), ii. 156, 256, 462, 532, 557, 600. *See also Anicium.*
Vence (*Vinciensis urbs*), Alpes-Maritimes, ii. 369, 396–7.
Vendôme (*Vindocinum castrum*), ii. 389.
Vercellae (*Vircellis*), ii. 37, 471, 548.
Verdun (*Veredunum, Viredunum*) and territory, receives a loan from King Theudebert, ii. 109, 110; woman with spirit of prophecy at, 320; Guntram Boso takes sanctuary at, 376; Berthefred slain at, 382. i. 153; ii. 105, 455. *See also* Ageric, Charimer, Desideratus, Syagrius, bishops.
Vernon (*Vernaus vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 473.
Vézeronce (*Viserontia*), i. 98; ii. 89, 505–7.
Vienne (*Vienna*) and territory, Valentinian at, ii. 51; taken by King Gundobad, 72; Rogations instituted by Mamertus at, 74. *See also* Avitus, Evantius, Mamertus, Simplicius, Verus, bishops.
Vienne, river (*Vincenna fluvius*), ii. 29, 76.
Vilaine, river (*Vicinonia fluvius*), ii. 200, 436, 438.
Visigoths, the, fight with Aëtius against Attila, ii. 47; attacked by Count Paul, 59; Clovis marches against, 75–6; defeated at Vouillé, 77; invade territory of Arles, 376; defeat Guntram's army, 401–2. i. 92–3, 181–3; ii. 173, 292, 350, 365, 373. *See also* Septimania, Spain; Agila, Alaric, Amalaric, Athanagild, Leuva, Leuvigild, Recared, kings; Hermangild, Prince.
Vitry (*Victoriacum castrum*), Vitry-le-Brûlé, Marne, ii. 95, 509.
Vitry (*Victoriacus*), royal *villa*, Pas-de-Calais, i. 115; ii. 160, 168, 274, 533, 560.
Viviers (*Vivariensis urbs*), ii. 459.
Vollore (*Lovolautrum* or *Involautrum castrum*), Puy-de-Dôme, ii. 94, 509.
Vosges, forest of the (*Vosagus silva*), ii. 438.
Vouillé (*Vogladensis campus*), i. 93; ii. 77, 81, 502.

Woëvre (*Vabrensis pagus*), church of S. Martin in, ii. 381–2. ii. 379, 583.

Yvois-Carignan (*Eposium castrum*), Ardennes, ii. 338, 575.
Yzeures (*Siodunensis pagus, Iciodorum vicus*), Indre-et-Loire, ii. 248, 471, 555.

Zülpich (*Tulbiacense oppidum*), Clovis defeats the Alamanni at, ii. (68–9), 77; murder of King Hermanfrid at, 91–2. i. 101; ii. 508.

GENERAL INDEX

Abattis, ii. 50, 105, 151.
Abbesses, appointment of, i. 354, 358–9, 414, 439; ii. 137, 258–9, 403. *See also* Agnes, Berthegund, Leubovera.
Abbots, election of, i. 353; deprivation of, ii. 458.
Abduction, ii. 433, 435, 446.
Absolution, ii. 199.
Acorns, ii. 469.
Acres, ii. 548.
Acta Pilati, ii. 483.
Adultery, ii. 146, 203, 227, 248, 344, 383, 435, 451, 471.
Aeneid, the, quotations from, i. 7.
Agents (*actores*), ii. 566.
Allegiance, oath of, *see* Oaths.
Almsmen, ii. 307, 568. See also *Matricula*.
Aloes, i. 447; ii. 111.
Alphabet, Chilperic and new letters for, ii. 218, 548. ii. 339.
Altar, cloths covering, ii. 301, 446, 450, 451, 539; herbs on, 294; stolen property laid on, 346. *See also* Oaths.
Ambo, i. 337.
Ambush, ii. 351, 402, 458.
Amphora of wine, tax of, for half-acre of land, ii. 201.
Ampullae (flasks), ii. 373, 499.
Amusements, i. 441.
Anchoress, i. 364; ii. 415.
Anchorites, *see* Hermits.
Andelot, Treaty or Pact of, i. 128; ii. 389–92, 585.
Angon, the, i. 231–2.
Animals, sick, brought to church, i. 322; wild, ii. 74.
Antichrists, i. 238–42; ii. 6, 375, 461–2.
Antidotes, ii. 205.
Antiphon, ii. 76, 354, 573.
Antrustiones, i. 386, 402.
Apoplexy, *see* Disease.
'Apostolic sees', ii. 136, 524–5, 590.
Apostolic fathers = bishops, ii. 419.
Apples, i. 84, 372, 405.
Apparitions of saints, ii. 174, 341, 460.
Apses, i. 324, 331, 417; ii. 58, 471.
Aqueduct, ii. 72.
Archdeacons, i. 274, 412; ii. 145, 152–3, 174–5, 219, 222, 226, 267–9, 362, 374–5, 407, 436.
Archers, ii. 50.
Archiater, archiatrus, i. 416–17; ii. 567, 596. *See* Marileif, Reovalis.
Archives, ii. 456.
Archpriests, i. 275; ii. 173, 275.
Arians, Vandal, ii. 38 ff.; Burgundian, i. 239; ii. 53, 72–3; Frankish, 70, 107; Visigothic, i. 239; ii. 75, 137, 209, 251–2, 366, 384–5, 396; disputes of Gregory with, 214–17, 271–4; conversion of Recared from Arianism, 385. ii. 481, 499, 547, 584.
Aripennis (half-acre), ii. 9, 201, 482, 544.
Aristocracy, landed, i. 385, 387.
Aristocratic party in Austrasia, *see* Austrasians.
Aristocrats, or notables, power and privilege of, i. 192–3, 195–7, 210, 211.
Arithmetic, ii. 155, 477.
Ark, the, of the Covenant, ii. 8, 216.
Armour, gorget, ii. 221; helmet, 151, 221, 431; mail shirt (*lorica*), i. 232; ii. 77, 151, 155, 221, 317, 431, 532, 550. i. 232–3.
Army, i. 225 ff.; indiscipline of, 312–13, 318, 351–2. *See also* Devastation.
Arrows, poisoned, ii. 50.
Arson, ii. 323, 342, 350.
Arts, the, i. 424 ff.; oriental influence on, 425–6.
Arts, the liberal, ii. 477.
Ascension, the, ii. 3, 74, 472.
Asceticism, i. 374 ff.
Ascetics, S. Radegund, i. 364; nun of Poitiers, *ibid.*; Julian, in Auvergne, ii. 142; Patroclus of Bourges, 177; Winnoch the Breton, 197, 358; Agricola, bishop of Chalon, 218; Dalmatius, bishop of Rodez, 219; Hospicius of Nice, 238; Salvius, bishop of Albi, 285; Vulfolaic (S. Walfroy), 340; Gregory the Great, 425; the son of Count Eulalius, 436.
Ashes, as sign of mourning, ii. 106.
Ass, ii. 436.

Assassins, sent by Fredegund: against Sigibert, ii. 160; against Brunhild, 298; against Bishop Praetextatus, 354; against Guntram, 364–5, 371–2; against Childebert, 454; stab Chilperic, 278; Eberulf killed by, at Tours, 307; in the train of Clotild at Poitiers, 446 ff.
Assembly of the Franks, ii. 105, 191–2, 197 *n.*
Astrology, i. 415.
Astronomy, i. 7, 415.
Augustus, title, ii. 78, 503.
Aulici polatini, ii. 601.
Avarice, ii. 123, 134–5, 148–9, 161.
Axe, execution by, i. 95, 124, 213–14; ii. 66, 80, 352, 359, 463–4.
Axle, ii. 277.

Baggage, ii. 235 (royal), 313 (army).
Bailiffs, ii. 319, 406, 409, 416, 566.
Baiting of beasts, ii. 359.
Bakeries, ii. 220, 303, 549, 550.
Baldrics, i. 436 (ornaments with gold); ii. 80, 296, 302, 307, 316, 322, 458, 573, 599.
Ball games, i. 20.
Ballista, i. 408.
Ballomer, ii. 295, 313, 317, 399, 565.
Ban, royal, ii. 200, 225, 319, 544.
Banners, ii. 172, 329, 535.
Banquets, royal, ii. 311, 327, 329, 331, 394, 463–4, 465; given by usurping priest to clergy of Rodez, 219; given by Eberulf while in sanctuary, 306; prepared by the bishop of Le Mans for citizens, 360. i. 443–4.
Baptism, of Clovis, i. 92; ii. 34, 69–70, 498–9; of Recared, 384, 583; of Jews, i. 252, 340; ii. 177–9, 250, 555. i. 340; ii. 22, 34, 67–8, 73, 137–8, 191, 198, 205, 251, 257, 329, 334, 376, 379, 453, 464–5. *See also* Chrism, Rebaptism, Red Sea, passage of.
Baptistery, i. 318, 326, 340; ii. 69.
'Barbarians' (= Franks, or men of other Teutonic tribes), ii. 144, 306, 355, 501, 527, 532.
Barley, ii. 436.
Barley-water, ii. 144.
Basins, golden, ii. 277–8, 561; wooden, enriched with gems, 399.
Baths and bath-rooms, i. 363–4, 371, 403; ii. 24, 108, 197, 344, 514, 576.
Battering-rams, ii. 315.
Battle, ordeal by, *see* Ordeal.
Beast-baiting, i. 441; ii. 359.
Beds, of S. Martin and S. Patroclus, i. 346. i. 405, 407.
Bee-keeping, i. 378.
Beer (*cervisia*), i. 404, 446.
Bees-wax, i. 329.
Beggars, i. 397; ii. 307.
Bells, church, i. 329.
Benches, ii. 407, 463–4.
Benedictus, the, see *Prophetia*.
Benefices, i. 162–3, 313, 386; ii. 346–7, 409, 456, 566. *See also Precaria*.
Betrothal, i. 341; ii. 155, 248, 251, 265, 277, 450, 451, 597. *Cf. also* Dowry.
Bible, Books of, i. 35 *n.*; ii. 183, 539; *Itala* texts, i. 35–6; Vulgate, *ibid.*
Bier, ii. 286.
Bishops, position and influence of, i. 8–9, 194, 264 ff.; as envoys, 268; types of, 280 ff.; as judges, 302; control church revenues, 314–15; relations to monasteries, 353–5; married, 389; ii. 25–6, 360, 579; deprivation of, 195, 457; ill usage of, 192, 196, 255, 268, 304, 337, 364, 415–16; property of, 123, 364, 386, 404–5, 471, 473–4; suspension of, 192. *See also* Church houses, Councils, Courts, Dioceses, Election, Episcopal.
Bleeding, i. 424.
Blind, healing of the, ii. 240, 244.
Blinding, ii. 279.
Blood, rain of, ii. 249.
Blood-revenge, i. 98, 204; ii. 110, 173–4, 251, 284, 321–3, 344, 387, 463–4, 572–3.
Board-game, i. 443; ii. 450, 451, 596.
Boar-hunting, i. 442.
Boats, ii. 223, 256, 280, 338, 403. *See also* Ships.
Bodyguard, ii. 291.
Book-covers, ii. 93 (gold, set with gems).
Books, i. 429 (*codices*); ii. 218.
Boot (*caliga*), ii. 262.
Bows and arrows *see* Weapons.
Branding, ii. 160, 409.
Bravoes or ruffians, gangs of, ii. 415, 440, 446–8.
Bribery, of assassin by Fredegund and others, ii. 362; of Bishop Egidius, 457; of clergy of Tours by Riculf, 226; of the Domestic Flavianus, 433; of the king by can-

didates for bishoprics, i. 289, 290, 291 ; ii. 144, 270–1, 463 ; by candidates for other offices, 220, 343 ; by persons seeking pardon of offences, 156, 364, 458 ; by prisoners, 251 ; proposed, of Gregory, 189 ; of Duke Dragolen, 199.
Bridges, i. 156 ; ii. 105, 185, 252, 264, 357–8, 437–8, 556, 579.
Bridles, gold, i. 435 ; ii. 277, 561.
Bubonic plague, *see* Plague.
Buffalo, hunted, i. 442–3 ; ii. 438, 515, 594.
Burial, alive, ii. 124, 170 ; by the public way, i. 332 ; ii. 45 ; of suicides, i. 332 ; ii. 148. i. 341–2 (ceremony) ; ii. 147, 258, 265, 329, 330.
Burning alive, ii. 212, 267.
Bushel, ii. 320.
Byzantium, *see* Empire, East Roman.

Caesar, title of, ii. 149, 193–4, 201.
Calvary, ii. 9.
Camels, i. 155 ; ii. 313.
Camps, i. 231 *n.* ; ii. 129, 153, 313, 315, 318, 402, 431.
Campus Martius, ii. 49.
Candles, i. 6, 8, 329 (votive), 333, 337 ; ii. 69, 170, 178, 364, 414, 535.
Canons (enactments of Councils) : Ecumenical, ii. 191, 542, 359 ; Gallican, i. 305–6 ; ii. 144, 180, 186, 189, 191, 250, 417, 457, 541.
Canons (dignitaries), ii. 475, 603,
Cantharides, plaster of, ii. 250.
Cantor, i. 342–3.
Capitol, the, of Toulouse, ii. 21, 485.
Captives, ii. 262, 288 (redemption of), 376.
Captivity, the, ii. 3, 14, 17.
Carpenter, ii. 224, 319.
Carpentry, ii. 100.
Carriages, *see* Vehicles, wheeled.
Carts, i. 404–5 ; ii. 266.
Casket (*arca*) for relics, ii. 446–7.
Castrum (town), i. 160.
Cataract, *see* Disease.
Cattle, ii. 262, 276, 278, 322–3, 469.
Cauterizing, i. 423–4.
Cavalry, i. 229 ; ii. 50, 90.
Cell, of abbot of S. Martin, ii. 278, 307, 568 ; of Abbot Salvius, 285 ; of Gregory at Tours, i. 12 ; ii. 374 ; of nun recluse, 259, 415 ; of Bishop Nicetius, 465, 601.
Cellula of S. Martin at Candes, i. 346. *See also* Martin, Saint ; Candes.
Centenier, i. 203.
Chains, worn by ascetics, i. 68 ; ii. 238–9, 241.
Chalices, i. 258 *n.* (portable), 431 ; ii. 303 (gold), 567 (gold), 570 (silver).
Chamberlain, ii. 160, 438, 564–6.
Chambers, upper, ii. 363, 377, 488.
Champions, ii. 38, 431.
Chapel, in private house, ii. 309.
Characters, mysterious, ii. 372.
Chase, the, i. 441–3 ; ii. 211, 278, 333.
Chastity, tale of, ii. 27–9 ; of S. Brice, 36–7.
Chest, ii. 111, 405.
Chestnuts, ii. 580.
Children, death of, ii. 205.
Choir, church, i. 6, 342 ; choir-boys, i. 6, 342.
Chrism, ii. 70, 137, 178, 345, 499, 525, 547, 583.
Christianity in Gaul, i. 237 ff.
Christians (Catholics as opposed to Arians), ii. 489.
Christmas Day, ii. 153, 168, 332 ; festivals, ii. 321, 597.
Chroniclers and continuators of Gregory, i. 37–8.
Chronology, ii. 161, 477–8.
Church, the, general position of, i. 16, 29, 194–5, 242 ; music of, 6, 342–3 ; offices of, 335 ff., 372–4 ; revenues, 313 ; ii. 172, 207–8, 222–3, 226, 253, 303–4, 322–3, 536 ; jurisdiction, i. 302 ff. ; taxation, 266 ; ii. 434 ; and prisoners, i. 309, 315 ; and the unfree, 392.
Church houses, i. 343–5 ; ii. 59, 146, 171 (of wood), 207, 221, 223, 226 (at Tours), 245 (Marseilles), 304 (Toulouse), 306 (Tours), 315 (*Convenae*), 364 (Saintes), 382 (Verdun), 488, 528, 550 (Tours), 554, 559–60.
Churches, animals brought to, i. 322–3 ; bells of, 329 ; ii. 61, 246, 256, 555 ; bloodshed in, 203, 350 ; breaking into, i. 321 ; ii. 231 ; building of, i. 318–19 ; ii. 24, 218, 466, 470 ; burial in, i. 329, 330 ; burning of, ii. 157, 261, 303, 460 ; churchyards, i. 331–2 ; columns in, 326–7 ; ii. 58, 60, 218 ; closing of, 355, 465, 497 ; crypts of, i. 324 ; ii. 124, 358 ; dimensions of, i. 326 ; furniture of, 333 ; ii. 111, 141 ; lighting of, i. 328 ; mosaics and marble linings

in, 327; mural paintings in, *see* Painting; plundering of, ii. 65, 157, 261, 313, 336, 350, 352; sacristies and vestries, see *Secretarium, Salutatorium*; towers of, i. 324; used as fortresses, ii. 381; as places of healing, i. 321–2; as repositories, 320, 321; ii. 313, 509, 570; windows of, i. 326, 328; ii. 58, 244; wooden churches, i. 320; ii. 169.
Ciboria, i. 333.
Cider, i. 404; ii. 177.
Circus, i. 441; ii. 186, 541.
Cistern, ii. 194.
City, the (*civitas*), i. 158–61, 202.
Classics, knowledge of the, i. 7, 21.
Clergy, freedom of, i. 388; tried before bishop's court except in criminal cases, 303, 390; of Marseilles, plot against their bishop, ii. 245–6; of Saintes, flogged by order of Bishop Palladius, 347; murdered by Guntram's troops, 350–1. i. 272 ff.
Clerical grades, *see* Grades.
Clerics, lower, i. 273; ii. 226, 349.
Clocks, i. 372 *n*.
Code, Theodosian, ii. 155, 311.
Coffin, i. 326, 331; ii. 170 (wooden), 288.
Coinage, Frankish, i. 105, 427.
Coloni, i. 390, 391.
Column of stylite, ii. 339, 341.
Columns, *see* Churches.
Comets, ii. 141, 213, 249, 526.
Commerce and industry, i. 223; ii. 110, 321, 515; by sea, 152, 359, 395, 592.
Common table for canons, ii. 475, 603.
Composition (fine), i. 208; ii. 108, 153, 203, 289, 322–3, 345, 386, 387, 514, 531, 572–3.
Composition, refusal to accept, ii. 322.
Compurgation, i. 209, 307; ii. 335, 361.
Confiscation, ii. 126, 200, 279, 300, 336, 380.
Consensus, i. 288; ii. 136, 144, 520, 527, 555, 592.
Conspiracy of Rauching, Ursio, and Berthefred, ii. 377 ff.
Consuls, ii. 202, 545 (= consulars).
Consulship, the, ii. 78, 502–3.
Conversion to orthodox Christianity, of Brunhild, ii. 137; of Clovis, i. 46, 92; ii. 68–9; of Galswinth, 138; of Jews, i. 21, 83; ii. 177–9, 231, 250, 251, 537; of Recared, 369, 383–4; of Visigoths, 383–4, 397.
Cookery and cooks, i. 156, 445–6; ii. 97, 296.
Corn, measures of, ii. 143, 320, 425; sheaves of, 156.
Corn-stalks, green, eaten, ii. 320.
Council, episcopal, as court of justice, i. 304–5; ii. 186, 455.
Councils, Church, *Ecumenical*, ii. 403, 587. *Gallican: Episcopal*, i. 300–2; Auxerre, ii. 597; Berny, 224, 550; Chalon-sur-Saône, 200; Lyons, 195, 233; Mâcon, 317; Paris, 186; Metz, 455; Orleans, 96; Saintes, 208; Sorcy, 408. *Provincial*, i. 301; ii. 393.
Councils, royal, ii. 345–6, 352, 436.
Count, of the Domestics, ii. 53, 494, 516; of the Palace, i. 211; ii. 193; of the Physicians, 596; of the Stables (Marshal), 109, 212, 220, 408, 548.
Count of the *pagus* or district, office and functions of, i. 201–3, 225; ii. 305–6, 458, 599; appointments of, 150, 253; relations with bishop, i. 302.
Courts of law, of the king, i. 211; of bishop, 302–3; ii. 404; of bishops and notables, 330; of the count, i. 211, 302; ii. 221, 321 (?), 550, 572.
Craftsmen, i. 403–4, 433; ii. 476, 604.
Creed, Nicene, ii. 6.
Cross, ii. 9; gold, above altar, i. 431; invention of the, ii. 4, 24, 77, 486; processional, 172, 437; relic of, at Poitiers, i. 254, 333; ii. 258, 413–14, 420, 440–8, 453, 558, 590, 595; sign of the, 28, 142, 239, 241–2, 317, 319, 372, 466, 488, 571; with pendent *ampullae*, 374.
Crosses, i. 333.
Crown, the, position of, i. 191 ff.; and episcopal elections, 288 ff.
Crows, proverb as to, ii. 188.
Crypts, i. 325–6; ii. 26, 124.
Culture, intellectual, i. 409 ff.
Cupbearer, ii. 219.
Cupping, i. 424; ii. 175.
Currency, i. 223–5; ii. 152, 530 (currency bars).
Curse invoked on breaker of agreement, ii. 257.

Customs, the, i. 219.
Cybele, statue of, i. 247.

Dates (fruit), ii. 238.
Deacons, i. 277, 337; ii. 146, 180, 182, 239, 254, 309, 331–2, 415–16, 425, 428, 445–6, 563, 573, 591.
Deacons, the seven, at Rome, ii. 425, 591.
Dead, washing of the, ii. 280, 286.
Deaf and dumb, the, ii. 239, 341.
Decapitation, ii. 193, 270, 318.
Dedication of an oratory, ii. 247.
Deer-hunting, i. 442.
Deities, Pagan, invoked, i. 247–8.
Demon of noon, i. 249–50; ii. 356, 579.
Denier, the, i. 223.
Denis, S. (Dionysius), Passions of, ii. 485.
Devastation, by armies, i. 227–9; ii. 45, 71, 93, 130, 151, 159, 171, 179, 183, 201, 248, 252, 261–2, 278, 303, 350–2, 362, 375, 397, 430, 436, 438.
Devil, the, i. 379; ii. 8, 25, 107, 148, 178, 181, 258, 341, 358, 409, 412, 416, 477, 483.
De villis, capitulary of Charlemagne, i. 404.
Devils, i. 379; ii. 60, 93, 242. *See also* Possession.
Diadem, i. 93 *n.*; ii. 78, 202.
Dialectic, ii. 425, 477, 481.
Diana, statue of, destroyed, i. 246; ii. 339, 340, 575.
Dioceses, i. 261 ff.
Diploma, royal (*praeceptio*), i. 288; ii. 122, 125, 135, 155–6, 279, 310, 440, 520; imperial, i. 296; ii. 426, 592.
Diplomatic relations, between Brunhild and Visigothic Court, ii. 212, 399; Childebert I and Ostrogoths, 108; Childebert II and Guntram, 185, 290, 291, 295, 337, 388, 400, 464–5; and the Lombards, 397, 399, 400; and Chilperic, 186, 260; and the East Roman Emperor, 343, 428–31; Chilperic and the Visigoths, 137, 251–2, 258, 264–5, 271, 276–7; and the East Roman Emperor, 233; and Austrasian notables, 234, 457; Clovis and the Emperor Anastasius, 78; Fredegund and the Visigoths, 363; and Guntram, 364; Guntram and Childebert II, *see above*, under Childebert II; and Chilperic, 186; and the Lombards, 432; and the Suevi, 213; and the pretender Gundovald, 310; and the Visigoths, 359, 365, 371, 385–6; Lothar I and the Saxons, 127; Sigibert and the Visigothic Court, 137; Theudebert and the East Roman Emperor, 109.
Diptychs, recitation of the, i. 338, 429.
Discipline, church, i. 277 ff.
Disease and malady, general remarks on, i. 421 ff.; apoplexy, ii. 173, 266 (?); cataract, 175–6; 'dysentery', i. 422; ii. 166, 198, 204–5, 208, 210, 265, 369, 383, 431, 468; epilepsy, i. 422; ii. 173; fever, 61, 108, 128, 131, 142, 146–7, 198, 204, 208, 212, 239, 240, 243, 250, 285, 336, 346, 360, 362, 395, 401; gout, i. 422; ii. 213, 446, 464 (?); jaundice, i. 423; ii. 171–2, 244; leprosy, i. 68, 422; paralysis, 422; ii. 373; stone, 244; toothache, 467; tumour, 399. *See also* Plague, the.
Dishes eaten by Franks, i. 11; ii. 189.
Divination, i. 251; ii. 320, 462, 539. See Oracle, Prophetess, *Sortes*, Witchcraft.
Doctors, general position of, i. 416 ff.; Jewish, ii. 175–6; murdered, 207, 546; robbed and degraded, 303; Roman, i. 419; royal, 419–21; ii. 180, 206–7, 303, 546, 567, 596. ii. 110, 264, 300, 354, 449, 537–8.
Doctors, quack, ii. 373, 418.
Dogs, ii. 105 (?), 359.
Domain, the (*fiscus*), serfs of, i. 403; ii. 276, 561. ii. 278, 347, 535.
Domain lands, ii. 169, 588, 597. *See also* Benefices.
'Domestics' (Court officials), ii. 53, 118, 245, 296, 388, 407, 433, 447, 516. *See also* Flavianus.
Doorkeepers (*ostiarii*), in churches, ii. 141, 246, 336, 375 (?), 554, 574; in palace, 377.
Dove, golden, i. 431.
Dove in church, ii. 466.
Dowry, ii. 251, 277–8, 556. *See also* Betrothal.
Dowsing, i. 415; ii. 467, 601.
Dragon, ii. 425.
Drought, severe, ii. 276, 278, 469.
Drowning, i. 215; ii. 66.

Drugged potion, ii. 349, 350.
Drunkenness, ii. 123, 156, 197, 212, 248, 300, 344, 358, 398, 407–8, 445, 459, 464, 475.
Duke, rank of, in Merovingian kingdoms, i. 200, 201.
Dukes, of the early Franks, ii. 51–2; of the Lombards, 239, 531.
Dyes, i. 405.
Dynasties, Egyptian, ii. 15.
Dysentery, *see* Disease.

Eagle, ii. 270.
Ear, slitting of, ii. 220.
Earthquake, ii. 60, 74, 185, 204, 253, 293, 459, 599.
East, the, ii. 413, 473.
Easter, date of, ii. 165, 185, 424, 459, 482, 540, 599. ii. 74, 165, 178, 223, 249, 257, 271, 332, 334, 354, 364, 394, 399, 422, 447, 452–3, 472.
Ecclesia (= cathedral church), ii. 503, 509, 580.
Eclipse, ii. 253, 459.
Education, in Gaul in sixth century, i. 409 ff.; in neighbouring countries, 413–14; in the church, 411, 412; of Gregory, 6–7; ii. 538, 560.
Education, men of, i. 409–11; ii. 109, 155, 554.
Eggs and egg-dishes, i. 445–6.
Election, episcopal, Gregory the Great and, i. 292. i. 288–300; ii. 57, 120, 144, 219, 242, 249, 250, 270, 517, 527–8, 536.
Elephants, ii. 202.
Embalming, i. 332.
Emperors, East Roman, having relations with the Franks, i. 177. *See also* Anastasius, Constans, Constantine, Justin, Justinian, Maurice Tiberius, Tiberius.
Empire, East Roman, invasion and occupation of Italy, i. 104–5, 107, 122, 130; ii. (*see under* Italy); occupation of part of Spain by, i. 182; ii. 210, 251, 271, 276, 348, 517, 534, 547, 560; relations of, with Merovingian kings, *see* Diplomatic relations.
Encampments, *see* Camps.
Enclaves, territorial, ii. 585.
Enfranchisement, general remarks on, i. 391, 393–4; *per chartulas*, ii. 398, 586; *cum cereis et tabellis*, 438, 594. ii. 100, 362.
Ephod (*logium*), ii. 85, 216.
Epilepsy, *see* Disease.
Epiphany, ii. 172, 472.
Episcopal Councils, *see* Councils.
Episcopal election, *see* Election.
Epistles, the, ii. 130.
Eraser, pumice-stone, ii. 218.
Eucharist, *see* Mass.
Eulogiae, i. 446; ii. 130, 179, 285, 330, 345, 451, 521, 527–8, 538, 558–9, 562, 576, 597.
Eunuchs, ii. 449, 595–6.
Evangelists, the, ii. 3.
Evectio publica, i. 155.
Ewer, ecclesiastical, ii. 65.
Excommunication, i. 308, 315; ii. 179, 192, 195, 203, 208, 361, 410, 412, 415–16, 417, 422, 424, 434, 445, 453, 458, 525.
Executioners, ii. 266, 359, 464, 559.
Executions, ii. 66, 80, 133 (by burning), 199, 261, 335, 377, 459 (beheading), 463–4 (by axe), 558 (by sword). i. 213–14.
Exorcism, i. 251; ii. 242, 320.

Fable, ii. 121–2.
Faith, Gregory's profession of, ii. 5.
Falconers, i. 404.
Family, the, i. 397.
Famine, ii. 33, 64, 284, 320, 369, 432, 496.
Fascines, ii. 315.
Fast-days at Tours, ii. 472.
Fasti, consular, ii. 53, 494.
Feet, washing of, ii. 142.
Fern-roots, eaten, ii. 320.
Feud, family, *see* Blood-revenge.
Feudalism, step towards, i. 386.
Fever, *see* Disease.
Fillet, enriched with gold, ii. 451.
Fines for avoiding military service, ii. 319. *See also* Composition.
Fines, remission of, ii. 254.
Fire (conflagration), i. 401; ii. 74, 204, 253, 283, 309, 317, 328, 356–8 (Paris), 380, 475 (at Tours), 579.
Fire from heaven, ii. 347.
Fire-making, i. 403.
Fire, pillar of, ii. 12.
Fire, trial by, ii. 37.
Fire worship, ii. 149.
Fiscalini, *see* Domain, serfs of.
Fiscus, i. 162. *See also* Domain.
Fishing and fishermen, i. 14, 406, 443; ii. 335.
Flies, maddening, ii. 461.
Flint and steel, i. 403.
Flogging, ii. 146 (of a deacon), 192

(of a bishop), 211 (of a girl), 224–5, 243, 266, 299, 310, 321, 336, 347 (of clergy), 362, 365, 372, 408–9, 455.
Flood, the, ii. 3, 8, 477.
Floods, ii. 140, 203–4, 213, 256, 317, 347, 372, 422, 425, 455, 459, 469.
Flowers, i. 84, 405–6, 445.
Fonts, i. 333. *See also* Baptism, Baptisteries.
Fords, ii. 76, 99, 153.
Forests, i. 156. *See* Ardennes, Buchau, Charbonnière, Cuise, Vosges.
Forgery, presumed, ii. 456.
Fracture of limb, i. 424.
Francisca, the, i. 231–2.
Fratricide, ii. 118.
Freemen, lesser, position of, i. 198, 388.
Frost, severe, ii. 386.
Fruit and fruit-trees, i. 405.
Furniture, house, i. 407.
Fur on garments, ii. 266.

Gagan (Chagan, Khan) of the Avars, ii. 139, 526.
Gallows, i. 214–15; ii. 243.
Game, preservation of, i. 442 *n.*; ii. 594.
Games, i. 441, 443.
Gangres, canon of Council of, i. 359; ii. 587.
Gardens, i. 371–2, 379, 405–6; ii. 188, 522.
Gates, city, ii. 92, 103, 139, 223, 246, 312, 314, 317, 351, 365.
Gems on church plate, i. 431; ii. 92–3, 233, 399, 425, 458–9, 508–9, 591, 597, 599.
Gems, engraved, i. 426–7.
Geography of Gaul, i. 149 ff.
Gesta Francorum, i. 39, 73; ii. 498.
Giant, a, ii. 284, 319.
Gifts, wedding, to princess, ii. 277.
Gilding of metal, i. 224, 437.
Glass, of windows, i. 326, 328, 437; ii. 244, 307; paten of, i. 346; vessels of, 437; ii. 598.
Gloria, the, i. 337; ii. 271.
Gluttony, ii. 111.
God, judgement of, *see* Ordeal.
Gods, pagan, ii. 67.
Gold, ii. 277, 303, 316, 437, 450. *See also* Plate.
Gold, pieces of, i. 433; ii. 97, 110, 136, 149, 152–3, 155, 183, 190, 267, 303, 309, 344, 385–6, 432, 451, 457, 531. *See also* Coinage.
Gold, pounds of, ii. 194, 202.
Gold, spurious, i. 95; ii. 80, 152, 504, 530.
Gold, talents of, ii. 319, 572.
Gold thread, ii. 190.
Goldsmith's work, i. 431–2, 434–5; ii. 508, 509.
Good Friday, ii. 141.
Gospel-covers, *see* Book-covers.
Gospels, the, ii. 130; Book of the, 332.
Gout, *see* Disease.
Governors of minors (*nutritores*), i. 384; ii. 101, 219, 334, 347, 355, 510, 549, 556, 565, 577, 579. *See also* Gogo, Wandelen.
Governors of Provence (*rectores*, *praefecti*), ii. 530, 553, 580. *See also* Albinus, Dynamius, Jovinus, Nicetius.
Grades, clerical, i. 272–3, 288–9, 297; ii. 120, 244, 250, 375.
Grammar, i. 409; ii. 5, 425, 477, 481.
Granaries, ii. 11, 482 (of Joseph), 205, 425 (of the Church at Rome).
Grape-seeds eaten in famine, ii. 320.
Grass eaten in famine, ii. 320.
Grave, drinking upon, ii. 118.
Graveyards, i. 331–2.
Greeks (Byzantine), *see* Empire, East Roman.
Guard, Imperial, ii. 48.
Guards, royal, i. 225; ii. 372.
Gynaecea, i. 400, 402, 405; ii. 409, 576, 588.

Hair, long, of kings and princes, i. 99, 383; ii. 53, 79, 101–2, 254–5, 313, 335, 494, 510; of Bretons and Saxons, 437.
Hair shirts, i. 68, 364, 377; ii. 106, 142, 177, 238–9, 434.
Hands, washing of, ii. 238, 331.
Hanging, death by, ii. 203, 243, 321–2.
Hangings, ii. 69, 253.
Hawking, i. 119, 404; ii. 182.
Hell, harrowing of, ii. 17.
Heralds, ii. 103, 386.
Herbs on altar, ii. 294, 564.
Hereditary nobility, absence of, i. 199 *n.*
Heresy, Arian, *see* Arians; of Chilperic, ii. 217, 218, 548; Pelagian, 149.
Heretics, ii. 74, 166, 470, 481, 501–2, 548, 601.
Heriban, i. 224.
Hermits, i. 374 ff.; ii. 116. ii. 60,

61, 165, 177, 197, 285, 328, 358, 553. *See* Abraham, Anatolius, Caluppa, Eparchius, Eusicius, Hospicius, Julian, Lupicinus, Martius, Maxentius, Patroclus, Salvius, Senoch, Winnoch.
Highway, burial by, i. 332.
Highwaymen, ii. 458–9.
Hind reveals ford, ii. 76.
Hippodrome at Constantinople, ii. 201–2, 260, 545.
History of the Franks, The, as a book, i. 27 ff.; dates of composition, 36–7; its influence on political theory, 43–4.
Holy Land, the, ii. 473.
Homo, dispute as to meaning of the word, ii. 345, 576.
Horns, hunting, i. 442; ii. 156.
Horse-keepers, ii. 97–8, 361, 579, 580.
Horsemen, armed, ii. 199, 234; mounted servants, 321, 438.
Horses, ii. 105–6, 182, 187, 196, 277, 303, 313, 406.
Hospitals (*xenodochia*), i. 347, 417.
Hostages, enslavement of, i. 396; ii. 59, 96–7, 200, 256, 318, 437–8.
Hounds, i. 442; ii. 156, 182.
House, fortified, i. 408.
Household, mayor of, *see* Mayor.
Houses, i. 407. See also *Villae*.
Hunting, i. 106, 109, 119, 404; ii. 438–9.
Huntsmen, i. 404.
Hymns, ii. 189, 197, 279, 280.

Idolatry and idols, i. 245–6; ii. 33, 54, 69, 339, 469.
Immersion, baptismal, ii. 500.
Immurement, ii. 259, 358–9.
Impostors, ii. 369, 372–5.
Incense, ii. 69, 414.
Industry, domestic, i. 403.
Informer, ii. 211, 212.
Inheritance, dispute as to, ii. 404–5, 406, 587.
Innocents, the, ii. 3.
Instruments, musical, *see* Musical.
Interregnum, ii. 391.
Intestate, property of, reverts to Crown, ii. 254.
Islands, ii. 327, 363, 437; in Mediterranean, 255, 347 (destruction of).
Itala, texts of Bible, i. 35.

Jaundice, *see* Disease.
Jewellery, i. 434–5; ii. 190, 205, 263, 277, 346, 378, 405, 435, 508–9, 597.
Jovinians, the, ii. 50, 492.
Judge (Count), i. 202, 211–12; ii. 131, 155, 196, 226, 243, 297, 319, 322, 448, 521, 532, 551, 572.
Judgement, day of, ii. 392.
Judgement upon nuns of Poitiers, ii. 449–51.

King (or queen), title of, i. 383–4; borne by royal children, ii. 225, 448, 550, 565.
Kiss of peace, ii. 271, 560.
Kitchen, serf in, ii. 220 (royal), 303 (church).
Kyrie Eleison, ii. 428.

Lake, offerings to a, i. 247–8.
Lame, healing of, ii. 244.
Lamps connected with miracle, i. 254, 323, 328–9, 347; ii. 138, 145.
Land, of the Church, i. 313–14; of the Crown, 219; of landholders, 161–2, 386; ii. 323 (part holders of *villa*, or estate); smaller holdings, i. 391.
Landslide, ii. 140.
Largess of Clovis, ii. 78.
Lark, crested, ii. 141 (extinguishes lamps in church).
Latin language, spoken, i. 165, 168–9; ii. 329.
Lauds, i. 372.
Law, i. 204 ff.; the Church and, 302 ff. *See also* Courts.
Lawlessness, i. 204–6.
Laws, of Burgundians, i. 206–7; ii. 72, 501; of Franks, Salian and Ripuarian, i. 206 ff.; of Visigoths, 206; Roman law in Merovingian Gaul, 207, 210, 303.
Laymen, election of to bishoprics, i. 288–9, 295, 297; ii. 244, 279, 346, 576.
Lead roof, ii. 22.
Leather bags, ii. 171.
Lector, i. 273.
Legion, the sacred, of Agaune, ii. 476.
Lent, abstinence during, ii. 144. ii. 172, 312, 363.
Lepers, i. 347.
Leprosy, *see* Disease.
Lèse-majesté, i. 211; ii. 199, 200, 269.
Letter placed on S. Martin's tomb, i. 251; ii. 182.
Letters, of bishops to Gregory, ii. 262; of Queen Brunhild to the Empress Anastasia, 577; of Childebert II to East Roman Emperor, *ibid.*; of Bishop Egidius,

456 ; of Fortunatus to Gregory and Radegund, i. 83–5 ; of S. Germanus to Brunhild, 114 ; ii. 33 ; of Queen Fredegund to Gregory, 262–3 ; of Gregory the Great to Queen Brunhild, i. 72, 188, 246 ; to the Emperor Maurice, ii. 426 ; of Guntram recommending Aetherius to his bishops, 269 ; feigned letter to Gundovald, 312, 570 ; of Radegund to the bishops, 418–21 ; of the bishops to Radegund, 410–13 ; and to brother bishops, 416–18.
Letters, sending of, ii. 253–4, 308, 331, 349, 355, 426.
Leudes, i. 386 ; ii. 80, 104, 335, 391, 504.
Lidi or *Liti*, i. 390, 391.
Linen, fabrics, i. 439 ; ii. 258.
Lilies, i. 405–6.
Litany, sevenfold, ii. 427–8, 592.
Literary culture, i. 409–11 ; of Chilperic, 65, 411.
Liturgy, i. 335 ff.
Loan to a city, ii. 110.
Locusts, ii. 132, 231, 264, 276, 278.
Lovers, tale of the two, ii. 4, 27–9.

Mafortis (tunic ?), i. 439 ; ii. 59.
Magic, i. 250, 251, 400 ; ii. 36, 138, 211, 265–6, 274, 356, 374, 407, 408, 435, 451, 524, 525–6, 561.
Mail, shirt of, i. 232 ; ii. 77, 151, 155, 257. *See also* Armour.
Majority, age of attaining, ii. 578–9.
Manichaeans, ii. 18, 483.
Mansionarius, i. 323.
Mantle of consul, ii. 78.
Manumission, *see* Enfranchisement.
Manuscripts, copying of, &c., i. 356, 367, 371, 412, 429.
Manuscripts of the *History*, i. 40, 41.
Marble, ii. 124 (Parian), 218. *See also* Church.
March, Field of, ii. 66, 497.
Marriage, ceremony, i. 102, 341 ; ii. 27 ; within prohibited degrees, 168–9, 538.
Martyrarius, ii. 122, 518.
Martyrs, ii. 4, 16, 18–21, 22, 33, 460, 599.
Masques, i. 443 ; ii. 450, 597.
Mass, the, in Merovingian Gaul, i. 336–9 ; ii. 74, 130, 141, 179, 185, 212, 225, 263, 271, 279, 291, 301, 329, 331–2, 333–4, 345, 354, 371, 378, 394, 435, 469, 476.
Masses by Sidonius, ii. 61.
Master, of the Horse, ii. 48 ; of the Offices, 52, 493 ; of the soldiery, i. 90 ; ii. 49, 56, 497, 531.
Matins, i. 373 ; ii. 61, 99, 141, 256, 364. *See also* Church, the, offices of.
Matricide, ii. 434–5.
Matricula, register of the poor, i. 276, 314–15, 344, 346 ; ii. 568.
Matricula, register of canons, ii. 603.
Maundy Thursday, ii. 363.
Mayor of the Household of Princess Rigunth, ii. 278, 284, 305, 320, 561.
Mayor of the Palace or royal household (*major domus regiae*), i. 116, 199 ; ii. 244, 400, 516, 554, 587. *See also* Badegisil, Florentianus.
Measures of corn, ii. 143, 320.
Medals, Byzantine gold, ii. 233–4, 552.
Medicine in Merovingian Gaul, i. 415 ff.
'Medicine-bag', i. 241 *n.* ; ii. 374.
Mercenaries, Frankish, ii. 51.
Merchants, i. 223 ; ii. 152, 263, 284, 321, 356, 358, 458.
Mercurius Dumias, ii. 485.
Metropolitan (bishop), i. 268–9 ; ii. 415, 448.
Milestone, ii. 277.
Military service, i. 225–6.
Mills, i. 408 ; ii. 102, 296, 303, 409.
Mimes, i. 443.
Miracle, prearranged, ii. 41–2.
Miracles, Gregory and, i. 6–8. i. 256 ; ii. 23, 27, 43, 77, 106, 132, 138, 143, 145–7, 159, 176–7, 204, 219, 224, 238–41, 244, 269, 270, 283, 313, 338–9, 340–2, 372, 384, 395, 434, 460, 466–8, 470, 525.
Monasteries (of men), at Agaune, ii. 87–9 ; Angers, *see* S. Venantius ; Angoulême, 242 ; in Auvergne, 61, 141, 538 ; Cournon, 148 ; Latte, 116–17 ; Ligugé, i. 348 ; in Limousin, 339, 466, 601 ; Marmoutier, *see* Tours ; Marseilles, i. 348 ; Meallet, ii. 177 ; Menat, 179 ; Nice, 241 ; Paris, 244 ; Poitou, 77 ; Randan, 141 ; Rome, 425 ; S. Venantius, 473, 603 ; Sicily, 425 ; Tours : Marmoutier, 470, 602 ; S. Martin, i. 352 ; Yvois, ii. 338. i. 97, 348 ff. ; ii. 143, 196, 226, 285. buildings of, i. 369–72 ; foundation of, 348–51 ; endowment, 351 ; diet in, *ibid.* ; discipline in, 355 ; 'double', 368 ; of S. Columban,

368–9; gardens and orchards of, 371–2; offices (church), 372–4; priests in, 374; rules of, 367–8.
Monasticism, i. 348 ff., 367, 372, 374.
Monk, woman disguised as, i. 356.
Monks, habit of, i. 353. i. 348 ff.; ii. 140, 157–8, 176, 238–9, 243, 285–6, 346, 427–8, 466.
Morgengabe, i. 221; ii. 390, 546, 585.
Mosaic, i. 326–7, 429, 430; ii. 22, 564.
Mourning garments, i. 342; ii. 206.
Mourning, public (*justitium*), ii. 260, 558.
Mundium, i. 386.
Mural painting, *see* Painting.
Murder, by strangling, ii. 88, 434; of envoys, 429; of young princes, 99–100, 102, 107, 110, 111, 147, 151, 207, 212, 248, 251, 270, 277, 278, 302, 308, 317, 321–3, 327, 344, 350, 354, 356, 362–3, 387, 398, 446–8, 453, 458, 462.
Music, church, i. 342–3; secular, 439.
Musical instruments, i. 439, 440.
Mutilation, ii. 90, 193, 200, 279, 299, 321–2, 350, 448, 454.
Mutiny against Lothar I, ii. 127.

Nails, ii. 171.
Nativity, the, ii. 3, 16, 332, 334, 472.
'Necromancy' (*nigromantia*), ii. 582.
Nicene Council, ii. 403.
Nieces of Gregory, *see* Eustenia, Justina.
Night office (*vigiliae*), i. 372; timed by stars, 415; ii. 100, 178, 180, 181. *See also* Church, the, offices of.
Nobility, i. 199 *n.*, 386.
Noon, demon of, *see* Demon.
Notarii, ii. 493.
Notary, ii. 398.
Nunneries, i. 357 ff.; in Arles, ii. 137; Autun, 414; Bazas, 250; Chartres, i. 357; England, 358, 368; Lyons, ii. 435; Poitiers (Holy Cross), i. 351; ii. 91, 212, 231, 258, 265, 370, 371, 409 ff., 412, 416, 418, 446 ff., 458; Tours, i. 358, 403, 439, 440; abandonment of, ii. 409, 412; destruction of, 412; discipline in, i. 357, 364–5; endowment of, ii. 418–19; foundresses of, i. 357–8; ii. 403, 406; entertainments in, 450; married women and, 404; officers of, i. 365; pillage of, ii. 447; property of, 362, 406, 440; riot in, i. 300 ff.; rule of, 365, 368; ii. 418; stripping of, 440. *See also* Basina, Beretrude, Clotild, Ingitrude, Justina, Radegund.
Nuns, abduction of, ii. 435; aristocratic, i. 357–8, 360; habit of, 366; ii. 212, 404; marriage of escaped, 412, 415; rebellion and riot of, i. 360 ff.; ii. 409 ff., 446 ff., 588; recluse, 415. ii. 57 (?), 197, 231, 258–9, 403–4, 424, 428, 446.
Nutritores, *see* Governors.

Oaths, adjurations, ii. 339; of allegiance, 154, 200, 261, 303, 431, 437, 567; at altar, i. 312; ii. 155, 182–3, 203, 225, 314, 316, 383, 385, 571; at tomb, 221, 223, 323, 539, 545, 566; equivocal, 170; purgation by, i. 209. *See also* Compurgation.
Oblation, bread of, *see Eulogiae*.
Oblations, i. 337.
Offices (of the church), *see* Church, Matins, Night office.
Offices, master of the, *see* Master.
Oil, ii. 145, 172, 373, 340; holy, 241, 320. *See also* Chrism, Lamps.
Olive trees, ii. 71; destruction of, 351.
Omens, i. 249; ii. 277, 306, 332, 561, 567–8. *See also* Portents.
Oracle by texts of Bible, ii. 129, 130, 183, 223.
Oratories, of Gregory at Tours, i. 326, 344; ii. 374; on *villae*, i. 319, 320. ii. 45, 60, 176, 223, 247, 335, 382, 434, 446, 448, 450, 250, 447.
Orchards, i. 372, 408.
Ordeal, by battle, i. 209, 210; ii. 38, 295–6, 310, 439, 489; by communion, 435; by fire or water, i. 249 *n.*; ii. 37. *See also* Oath, at altar or tomb.
Orfèvrerie cloisonnée, i. 180 *n.*, 431–2, 434; ii. 599.
Ostiarii, i. 273, 323. *See also* Doorkeepers, Grades, clerical.

Pagans and Pagan survivals, i. 245 ff.; ii. 23, 54, 159, 339, 340, 469.
'Pages' at Court, ii. 465, 549, 601.
Pagus, the, i. 202.
Painting, i. 326–7, 425, 427–9; mural, in church of Clermont, 326, 427; ii. 59; in S. Martin's at Tours, i. 326–7, 428; ii. 476, 603–4; executed by Gundovald, i. 427–8;

ii. 313; ornament of animal designs, i. 428; panel-paintings, 329, 428–9, 523.
Palace, the, officers of, i. 199, 200; controller of, ii. 48; count of, 193, 382, 400, 407, 542–3; mayor of, *see* Mayor.
Palace plot, ii. 408–9.
Palaces, town, i. 406–7; ii. 74 (Vienne), 101 (Paris), 359 (Metz).
Pall on tomb, ii. 221.
Pallium, vestment, i. 271–2; ii. 536.
Papyrus, i. 429; ii. 172, 536.
Paralysis, *see* Disease.
Paranymphus, ii. 561.
Parchment, i. 429.
Parishes, i. 276.
Partition of Gaul between kings, i. 136 ff.; ii. 115.
Patens, glass, of S. Martin, i. 346; gold, 431; ii. 303. *See also* Chalices, Plate.
Patriarch, title of, at Constantinople, ii. 545; in Gaul, 195, 543.
Patrician, title of, i. 97; ii. 34, 53, 150, 493–4, 529; as title of governors of Provence and dukes in Burgundy, 115, 288, 395.
Patriciate of Clovis, ii. 34.
Pavement, of marble, ii. 22; of mosaic, i. 327.
Peace, kiss of, ii. 271.
Penance, ii. 345, 404, 417, 426, 557.
Pentecost, ii. 178, 332, 472.
Pergola, i. 405.
Perjury, ii. 199, 221, 226, 306–7, 341–2.
Perry, i. 68, 404.
Persecutions, of Nero, ii. 18; of Domitian, 19; Trajan, *ibid.*; under the Antonines, *ibid.*; at Lyons, i. 238; ii. 19, 20, 484; under Decius, 21; at Toulouse, 21–2; at Rome, Carthage, and in Gaul, 22; under Diocletian, 23; by the Vandals, 38–9; by the Visigoths, 44, 64–5, 166, 209. *See also* Athanaric, Euric, Leuvigild.
Pestle, ii. 549, 550.
Philanthropy, i. 387.
Physicians, *see* Doctors.
Pictures, panel, *see* Painting.
Pilgrimage, to the Holy Land, ii. 78, 197, 473; to Rome, 44, 491. *See also* Paul, Saint, *and* Peter, Saint.
Pillow, ii. 248.
Pirates, Saxon, ii. 496.
Piscina, ii. 547.
Pitch, burning, ii. 315.
Places, the Holy, ii. 78.
Plague, i. 421–2; ii. 119, 140–1, 185, 198, 213, 249, 264, 288, 369, 393, 394–6, 425–6, 459, 461, 468, 516, 526, 600.
Plague-pit, ii. 141.
Plaques on altars or tombs, i. 432.
Plaster, medical, i. 424.
Plate, Church: gold, i. 333; ii. 65–6, 92–3 (Visigothic), 303 (chalice), 567; silver, 107, 157, 226, 244–5, 253, 261, 317, 345, 352, 570; Secular: gold, i. 433–4; ii. 233, 277–8, 289, 399; silver, i. 433–4; ii. 61, 91, 263 (?), 331, 437 (?), 573; stolen, cut into pieces, i. 430 *n.*; counterfeit, 431–2.
Poetry of King Chilperic, ii. 279. ii. 271.
Poisoning, ii. 100, 107, 135, 150, 205, 207, 355; of daggers, 160, 349.
Polyptych of Abbot Irmino, ii. 513.
Poor, relief of, *see Matricula*.
Pope, the, election of, ii. 425–6, 592; relations with the Gallican church, i. 269–72, 354; title of, ii. 592; title used for Patriarch of Constantinople, 202. ii. 37, 136, 195, 469, 471, 478, 526, 543, 601.
Portable chalice and paten, i. 258 *n.*
Portents, ii. 122, 140, 141, 160, 165–6, 192, 198, 204, 213, 231–2, 249, 253, 256, 264, 276, 283, 293, 327, 334, 342–3, 347–8, 363, 369, 372, 424, 526. *See also* Omens.
Ports, sea-, i. 156–8.
'Possession' by devils, i. 422; ii. 93, 145–6, 241, 258, 313, 320, 337, 358–9, 373, 395, 468.
Prefects, ii. 202 (Constantinople), 210 (Byzantine, in Spain), 425 (of Rome), 430 (of Africa), 559, 591 (of Rome), 593.
Potions, miraculous (*Potio de pulvere sepulchri*, &c.), i. 5, 6, 7, 331–2, 418; ii. 586.
Pottery, i. 438.
Pounds of gold, ii. 97, 277 (?).
Praeceptio, *see* Diploma.
Precaria, i. 163 *n.* *See ealso* Benefices.
Priests (*presbyteri*), married, i. 274; ii. 579; murder of, 317; nomination of, i. 273; relations of, to women, 282; rough usage of, by king, 290.
Primicerius of the secretaries (*notariorum*), ii. 53, 493.

Prison, ii. 153, 220, 224, 267, 350, 357, 365, 375, 434, 455.
Prisoners, i. 217–18; release or ransom of, 15, 16, 309; by S. Médard, ii. 131–2, 224, 522; by S. Germain, 177; by the recluse Eparchius, 242; by the king, 223; by the king on birth of his son, 254; during a fire at Paris, 357; prisoners of war, by Waroch, 439; an Armenian bishop, by the king of Persia, 460.
Processions, ii. 126, 172, 178, 243, 414, 428 (at Rome), 592 (at Rome).
Progress, of king, ii. 129, 284, 520, 521, 564; of count, 344.
Property, disputes concerning, ii. 404–5, 436, 587; lapse of, to Crown, 308.
Prophetesses, i. 250; ii. 181, 183, 284, 320, 356, 538–9.
Prophetia (*Benedictus*), i. 336; ii. 333, 574.
Prophets, the, ii. 130.
Provinces, ecclesiastical, i. 260–3.
Provision for siege, ii. 312.
Provost (*praepositus*, *praeposita*, prior, prioress), ii. 241, 446, 553.
Psalmody, i. 373.
Psalms, the, work on by Gregory, ii. 477; study of, i. 411.
Pumice-stone, ii. 218.
Pun, ii. 490.
Purple, the, ii. 202.
Pyramids, the, ii. 11, 482.
Pythonissa, *see* Prophetesses.

Quacks or medicine-men, i. 6, 240, 241.
Quiver, i. 232; ii. 221.

Rachimburgi, i. 212.
Rat, brazen, ii. 358.
Real property, women and, i. 398; ii. 356, 390, 391, 406, 459.
Rebaptism, ii. 38, 40, 209, 490. *See also* Arians.
Reclining at table, i. 444; ii. 107, 513, 544.
Recluse, immured, ii. 259.
Recommendation, i. 163.
Rector, *see* Governor.
Red Sea, passage of, type of baptism, ii. 12.
Referendary, i. 200; ii. 171, 201, 213, 218, 231, 257, 356, 361, 396, 535, 598.
Regicide, ii. 107.
Relics, caskets of, i. 432; ii. 309, 476, 604; packets of, i. 254–5. i. 254 ff., 418–19; ii. 59, 239, 257, 284, 308–9, 338, 373–4, 382, 413, 428, 466, 471, 476–7, 546, 553, 590, 591, 596.
Requisitioning of horses, ii. 377, 582.
Respublica for Empire, ii. 491.
Responsorium, i. 337; ii. 331, 573.
Resurrection, the, ii. 3, 16, 17, 424, 440–5, 468, 472, 477–8; denial of, 440.
Retreat, devotional, ii. 363.
Revenue, i. 218–19.
Rhetoric, ii. 109, 271, 425, 477, 481, 560.
Riding, the king, i. 407; Bishop Cautinus, ii. 126; Bishop Theodore, 247; Bishop Egidius, 262; King Chilperic, 278; servants of Guntram Boso, 346; wife of Duke Rauching, 378; Bishop Maroveus, 413; deacon of Autun, 416.
Ring, betrothal, i. 341.
Roads, i. 150 ff.; closing of, by king, ii. 245, 402; posting on, 377, 582.
Rods, consecrated, ii. 310, 569.
Rogations, i. 339; ii. 74, 119, 374, 395, 468, 502, 516, 582.
Roman law, *see* Laws.
Roofs, covered with lead, ii. 22; with tin, 132, 475, 523, 571. i. 402; ii. 146, 363, 382.
Roots, edible, from Egypt, ii. 238, 553.
Rope and pulley, torture of (*ad trochleas extendi*), i. 225, 243, 266, 310; ii. 550.
Roses, ii. 276.
Royalty, Merovingian, emblems of, long hair, *see* Hair, long; spear, ii. 311. *See also* i. 383.
Rule, monastic, of S. Basil, i. 368; ii. 466; of S. Benedict, i. 367; of S. Caesarius, 365, 368; ii. 412, 414, 418, 420, 450, 452, 589; of Cassian, i. 368; ii. 466, 601; of S. Columban, i. 368; of S. Pachomius, 367; 'instituted by the Fathers', ii. 452.
Rusticitas, *rusticus sermo*, i. 20; ii. 481.

Sabbath, Jewish, ii. 251.
'Sabbath-breaking', i. 308 *n.*; ii. 468, 601.
Sacrifice, Pagan, ii. 23.

Sacristy, *see* Churches.
Sadducees, ii. 445.
Safe-conduct, ii. 95.
Saints, Lives of Merovingian, i. 38–9; miraculous cures at tombs of, 321–2.
Sale, public, ii. 300.
Salmon, i. 443.
Salt, simile of, ii. 490.
Salutatorium, i. 320, 344; ii. 542.
Salver, gold, ii. 233, 399 (*clipeus*), 587.
Salvia, plant, i. 5, 6.
Sanctuary, i. 14, 15, 117–19, 309 ff.; ii. 131–2, 169, 170, 171, 181, 198 (violation of), 248, 250, 251, 283, 297, 299, 305–7, 316, 320, 333, 343, 408–9, 447, 582.
Sarcophagi, marble, i. 330, 331; ii. 124.
Schoolmasters (*praeceptores*), i. 412; ii. 267.
Schools, church, i. 412; monastic, 349, 409; at Ravenna, 81, 410; in foreign countries, 413–14; ii. 267.
Science, knowledge of, i. 7, 415 ff.
Scissors, ii. 101.
Scramasax, *see* Weapons.
Scriptures, copying of, i. 429; knowledge of, ii. 466.
Seafaring, i. 233.
Seaports, *see* Ports.
Sea trade, i. 156–8; ii. 152.
Seal, *see* Signet.
Secretaries, the, ii. 53.
Secretarium, i. 320; ii. 542.
Senate, Roman, ii. 17, 56, 519 (under Theodoric).
Senatorial families, i. 4, 264; ii. 21, 25, 27, 38, 56, 60, 61, 64–5, 72, 92, 96, 100, 125, 144, 154, 218, 242, 244, 246, 271, 361, 425, 470, 471, 473–4, 475, 485, 519, 553–4, 591.
Senators of Constantinople, ii. 148, 529.
Serfs, *see* Unfree, the.
Serpent, brazen, ii. 358.
Service, military, i. 225–6; ii. 319, 487–8.
Sext, i. 373; ii. 475.
Shepherd, ii. 135.
Shield, raising upon the, i. 95, 115; ii. 79, 107, 160, 283, 292, 295, 503, 513.
Ships, of war, i. 234; ii. 87, 158, 337; other ships, i. 234; ii. 92, 133, 233, 359, 395, 428, 437, 553.
Shipwreck, ii. 233, 437.
Shops, ii. 263, 559.
Shorthand, ii. 456, 598.
Sickle, ii. 362.
Siege, methods of, i. 231.
Sieges, of Arles, ii. 139; of Chastel-Marlhac, 94; of church in the Woëvre, 381–2; of *Convenae*, 313; of Saragossa, 106; of Vienne, 72; Vollore, 94.
Signal by smoke, ii. 431.
Signature, ii. 456.
Signet (*annulus*), ii. 171, 535.
Silk textiles, altar-covering of, ii. 596; curtain of, 580; garment of, 451, 591, 597; gemmed, i. 438. ii. 149, 244–5, 266, 425, 450, 451.
Silver plate, *see* Plate.
Silver, pounds of, ii. 153, 189.
Silver, talents of, ii. 319, 572.
Simony, i. 58, 293 *n.*, 296; ii. 576. *See also* Simon Magus.
Singing, ii. 331. *See also* Church.
Slave, literary, ii. 154–5, 531.
Slave-dealers, i. 392.
Slavery, 'public', ii. 97, 510; voluntary, 320. i. 390 ff.
Slaves, fugitive, i. 312; milder treatment of, by the Church, 392; married, *ibid.*; huts of, 393; in sanctuary, 396. *See also* Unfree the.
Small-pox (?), i. 422.
Social order, the, i. 383 ff.
Sol, the, i. 223.
Solaria, i. 401–2; ii. 488. *See* Chambers, upper.
Soldiery, master of the, *see* Master.
Solidus, the, ii. 495. *See also* Gold, pieces of.
Soothsayers, ii. 369, 381.
Sortes Biblicae, i. 251; ii. 129, 130, 521, 539.
Soul, dispute for, ii. 258.
Spear as emblem of royalty, ii. 311, 569.
Springs, miraculous, at Osset, i. 258; ii. 275, 459, 540, 599.
Spurs, ii. 126.
Stables, count of, *see* Count.
Stadia, ii. 106, 278, 355, 512, 517.
Stags, i. 442 (hunted), 469; ii. 74 (enter cities).
Stake, the, ii. 212.
Standards, ii. 246.
Stirrup-cup, ii. 355.
Stocks, the, i. 217.
Stone, *see* Disease.

Stoning, ii. 111, 159, 178, 186, 317, 407, 439.
Strangling and suffocation, ii. 88, 133, 138, 523.
Streets, i. 400; ii. 69, 378, 555.
Stylites, i. 378; ii. 339 (Vulfolaic), 341 (Simeon).
Suicide, i. 332 (burial of); ii. 109, 148, 203, 276, 455.
Sunday, ii. 97, 212, 263.
Superstition, i. 253 ff.
Surety, ii. 246, 248, 334, 336, 376.
Surgeons, i. 417; ii. 449, 559, 560.
Swallows, ii. 386.
Synagogue, ii. 178, 329.

Tables in banqueting-hall, ii. 463–4.
Tablets, wax, i. 429; ii. 308, 568.
Tactics, military, i. 229–30.
Tailor of Paris, i. 439.
Talents, *see* Gold, Silver.
Tapers, *see* Candles.
Tartarus, ii. 483.
Tau, sign of, ii. 119, 517.
Taxation of Franks by Parthenius, ii. 110; remission by Theudebert to Church, 105; imposed by Chilperic, 200, 201, 297; Jews advance money on yield of, 302; revision of, by Childebert, 400, 401; remission of, by the same king, 434; attempted taxation of Church by Lothar I, 117; proposal of Childebert to tax Church at Tours thwarted by Gregory, 401. i. 220–2; ii. 253, 544, 566, 587.
Tax-collectors (*exactores*), i. 317; ii. 201, 434.
Taxes remitted to Church, i. 316.
Temple of Jerusalem, ii. 6, 13, 14, 17, 18.
Temples, pagan, i. 246; ii. 22, 470.
Tent-canvas, ii. 91.
Tents, i. 231 *n.*; ii. 129, 153, 262 (royal), 270, 277, 280, 313, 562, 596.
Territory (*territorium*) of a primary town, i. 160.
Teutates, the god, ii. 485.
Textiles, i. 438; ii. 190. *See also* Silk.
Textus-cover, gold, i. 431.
Theodosian code, ii. 155.
Three Children, the, ii. 14.
Tierce, i. 373; ii. 475. *See also* Church, the, offices of.
Tiles, ii. 382.
Tin, *see* Roofs.
Tithes (*decimae*), i. 315–16; ii. 238.
Title-deeds, ii. 123, 125, 453, 519.
Tomb, violation of, ii. 317, 346.
Tombs in churches, i. 329–31; ii. 362.
Tonsure, i. 98, 275–6; ii. 118, 165, 173, 175, 239, 244, 250, 257 (?), 308, 310, 466, 557 (?).
Tools, i. 405.
Toothache, i. 8, 331 (remedy for); ii. 467.
Torture, i. 215–17; ii. 39, 90, 160, 170, 193, 201, 209, 211, 212, 222, 224, 225, 243, 264–6, 266–7, 279, 310, 321, 336, 355, 362, 365, 372, 408–9, 454–5, 458, 462, 535, 588. *See also* Rope and pulley, Wheel.
Tower of recluse, ii. 239, 553.
Towers, of city, ii. 103; of churches, i. 324; of fortified house, 48.
Travel, road, i. 151 ff., 407.
Towns, i. 158–61, 401.
Treason, ii. 455 ff. See also *Lèse majesté*.
Treasure of Alaric, ii. 78; Amalaric, 92–3; Chilperic, 274, 277, 283; Egidius, 458; Queen Fredegund, 277, 405; Gundovald, 255, 315–16, 318, 458–9, 557; Guntram Boso, 380; Mark the referendary, 257–8; Mummolus, 284, 318–19; Narses, 194, 543; public (royal), 277, 279; Rigunth, 277–8, 292, 310, 312; Sigibert the Lame, 78; King Sigibert, 348; Tiberius, Emperor, 193–4; Waddo, 458–9.
Treasure-chamber, i. 402–3; ii. 405–6.
Treasury, royal, ii. 205, 235, 289, 359, 401, 434, 458, 474.
Trees, destruction of, in war, ii. 261.
Tribune, military, ii. 50.
Tribunes, civil, i. 203, 213; ii. 303, 458, 567, 598–9.
Tribute, of Bretons, ii. 200; of Lombards, 400; of Saxons, 126–7, 520.
Tributum, tax, i. 220.
Triens, ii. 94, 320, 509.
Trinity, ii. 39, 40, 41–3, 70, 73, 85, 108, 137, 209, 384, 392, 470.
Trinity, the, dispute with Arians concerning, ii. 214–17; theory of Chilperic on, 217–18.
Trojan origin of Franks, legendary, ii. 492.
Tumour, *see* Disease.
Tunic, of consul, ii. 78; of goat's hair, 373; of S. Vincent, 106; sleeveless (*colobium*), 373.

'Turrets', church vessels (*turres*), i. 337; ii. 474, 603.

Unction, ii. 27. *See also* Baptism.
Unfree, the, i. 390 ff.; ii. 170, 201, 220, 303, 409, 567.
Upper chamber, ii. 580.

Vatican (*Batecanum*), i. 326.
Vaulting (*transvolutio*), i. 325–6, 330; ii. 358.
Vehicles, wheeled, i. 154–5, 405 (*carra*), 436 (adorned with silver); ii. 100, 105 (*basterna*), 266, 276–7, 313 (*plaustrum*), 277 (*carruca*).
Veil, nun's, enforced taking of, ii. 250. ii. 446.
Vestments, church, i. 333–4.
Vicarius, i. 203, 212; ii. 433.
Vicus, i. 161, 276.
Vigils, ii. 472.
Villae, royal, i. 219, 402 ff.; of Church, 345. i. 161–2.
Vine-dresser, ii. 220.
Vineyards and vintage, i. 8; ii. 261, 278, 351, 376. ii. 71, 75, 102, 226, 276, 302, 356, 372, 387, 409, 466, 469, 601.
Violets, i. 405.
Visions, of ascetics, i. 379; in oratory at Metz, ii. 45; in church of S. Peter at Rome, 47; of a cup-bearer at Clermont, 63; angel seen by S. Gall, 119; of the Abbot Sunniulf, 142; flying angel seen by Gregory in a dream, 182; drawn sword seen by Salvius above Chilperic's house at Berny, 227; S. Michael seen by a nun, 258; vision seen by another nun, 259; vision of Abbot Salvius, 285–8; Gregory's vision of scene in church of S. Martin, 301; vision seen by servants of the count of Bourges, 319; Gregory's vision of the dead Chilperic as a bishop, 332; Guntram's vision of Chilperic cast into a boiling cauldron, 333; vision of a woman of Paris, foreboding fire, 356.
Volcanic eruption (?), ii. 347.

Walls, of bishop's fortified house, i. 408; of cities, 401 *n.* 1; ii. 91, 103 (of Dijon), 204 (Lyons), 204 (Bordeaux), 253 (Soissons), 257 (Avignon), 274, 314–15, 317 (*Convenae*), 351; of nunnery at Poitiers, 415–16.
Warfare, i. 225 ff.
Water, hot, ii. 156.
Water, travel by, i. 155–6.
Water-mills, *see* Mills.
Wax for candles, i. 329.
Wax tablets, *see* Tablets.
Weapons, i. 231–3; axes, ii. 342, 344, 406, 565; bows and arrows, i. 233; ii. 221 (quiver), 195, 453; daggers (see also *scramasax*), 102, 160, 307, 354, 372, 407, 439, 446; javelins, 139, 203, 275, 286, 380, 430; lances and spears, 92, 96, 98, 158, 174, 199, 221, 307, 311, 364, 380, 407, 431, 439, 446, 448, 453; *scramasax* (knife-dagger), i. 231–2; ii. 160, 533; shield, 98, 139, 264; sword, 174, 195, 203, 239, 264, 266, 307, 313, 317–18, 321–2, 362, 364, 377, 380, 398, 429, 446, 448, 462, 513, &c.
Weaving, i. 402, 439; ii. 135.
Wedding gifts, *see* Gifts.
Weir for fish, i. 446; ii. 335, 574.
Wergeld, see Composition.
Wheel, torture of, ii. 193, 266, 542.
Wheelwrights, i. 403.
Wills, ii. 161, 219 (Bishop Dalmatius), 276, 279, 347 (Bishop Bertram), 383, 398 (Queen Ingoberg), 406 (Beretrude), 467 (Aredius), 473 (Bishop Perpetuus), 603.
Windows, i. 319; ii. 240, 241, 307, 378, 553. *See also* Churches.
Wine, of Burgundy, ii. 103, 238; of Gaza and Latium (?), i. 447; ii. 306, 568; poisoned, 355; trade in, 321. i. 14, 205, 320.
Witchcraft, *see* Divination, Magic.
Witch-doctors, i. 240, 241, 418.
Witches, torture of, i. 216; ii. 265–6.
Wolves, ii. 74, 213, 253.
Women, position of, i. 397–400; education of, 399–400; forbidden access to monasteries, 356; rights of inheritance of, 359, 398; witchcraft of, 400.
Women's quarters, see *Gynaecea*.
Wooden buildings, church house, ii. 171, 535; houses, i. 401; ii. 169, 534. *See also* Churches.
Woodwork, ii. 100, 474, 603.
Wool, ii. 135.
World, ageing of, i. 28; ii. 411, 419.
Writing-tablets, i. 429.

Yard of house, ii. 98, 319.

AUTHORITIES CITED

I. EARLY AND MEDIEVAL

Agathias, i. 106, 107, 230, 421 ; ii. 514–15.
Aimoin, ii. 521, 548, 551.
Ammianus, i. 29.
Apollinaris, Sidonius, i. 6, 90, 326, 336, 339, 349, 350, 402, 409, 447.

Baudonivia, i. 67–9, 83, 364–6, 407 ; ii. 495, 506, 521–2, 580, 589, 596.
Bede, i. 75, 188, 189, 266, 275–6, 320, 331, 342, 358, 413, 421, 424, 431 ; ii. 524, 591, 599.
Benedict, Saint, i. 353.

Cassian, John, i. 353, 356.
Cassiodorus, i. 93, 94, 155, 171, 176, 178, 179, 224, 234, 250, 267, 413, 417, 420, 433, 439, 441 ; ii. 502, 535, 541, 568, 592, 596, 599.
Charles the Great (Capitulary *De villis*), i. 404, 441.
Columban, Saint, i. 415.
Corippus, ii. 568.

Fortunatus, i. 154, 172, 177, 252, 266, 318–19, 327, 328, 333, 335, 338, 340, 342, 372, 387, 395, 401, 403, 405–6, 408, 410–11, 422, 424, 428–9, 431–2, 436, 438–9, 440, 442–3, 445–6 ; ii. 494, 500, 507, 509, 512, 516, 522–3, 524, 525, 530, 533, 535, 536, 537, 543, 545, 546, 548, 549, 550, 553, 556, 569, 571, 572, 576, 577, 583, 587, 588, 589, 590, 593, 594, 598, 600, 603, 605.
'Fredegar', i. 37–8, 71, 122, 126 *n.*, 155, 220, 341, 418 ; ii. 485, 490, 491, 492, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 501, 506, 512, 514, 523, 524, 525, 530, 531, 533, 534, 541, 570, 571, 572, 576, 579, 583.

Frigeridus, Renatus Profuturus, i. 232 *n.* ; ii. 48, 52.

Gregory the Great, i. 245, 314–15, 338, 355, 358, 369, 372 ; ii. 547, 571, 578, 584.

Hincmar, i. 90.

Irmino, Abbot, ii. 508, 513. *See* Guérard, B.
Isidore of Seville, i. 272 ; ii. 546, 547, 561, 568, 591.

John of Biclar, i. 38, 116, 234 *n.* ; ii. 547, 561, 578, 581, 583, 584, 587.
John the Deacon, i. 358 ; ii. 591, 592.
Jornandes, i. 94, 172, 186.

Marculf, i. 208, 347, 386, 398 ; ii. 582.
Marius of Aventicum, i. 37, 107 ; ii. 501, 506, 507, 509, 518, 523, 524, 526, 546.
Menander (the historian), ii. 525.

Orosius, i. 447.

Paul the Deacon (Warnefrid), i. 81, 107 ; ii. 529, 530, 543, 545, 547, 561, 576–8, 586, 591–3.
Procopius, i. 94, 105–6, 188, 229, 232 *n.*, 421 ; ii. 506, 511, 515, 541.

Sulpicius Severus, i. 238 *n.*, 245, 247, 353, 366, 371, 373–4, 378 ; ii. 542, 574, 579.

Tacitus, ii. 503, 548.

Warnefrid, *see* Paul the Deacon.

II. MODERN

Arndt, W., i. 3, 34, 36, 40, 42.
Aubert, E., i. 431 ; ii. 507.

Babelon, E., i. 427 ; ii. 552, 569, 599.
Baluze, E., i. 211 ; ii. 551.
Bannister, H. M., i. 336.
Barthélemy, A. de, i. 224.
Batiffol, P., i. 319, 334–6, 342, 353 ; ii. 499, 512, 513, 559.
Bayet, C., i. 169, 238 ; ii. 484.
Baynes, N. H., ii. 529, 543, 558.
Beaudouin, E., i. 383.
Behrend, J. F., i. 207 ; ii. 503.
Bell, H. I., ii. 483.

Benedictines of S. Maur, i. 13, 352.
Bennett, S. A., i. 414; ii. 485, 487, 505.
Bernard, P., i. 392.
Beylié, Gen. de, i. 407.
Binding, C., i. 104.
Bingham, J., i. 289.
Bishop, E., i. 336, 338.
Blanchet, A., i. 223.
Bluhme, F., ii. 501.
Bonnell, H., i. 199.
Bonnet, M., i. 7, 22–3, 33, 35, 40, 81.
Boretius, A., i. 269, 312, 404.
Bouquet, M., i. 42, 211, 261, 327, 343.
Boutaric, E., i. 225.
Braun, J., i. 334.
Bréhaut, E., i. 43.
Bright, W., i. 265.
Brightman, F. E., i. 334.
Brunner, H., i. 207, 383.
Bury, J. B., i. 89, 90, 91, 92, 171; ii. 481, 486, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 503, 513, 514, 517, 529, 543.
Butler, A. J., ii. 482.
Butler, C., i. 353, 367, 373.

Cabrol, F., i. 372.
Chevalier, U., ii. 481, 482, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 490, 501, 506, 507, 528, 548, 555, 569, 575, 582, &c.
Clark, J. M., i. 370.
Clemen, P., i. 327, 430; ii. 564.
Collon, G., i. 40, 42.
Conway, W. M., i. 254; ii. 590, 595.
Cooper-Marsden, A., i. 348.
Coulton, G. G., i. 247, 322, 349, 358, 366, 373–4, 379, 390, 394, 400; ii. 557, 579, 595.

Dahn, F., i. 45; ii. 518, 578, 583.
Dalton, O. M., i. 181, 288, 402, 425, 443; ii. 496, 505, 508, 596.
de Bruyne, Dom, i. 340, 353.
Delbrück, H., i. 225.
Delehaye, H., i. 19; ii. 482, 487, 575.
Deloche, M., i. 160, 386.
Diehl, C., ii. 543.
Dieudonné, A., i. 223.
Dill, S., i. 45, 70, 154, 206, 245, 364, 422.
Dobschütz, E. von, ii. 483.
Döpler, J., i. 215; ii. 542.
Ducange, i. 393; ii. 516, 566, 580, &c.
Duchesne, L., i. 270, 334–6, 341; ii. 486, 499, 500, 526, 530, 533.
Dudden, F. H., i. 253, 273–4, 278, 292, 296, 304, 315, 354, 392, 419, 422; ii. 491, 499, 517, 527, 529, 531, 567, 591, 599.
Dumaine, H., i. 371.

Ebersolt, J., ii. 504.
Enlart, C., i. 318, 323; ii. 564.
Ewald, P., i. 246, 272, 289.

Fauriel, C., i. 173; ii. 496, 572.
Forbes, G. H., i. 336, 372.
Fournier, M., i. 393.
Freeman, E. A., i. 166–7, 171.
Fremantle, W. H., ii. 487.
Frere, W. H., i. 342.
Fustel de Coulanges, i. 155, 161, 199, 200, 206, 212, 220, 271–2, 276, 288, 383, 386, 390, 391, 393.

Galy, C., i. 307, 341, 397; ii. 546, 579.
Gams, Dom P., ii. 505.
Gibbon, E., i. 206, 230, 421; ii. 486, 487, 488, 491, 492, 493, 494, 503, 504, 505, 529, 543, 545, 547, 575.
Giesebrecht, W., i. 21, 36, 43; ii. 509, 510, 514, 518, 568.
Gretser, J., ii. 486.
Grimm, J., ii. 532, 568, 574, 575, 579, 593, 595.
Guadet, J., i. 43.
Guérard, B., i. 162, 198, 223, 383, 385, 388, 391, 400, 402, 404; ii. 508, 513, 544, 582, 595.
Guilhiermoz, P., i. 199, 223, 383; ii. 544.
Guizot, F. P., i. 43, 44, 268.
Gundlach, W., ii. 114, 577, 593.

Halphen, L., i. 196.
Harnack, A., ii. 484.
Hartmann, L. M., i. 176, 246, 272, 289; ii. 543, 561.
Hauck, A., i. 272.
Hébrard, E., i. 407.
Hefele, C. J., i. 302.
Herrmann, G., i. 199.
Hertsberg, H., ii. 512.
Herzfeld, E., i. 233.
Hessels, J. H., i. 207.
Heyd, W., 157.
Hodgkin, T., i. 105–7, 179; ii. 529, 530, 561, 577–8, 593.
Holder, A., i. 207.
Howorth, H. H., i. 188; ii. 499, 591.

Imbart de la Tour, P., i. 158.
Inama-Sternegg, K. von, i. 223.

Jacobs, A., i. 43; ii. 544, 572.
Jahn, A., i. 104; ii. 506.
James, M. R., ii. 483.
Jubainville, H. d'Arbois de, i. 92, 169; ii. 499.
Jullian, C., ii. 485.
Junghans, W., i. 34, 39, 45; ii. 494.

Krammer, M., i. 207.
Kraus, F. X., i. 332.
Krusch, B., i. 37–9, 42, 92, 207, 342; ii. 498, 589, 600, 604.
Kurth, G., i. 7, 21, 33, 36, 40, 45, 69, 165, 203, 207; ii. 485, 491, 494, 497, 498, 511, 515, 519, 520, 576.

Labbe, P., i. 271, 302, 314.
Langlois, C., i. 225.
Lasteyrie, R. de, i. 327, 430.
Lauer, P., ii. 520.
Le Blant, E., i. 275, 328, 331–2, 426; ii. 546.
Leclercq, H., i. 159, 161, 261, 268, 272, 277, 300, 302, 323, 347–8, 351, 365, 369, 370, 373–4, 417, 431; ii. 488, 501, 528.
Lécrivain, C., i. 203.
Leprieur, P., i. 430.
Levillain, L., i. 42–3, 92, 165, 200, 207; ii. 485, 499, 519.
Liebmann, D. R., ii. 507.
Loebell, J., i. 5, 21, 159; ii. 485, 495, 503, 542, 572, 601.
Loening, E., i. 261, 269, 271–2, 275.
Longnon, A., i. 160, 170, 172, 198, 404; ii. 485 and *passim*.
Lot, F., i. 38.
Loth, J., i. 174.

Maassen, F., i. 246, 301, 305; ii. 542.
Mabillon, J., i. 336, 402, 431.
Mackail, J. W., i. 29.
Mâle, E., ii. 517.
Mansi, J. D., i. 302.
Marignan, A., i. 154, 157, 159, 161, 163, 175–6, 223, 253, 273, 276, 278, 308, 318, 323, 330, 333, 341, 347, 401–3, 407, 426, 431–3, 444.
Martène, i. 336.
Martin, H., i. 74, 165, 168, 171, 173, 183–4, 304; ii. 585, 597.
Martroye, H., i. 179.
Maury, A., i. 156; ii. 492.
Molinier, A., i. 27, 34, 40, 83; ii. 481, 491, 501.
Molinier, E., i. 431.
Mommsen, Th., i. 37, 92, 93; ii. 482, 494.
Monod, G., i. 21, 36, 37, 40.
Montauzan, G. de, ii. 484.
Müllenhoff, K., ii. 484.

Neale, M., i. 336, 372.
Nestle, E., ii. 486.
Netzer, H., i. 282.
Noel, O., i. 157.

Oman, C. W. C., i. 72, 180, 181, 199, 225, 227, 232 *n*.
Omont, H., i. 40, 42, 338.

Paris, G., i. 169.
Pardessus, J. M., i. 207.
Peisker, T., i. 186.
Pertz, i. 40, 199.
Petit-Dutaillis, C., i. 156.
Pfister, C., i. 34, 63, 92, 94, 96, 97, 104, 106, 159, 161, 163–4, 170, 191, 199, 200, 202, 208, 211, 252–3, 266, 314, 354, 383; ii. 501, 505, 548.
Plath, K., i. 402.
Plummer, C., i. 276, 342, 349, 421, 424; ii. 524, 591.
Poupardin, R., i. 40, 42.
Power, E. B., i. 358.
Prost, A., i. 383.
Prou, M., i. 106, 223, 225, 269, 383, 401, 411, 429, 431.

Quicherat, J., ii. 513.

Rampolla, Cardinal, ii. 487.
Rettberg, ii. 575.
Reverdy, G., i. 177.
Rogers, C. F., ii. 500.
Rostovtzeff, M., i. 173, 233 *n*., 425, 431.
Roth, P., i. 383.
Rozière, T. M. de, i. 159.
Ruinart, Dom, i. 18, 19, 24, 33, 42, 79, 194, 250, 294, 318, 331, 335–6, 344, 370, 374, 399, 400; ii. 484, 486, 605.

Sarre, F., i. 233.
Savigny, ii. 572.
Schmidt, L., i. 169; ii. 492, 496.
Schnürer, G., i. 37, 71.
Schöne, G., i. 199.
Schumacher, K., i. 331, 370, 401.
Sée, H., i. 391–2, 394.
Seeck, O., i. 173, 409; ii. 486, 501, 506.
Seignobos, C., i. 393.
Sickel, W., ii. 504.
Singer, C., i. 416–17, 421.

Sohm, R., i. 206.
Spiess, G., ii. 580.
Stein, F., i. 45.
Stobbe, J. E. O., i. 207.

Taranne, N. R., i. 43.
Thierry, A., i. 43 *n.*

Vaes, M., i. 272.
Valois, A. de (*Valesius*), i. 13, 44; ii. 509.
Vaucelle, E. R., i. 352
Venables, E., ii. 487.
Viard, P., i. 315.
Viollet, P., i. 207.

Wailly, N. de, i. 404.
Walter, F., i. 207.
Warner, G. F., i. 336, 338.
Warren, F. E., i. 336, 338.
Wattenbach, W., ii. 492.
Werminghoff, F., i. 302.
Willis, R., i. 370.
Wilmart, Dom A., i. 257, 334–7.
Wooldridge, H. E., i. 342.
Wroth, W., ii. 552.

Zangemeister, K., ii. 481.
Zeiller, J., i. 407.
Zeumer, K., i. 208, 347, 391.
Zöpfl, H. M., i. 207.

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press
By John Johnson Printer to the University